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No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of trooping by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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ART. I.—THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE UPA-NISHADS.

PART I.

THE earliest product of metaphysical speculation in India, as delineated in a former article,* is a rude system of absolute egoism. Put into an intelligible shape it should have a general interest, and it merits the attention of students of philosophy. In this system, as it has been shown, that from which all things proceed, in which all things subsist, into which they disappear, and from which they re-appear, in a never-ending cycle, is one reality, the impersonal self, *brahman*, *ātman*, *purusha*, an idea that transcends the relation of subject and object, yet is associated from everlasting with an inexplicable illusion neither existent nor non-existent, and from that association passes in appearance only into duality, into innumerable sentiencies or personal selves with their several objective environments. Viewed in connection with the totality of organisms the one spiritual reality is the *anima mundi* or God; in connection with each several organism it is this or that sentient being. "The one self of all sentient beings distributed through all sentiencies, appears one, appears many, like the one moon, and the many moons reflected upon the many waters." "The impersonal is true, the world is false, the personal is the impersonal, and is none else," *brahma satyam, jīvan-mūhyā, jīvo brahmaiva nāparah*. The insoluble riddle for man is the mode in which the unrelated co-exists with the related, the infinite with the finite. This is the bottom of every metaphysical difficulty. This riddle the earliest Indian thinkers thought that they read by pronouncing the relative and the finite to be illusory, and indicative only of an underlying reality, *ego*, self.

The rudiments of this earliest system of Indian speculation were shown to exist, obscurely perhaps, and inexplicitly, in the later Vedichymns, in the *Nāsadiya-sūkta* and the *Puruṣa-sūkta*. The system grew into clearer and fuller shape with the search for a principle of universal explanation. "What is that," asks *Saunaka* in the *Mundaka Upanishad*, "by which when known all things

* Ancient Indian Metaphysics, *Calcutta Review*, October 1st 1876.

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are known?" It was worked out with ardour from the necessity of finding some escape from that series of re-embodiments, the idea of which the Indian Aryans appear to have taken up from the ruder tribes among whom they settled, and with whom they intermixed. The system as developed in the Upanishads or Vedāntas is the subject of the present paper. In its exposition it will follow the authority of the scholiasts Sankarāchārya and Anandagiri. As said in the former article, the interpretation of the Indian schoolmen may at times appear a little violent, but it is likely to be nearer to the design of the ancient texts than any which we can put upon them, the order of our thoughts being determined by altogether irrelevant antécédents.

In India, as elsewhere, as soon as a certain degree of social order had arisen, hereditary beliefs, products of the as-yet unreflective consciousness, ceased to satisfy the higher intellects. The transformation of thought was accelerated, as it became reflective. Philosophy emerged as men began to strive by rectifying and methodising the current opinions, the accredited imagery of their relations to the powers around them, to construct a clear and distinct conception of the totality of things. Philosophy is the effort to reach this conception. In India, as elsewhere, the effort was made by seeking some one or more principles of unity beyond or beneath, or some threads of similarity amidst the infinite variety of nature.

The search is for all thinkers and for all ages, as soon as unreflective has risen into reflective thought, and the few have ceased to find repose in the faiths that satisfy the many. Once started, the inquiry proceeds notwithstanding all opposition, and notwithstanding any finality arrogated by this or that school. It is not the temporary work of the individual, but the secular work of the human race. Something is gained in every age, partly in truth, and partly in width of vision, in vigour of intellect. The idea of each generation gives way to the richer and more effective conception of the next. The social consciousness is in perpetual movement, and the Divine idea, the universal life manifests itself more and more fully through the successive generations of mankind.

In India the search has not gone far. Here we have to contemplate a barbarous and stationary community, a little progress and an arrest of progress. The few cosmological conceptions that grew up have indurated into sacred and traditional systems, and metaphysical construction has been superseded by scholastic reproduction and controversy. Yet, such as they have been, these primitive Indian conceptions have their position in the history of philosophy. The purpose of this as of the former paper, is to indicate that position, to invite attention to a neglected, but not altogether unengaging portion of the philosophic field.

In the Indian systems the metaphysical substructure is overlaid

with thick deposits of religious figments. With this superstructure we have little concern, but it cannot be thrown out of account. Of the Indian may be said what has been said of the early Greek sages, that "their effort has been to supply to the speculative mind something answering to the vague affirmations of the popular creed. Hence they have perpetually kept these superstitions in view, and made it a constant aim to harmonise their physics with the public theology;—to make their cosmogonies an explanation of the theogonies of the poetical faith." Philosophy in its earliest stage begins with ideas which existed previous to it, religious ideas, or ideas relating to the mind, or to external nature, spontaneous products of the unreflective consciousness of prehistoric man, work of the "dim antenatal life of humanity." These products it takes up into itself, but not with a conscious spirit of compromise for the thoughts of the thinker are only the highest expression of the intellectual tendencies of the community. He is the instrument of the common intelligence.

The Upanishads are also styled Vedāntas, that is, the latter portions of the Veda. The Vedānta philosophy, as systematizing the unsystematic teaching of the Upanishads, is styled the Aupanishadī Mīmāṃsā. The primary sense of the term Upanishad is, as Sankarācārya teaches, *brahmavidyā*, *paramātmajñāna*, the science of the absolute Ego, the knowledge of the impersonal self. The end of every Upanishad is to set out the unity of all sentiences. An Upanishad is started for the delivery of the knowledge of the unity of all selves, and that knowledge is delivered that man may escape beyond the unreality illusorily overspread upon the one and only real. Incidentally it may deliver other teaching. "Bhaskara," says Anandagiri, "teaches that every Upanishad has to do solely with the knowledge of the absolute Ego, and that therefore they cannot be divided as dealing with a variety of topics, but this is untrue, as we find in the Upanishads precepts for meditation upon Hiranyagarbha and the like." The knowledge of the unity of all sentiences in the one transcendent self is the means of liberation, of extrication, that is, from the series of re-embodiments. It is only in a secondary sense that the word Upanishad designates a book of such and such extent, which may be read and recited: learnt and taught.

Such is the nature, such the scope, of the Upanishads. The derivation of the name Upanishad is conformable to this character and aim. "The highest knowledge," to cite Sankara's preface to the Katha Upanishad, "is called Upanishad, as relaxing, impairing, or destroying the illusion that is the germ of transmigratory experience, in those who yearning to escape from further re-embodiment, and averse from the objects of every-day life and the promises of Vedic rites, approach to the genuine gnosis, and

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steadfastly and resolutely habituate themselves to it. And thus we shall read, in the text that Nachiketas after surveying this escaped from the jaws of death. To take another derivation the science of the absolute Ego is styled Upanishad as leading to absolute existence, as conducting the aspirants to emancipation already characterised to be the real self. And thus the text will be found to declare that reaching Brahman he became unsullied, deathless. To take another explanation, the sacrificial knowledge begged by Nachiketas from Yama is a means of attaining the enjoyment of Elysian pleasure, and thus puts an end to the varied miseries of birth, decrepitude, and death, which arise again and again in body after body; and thus even this knowledge may be called Upanishad as relaxing the succession of transmigratory miseries." In many other places, as in the prefatory remarks on the S'vetāsvatara, and in those on the Taittiriya, the term Upanishad is also derived from the root *śad*, to destroy, to conduct, or to loosen, with the prefixes *upa* and *ni*. Professor Max Müller surmises that the word Upanishad meant originally the act of sitting down near a teacher, of submissively listening to him, whence it came to mean implicit faith, and at last truth or divine revelation. The late Dr. Goldstücker took the earliest sense of the word to be secret or mystery, literally that which sits or rests beneath, a sense recognised by the Indian authorities as one of the meanings of the word.

In India the march of inquiry was directed by two impulses, the search for a unifying for an all-simplifying principle, an ἀρχή, and the yearning to escape from transmigration, from the ceaseless series of re-embodiments and all the miseries that waited the soul in birth after birth. The progress was qualified by the necessity of absorbing the earlier order of conceptions, of finding a place for the ancient theological imagery. The conciliation was effected by declaring that the gods and their worship belonged to the unreal, to the transmigratory *fieri* or illusory spheres of pleasure and pain, but yet that that worship was the necessary preliminary to real knowledge, as the only means of purifying the intellect of the aspirant for the reception of the truth. Let these three momenta of the Indian speculative procedure be carried in mind, and the reader will have no difficulty in understanding the complex texture of the Indian cosmogonies.

The quest of a principle of unity appears in such passages as these. In the sixth Prapāthaka of the Chhāndogya Upanishad it is found in connection with the doctrine of the threefold composition of all external things, *trivṛtkārana*, afterwards explained (though not in the Upanishads themselves) as a fivefold composition from the five elements, the *panchikārana* mentioned in the earlier article. The purpose is to show that one spiritual

reality underlies the apparent world of duality. "Svetaketu was the grandson of Aruna. His father Aruni said to him, Svetaketu enter upon thy sacred studentship. None of our family, dear son, is unstudied, a Brahman only by kindred. Svetaketu therefore spent twelve years with a spiritual guide, and returned at the age of twenty-four, after reading all the Vedas, high-minded, and proud of his proficiency. His father said to him; Svetaketu, as thou art high-minded, thinkest thyself proficient, and art proud, tell me hast thou asked for that instruction whereby the unheard becomes heard, the unthought thought, the unknown known? Now, holy sir, he replied, is that instruction given? His father said: Fair son, as by one lump of clay all that is made of clay becomes known, being a modification of speech only, a change, a name, while the clay is the only reality: as, fair son, by one piece of iron all that is made of iron becomes known, being a modification of speech only, a change, a name, while the iron is the only reality: as, fair son, by a pair of scissors all that is made of steel becomes known, being a modification of speech only, a change, a name, while the steel is the only reality: such is the method of that instruction. Svetaketu said: Holy sir, doubtless my spiritual guide knew not that, for, if he had known it, how should he not have told me of it?—Do thou then, holy sir, tell me of it. Be it so, he replied, fair youth. Existent only, fair son, was this in the beginning, one only, without duality.

A similar inquiry as to what is the one thing which being known all things shall be known is met with in the first chapter of the Mandaka Upanishad:—

Saunaka the householder with reverence approached Angiras and asked, Holy sir, by knowing what shall all this universe be known? To him Angiras said: Two sciences are to be known, which they that know the Veda proclaim, a higher and a lower. Of these the lower is the Rigveda, the Yajurveda, the Sāmaveda, the Atharvaveda, the Phonetics, Ritual, Grammar, Etymology, Prosody and Astronomy. The higher is that by which that undecaying is attained. That which none can see, none can handle, without kindred, without colour, which has neither eyes nor ears, neither hands nor feet, imperishable, infinitely diversified, everywhere present, wholly imperceptible, that is, the immutable which sages behold as the source of all."

If we know, as Anandagiri says, the ἀρχή, the emanatory principium of all things, we shall know all things, for all effects have pre-existed in and are identical with their causes. In the world of daily life, says Sankarāchārya, all individual things, individual pieces of gold for example, are known to ordinary men if they know the unities under which they are contained, the nature of gold for example. The question of the text is, therefore, what is the

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one cause, or emanatory principle, of all the diversity of the universe, which being known all else must be known.

The doctrine of metempsychosis appears everywhere in the Upanishads. It had apparently been taken up by the Indo-Arians from the lower races amongst which they settled and with which they intermingled. It is a belief widely spread among the lower races, and appears to mark a particular stage of their culture. To quote the Chhândogya: "These rivers flow east and west, eastward and westward they come from the sea and return to the sea, and become the sea, and know not they are this, or that. Even so all these living beings proceed from the existent, and know not that they proceed from it" The one transcendent soul by illusory limitation to innumerable illusory organisms passes into innumerable individual sentiences. Each personal soul is but the one impersonal soul invested with such or such a tenuous *involutum*, with which it passes from body to body till the rise in it of real knowledge. Into what bodies it shall pass is determined by its former works. "Departing from its present sphere of transmigratory experience it quits its present body and takes up another according to its works, as the caterpillar passes into a chrysalis and the chrysalis into a butterfly." There are two paths to the soul as it quits the body, the northern course, *Uttaramārga*, to those that know the spiritual reality, the southern, *Lakshināmārga* to those that have fulfilled good works. "They" says the Chhândogya Upanishad, "that have this knowledge, and they that exercise faith and austerity in the forest, attain to the light from the light, to the day from the day to the light semilunation, from that to the six months of the sun's northern journey, from those six months to the year, from the year to the sun, and thence by degrees to *brahma*. This is the divine journey, *devayāna*. They that remain in the village practise revealed and traditionary works, pass into smoke, from smoke to the night, from night to the dark semilunation, from this to the six months of the sun's southern course, from these to the sphere of the fathers, from thence to the expanse, from these to the moon. In the moon they abide till the exhaustion of their merits, and then they return by the selfsame path. They, therefore, the residue of whose deserts is good, quickly obtain a good embodiment, embodiment as a Brahman, a Kṣatriya, or a Vaisya. They the residue of whose deserts is evil, quickly enter upon an evil embodiment, embodiment as a dog, as a hog, or as a Chandāla or degraded outcaste." "Seven," says the Mundakā, "are the tongues of fire. He that offers sacrifice while these are shining, and in due season,—the sacrifices, as solar rays, take him thither where the one lord of the gods abides. The resplendent sacrifices carry the sacrificer by the solar rays, crying; Come hither, come hither, greeting him with kind words,

and praising him, saying This is the holy Brahma-sphere won by thy merits. Frail are these boats, the sacrifices, in which is the lower rite with its eighteen elements. They that rejoice in this as the highest end, are infatuated, and proceed again and again to decrepitude and death. Residing in the midst of the illusion, having a wisdom of their own, thinking themselves learned, heavily smitten, they go about not knowing their way, like the blind led by the blind. Residing amidst the illusion under various conditions, in their childish folly they think they have done all that they should do. But inasmuch as these workers of works have no knowledge, because they are attached to the fruits of their works, they become miserable, falling from the spheres thereby attained, upon the exhaustion of their merits. Thinking rites revealed and traditionary the highest they are infatuated and know of nothing higher. After enjoying happiness in the heights of the paradise won by their works, they re-enter this or a lower sphere of fruition. They that exercise austerity and faith in the forest, having their senses restrained, full of knowledge, living upon alms, proceed passionless, thither where is that immortal spirit, the undecaying soul. Surveying the spheres earned by works, a Brahman should attain to exemption from desire; the uncreate is not attained by works. To come to know this uncreate, he should approach, with fuel in his hands, a spiritual guide learned in the Vedas, intent upon the impersonal self. To him should that theosophist, to him when he has drawn nigh, with quiescent mind, with senses withdrawn from the sensibles, proclaim truly the science of the absolute, whereby he may know the undecaying, real, spirit."

Up and down the stream of metempsychosis the personal self floats like a gourd upon the waters. Its transmigratory experiences are the miseries of birth, decay, death, hunger, thirst, grief, bewilderment, *janmajarāmaraṇānāyāpīpāsāsoka mohānvitah saṁsārah*. These last till the rise of gnosis. "So long," says Sankara in his commentary on the Aitareya Upanishad, "as he knows not the absolute spirit, so long must he mistake for himself his organism, external, characterised by fluctuating visions; and fancying the conditions of his illusory adjunct to be the conditions of his real self, passing again and again through spheres of experience, divine, or human, or bestial, or infernal, from the state of the highest deity to that of a clump of grass, he must transmigrate, under the influence of illusion, and its resultant desires and actions." It is because the soul does not know its real nature that it is infected with desire and aversion as regards the objects of its fictitious environment; from such desire and aversion spring its activities, from these its merits and demerits, from these its successive re-embodiments. It is by learning

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the unreality of these objects, that it ceases to admire and desire that it ceases to act, that it ceases to be tainted with merits and demerits, that it escapes from further transmigration. The world, of experience is the only result of actions, *samsāra eva karmanām phalam*.

In the world of experience, the sphere of the semblance and the unreal, reside agents, action, ends of action, *kriyākāra-kaphalārūpa eva samsārah*. In the supreme reality, the ultimate truth beyond the world of semblance, there is neither agent, nor act, nor end of action, the absolute self lies beyond all transmigratory conditions, *sarvasamśāradharmīvarjitam brahma*. By knowledge of its real nature the personal soul re-enters into union with the impersonal self, the absolute ego: for its desires falling away there is nothing to prolong its connection with its illusory surroundings. On the cessation of the illusion the soul remains within itself, and this is to reach the highest end, *a vidyānivritttau svātmēny avasthānam paraprāptih*. The means of liberation from metempsychosis is to know the unity of all souls in the one universal soul, *mokhasya sādhanam brahmāmīkatva jñānam*. And to be liberated is to abide in its real nature as undifferented spirit, *kevalātmasvarūpāvasthānalakshano mokshah*. Such liberation, the abiding of the self as undifferented self, is existence, not non-existence, *Bhūvan āpo mokshah*. And the undifferented self, the absolute ego, is an existence, knowledge, beatitude, unrelated, above all relation of subject and object, *sach chidānandam brahma, jñāriñneyabhāvāviriktam*.

So long as the personal self is implicated in illusion, so long must its transmigration proceed. The world, the series of transmigratory experiences, is like the sacred fig-tree.

The fig-tree, not that kind for fruit renowned,
But such as at this day to Indians known,
In Malabar or Deccan spreads her arms,
Branching so broad and long, that in the ground
The bended twigs take root, and daughters grow
About the mother tree, a pillared shade.
High overarched, and echoing walks between.

Its root above is the impersonal reality, its branches downwards are the illusory spheres of fruition. "With upward roots," to quote the Katha Upanishad, "With branches downwards stands this sacred fig-tree from everlasting. That upward root is the resplendent *brahman*, that alone is said to be immortal. On that the worlds repose one and all, that, no man can pass beyond." "As on seeing one of its fibres," says Sankaracharya, "a man may learn what is the root of the tree, so by observing the tree of mundane existences, we may learn the nature of its root, the absolute Ego. It is to show this that the

sixth Valli of this Upanishad thus begins. This tree, the series of transmigratory existences, from the undeveloped to the stationary order of objects, has its root upwards, the supreme sphere of Vishnu. This apparent universe is a tree, inasmuch as it may be cut down." Tree, *vrikshat*, is here derived from *vasch*, to cut. "It consists of divers miseries, births and deaths, decay and sorrow. It is at every moment other than it was before. It appears awhile and disappears, like a spectral illusion, a mirage, the airy fabric of a reverie, and becomes thus in the end, like the tree, a nonentity. It is hollow like the stem of a plantain. It is matter of doubt to the understandings of many hundreds of misbelievers. To those that seek to know the truth its precise nature is unascertainable. Its only reality is its root the eternal spirit set out in the Upanishads. It springs from illusion, and the desires and works resultant from illusion, as from an undeveloped seed. It has as its germinating seed Hiranyagarbha, in whom are manifested the two powers, the cognitive, and the active powers, of the absolute Ego. Its shatted trunk is the various tenuous *involutura* of all sentient creatures. It grows into luxuriant pride when watered from the reservoir of their desires. Its shoots and twigs are the sensitive organs. Its foliage is revolution, tradition, reasoning, science, instruction. Its blossoms are sacrifices, abnegating, mortification, and many like observances. Its fruits are innumerable, eaten by transmigrating spirits, of various taste, sensations of pleasure and of pain. Its roots grow strong and stubborn when sprinkled with the water of the craving for those fruits. Its seven upper spheres, the Satyakoka or sphere of Brahmā and the rest, are nests in which Brahmā and all other spirits dwell like birds. It rustles loudly with a multitude of cries, with the laughter and weeping of creatures finding pleasure and pain, joy and sorrow. It is cut down by the precepts for detachment from it and for the intuition of the absolute self delivered in the Upanishads. Such is the world-tree. It is a holy fig-tree, for like a sacred fig-tree it is in constant agitation, tremulous to the breeze of desire and action. It has its branches downwards, paradises, purgatories, and other places of reward and punishment. It is eternal: it has proceeded from everlasting. The root of this tree is the resplendent, the pure supreme soul, self-luminous with consciousness. That root is *brahman*, for *brahman* is great over all. That only is immortal, of imperishable essence, because it is real. All else than this, mortal or perishable, is unreal, "a modification of speech, a change, a name." Upon this supremely-real absolute essence all the worlds repose, unreal like the imagery of a waking dream, like the waters of a mirage, showing themselves so long as there is no intuition of the real. On it they are illusorily superposed in their genesis, their continuance, their

retraction. No other, no modification, lies beyond that impersonal self, as jars and other products lie as it were beyond the clay, and other materials out of which they were fashioned."

A like simile we find in the Mundaka (III. 1. 1.) and the S'vetāsvatara (IV. 6):

"Two birds associated, united, nestle on the same tree. Of these the one eats the sweet fruit of the holy fig-tree, the other looks on without eating. On the same tree the personal soul settled, sorrows helplessly, knowing not what to do, but when he sees the other, the adored lord, and his glory, his sorrow leaves him. When the seer sees the golden-coloured creator, the lord, the spirit, the spiritual source of all, then the sage shakes off his good and evil deeds, and unsullied enters into the ultimate identity."

In this simile, the tree stands not for the aggregate of all bodies and their surroundings, but for the body of any given individual soul. "The two birds," Sankarāchārya says, "associated, as always together, united as being manifestations of the same principle, settle on the same tree, the body regarded as a tree because it may be cut down, the same as the indifferent sphere of the experience of both, as two birds may settle on the same tree to eat its fruit. This tree "with roots upwards, branches downwards," the sacred fig-tree, springing from an unapparent root, and called the body, is that in which all living creatures must eat the fruits of their actions. Settled upon this like two birds are the individual soul associated with such and such a tenuous *involutum* in which illusion and its resultants, desires, works, and impressions resides, and the divine spirit, that is the absolute spirit as associated with the totality of the cosmical illusion. Of these two birds thus stationed the one, the embodied spirit, associated with the tenuous *involutum*, eats the sweet fruit of the holy fig-tree, the fruit of pleasure and pain accruing from past actions, sweet as consisting of several diverse sensations. The other, God, in his essence ever pure, intelligent, and free, omniscient, illusorily conditioned by goodness, looks on without eating, inasmuch as he is, in virtue of his eternally witnessing them and of eternally existing, the moving cause of the experience of pleasure and pain and of the individual soul that experiences them. He looks on without eating, that is, he merely sees all that passes, for his motive causality is a mere overlooking of others, like that of a king. Thus then the personal soul borne down with its heavy burden of illusion, and of the resultant desires, actions, results, desires and aversions, rolls to and fro like a gourd upon the waters of the ocean, identifying itself implicitly with the body, thinking itself the son of such a one, the grandson of another, thin or stout, accomplished or unaccomplished, happy or miserable; and sup-

posing that it is no other than this, is born, and dies, is united with or parted from friends and kindred. Thus then he sorrows helplessly seeing that his wife or children die, that he can do nothing, that his life is useless. Anxious and troubled about many things, because he does not know his real nature, he passes through many states, as a spectre, a beast, a man. At last in his many embodiments his pure and good works may accumulate, the way may be pointed out to him, by a tenderly compassionate spiritual guide, he may be possessed of harmlessness, truthfulness, continence, abnegation, self-restraint, and quiescence and his soul may be intent upon the truth. Then when he sees in his meditation, the other, God, different from the tree, or from all illusory adjuncts, exempt from transmigration, beyond all hunger and thirst, and sorrow, and bewilderment, and decrepitude and death, he recognises that he is himself the soul of all this universe, alike in all, residing in all sentiencies, and not merely that other illusive spirit individuated by unreal adjuncts springing from illusion. He sees also that the glory, the expansive power, whereof the whole universe is a manifestation, is his own, he being one with God. When he sees this his sorrow leaves him, he escapes beyond the sea of all his miseries."

In the Taittiriya (1-10) the absolute self is described as the internal actuator of the tree, that is as Sankarāchārya says, of the tree of transmigratory experiences, which has to be cut down by those that aspire to liberation.

This world of transmigratory experience is only a modification of the sensories, or illusory adjuncts, which, when the absolute Ego is apparently and unreally limited by them, constitute the sentient beings of the universe. That the world is a mere modification of these sensories is, Sankarāchārya says, proved by the fact that it is resolved into them at the time of dreamless sleep, *sarvam hy antahkaranavikāram eva jagat, manasy eva sushupte pralayaḥ* *ārsanāt*. As emanating from illusion it is, but it is not real, *prapañchasya māyayā vidyamānatvam, na tu vastutvam*.

The new idea of the unity of sentiency, the impersonality of consciousness, took up into itself, and retained still a secondary place, for the earlier mythology. The third feature of Indian speculation, its spirit of compromise, the reader will mark in most of the citations of the present article. It is in this spirit that the teaching of most of the Upanishads is referred to some deity or mythical seer, and said to have been handed down from him in an unbroken succession of spiritual teachers, *guru-paramparā*. From any, but one of these exponents instruction in these mysteries is unavailing. The teacher is to be approached, as has been seen with fitting awe, the would-be disciple bringing him fuel for his sacred fire. "The universal

soul," to quote Śāṅkarācārya's commentary on the Kena Upanishad, "exempt from all differences, luminous with pure knowledge, is to be attained through the instructions of a succession of spiritual guides. The absolute intuition is to be arrived at through the teaching of a succession of authorities, not from independent reasoning."

The spirit of compromise again manifests itself in the distinction taken in the Mūṇḍaka Upanishad between the inferior and the superior science, the *aparā vidyā* and the *parā vidyā*, equivalent to the *karmakāṇḍa* or ceremonial portion, and the *jñānakāṇḍa* or gnostic portion, of the Vedas. The inferior science is to serve as an initiation to the higher, as purifying the intellect of the aspirant to liberation for the reception of the truth. It is contained in the hymns and the commentaries and disquisitions, the Mantras and the Brāhmanas. The gods and their worship belong to the unreal. Ceremonial acts are followed by their appropriate rewards, by a blind and fatal necessity. But those rewards are transitory. The good works that procure a sojourn in a paradise are sooner or later exhausted, and their residuary influences (*anusṛjya*) necessitate the re-embodiment of the soul to which they cling. A picture to some degree similar to this, is familiar to the reader of the tenth book of Plato's Republic, and the sixth Æneid. Even the happiness of the paradises, or spheres of the deities, is tainted with the inequalities amongst the participants, and the never-absent misgiving that it most ere long expire. There is no lasting satisfaction to be got anywhere in the illusory or transmigratory order of things. "They that rejoice in rites as the highest end," as we have already read in the Mūṇḍaka Upanishad, "are infatuated, and proceed again to decrepitude and death. Surveying the spheres earned by works a Brahman should attain, to exemption from desire: the uncreate is not attained by works." The purification of intellect necessary to the aspirant may be the result of his merit in perhaps many embodiments. Thus Śāṅkarācārya says, in his commentary on the Śvetāsvatara (II, 7): "It is as a consequence of worship in many embodiments, and when his inner faculties have been purged in successive states of existence by sacrifice, almsgiving, austerities, and coercion of the breath, that the intuition of the supreme self beyond duality, the pleroma of beatitude, arises. It arises not in unpurged inner faculties." "By asceticism he destroys impurity"—that is merit and demerit—"by grossness he enjoys immortality," *tapasā kalmasham hanti, vidyā 'mritam asnute*.

"For as a tarnished mirror is not receptive of colours and light, so the faculties unmaturing are not receptive of the absolute intuition." "The intellectual intuition," to quote Śāṅkarācārya's introduction to the Śvetāsvatara, "is not spontaneous, but comes

only mediately through the prerequisite purity of the internal faculties." *Avagumyata eva tadapekshita suddhidvārena na cha sūkshāt.* So again in his commentary on the Taittirīya: "The face of the spectator is not reflected on a dull surface, as for example upon that of a water-jar, but is mirrored upon a lustrous surface such as that of a sheet of water: in the same manner the intuition of the spiritual absolute is possible only in an unruffled state of the internal faculties, when the element of purity predominates." And in his prolegomena to the S'vetāsvatara: "When men perform the rites, as an offering to God, the *anīma mundi*, without any view to their results, these rites become immediately conducive to liberation, being a means to the purification of the faculties, which purification is again a means to gnosis, the means of extrication from further transmigration." And in his commentary on the Kena Upanishad: "All the ritual and the knowledge of the deities and their worship, rightly exercised by the aspirant exempt from desire of phœnomenal enjoyments, result in purification of the intellect."

The systematised Vedānta sets out in its theosophy, four *præcognita* (*anubandha*) the qualified aspirant, *adhikārin*; the object matter, *vishaya*, that about which all the Upanishads are conversant, namely, the unity of all personal souls in the one universal and impersonal soul, the pure or undifferented consciousness; the connexion, *sambandha*, that is, the relation of the Upanishads to the unity of all souls, as evidentiary of the matter evidenced, the relation between the Upanishads as conveying transcendental knowledge, and the knowledge that they convey; and the end, *prayojana* the cessation of illusion through knowledge of the unity of all souls in the universal spirit, as exhibited in the texts. "He that knows self passes beyond misery," "He knows the absolute, becomes the absolute," and many others.

"The qualified aspirant," then, to follow the words of the Vedāntasāra, "scorched by the fire of births and deaths and other transmigratory experiences, repairs with his offering in his hand to a spiritual guide, learned in the Vedas, and intent upon the spiritual reality, and follows him, in a same manner that a man whose head is stricken by the sun flees to a tank. And thus it is that the text of the Upanishad says: To learn that let him approach, fuel in hand, a spiritual guide, learned in the Vedas, intent upon the undifferented self. This director in the plenitude of his tenderness, instructs him by the method of illusory assertion and the unsaying of that assertion," *adhyāropāpavādanāyāgena*. "And thus the same text proceeds: To him that draws nigh with due reverence, with his faculties quiescent, with his senses restrained, the theosophist proclaims truly that science of the absolute, by which he shall know the undecaying, real spirit."

Such is the method, then, of the Upanishads, and of the Vedānta philosophy, first to show how all the apparent order of things, all internal and external phenomena, are illusorily over-spread upon the one spiritual reality, *brahman*; and then to unsay all that has been said, to show that this spiritual reality is in its own nature undifferentenced, transcending the relation of subject and object, that all that has been predicated of it has been predicated under illusory conceptions, that the whole round of things which appear to overlie it, is fictitious, an illusorily generated illusion. "That which lies beyond the cosmic series," says Sankarāchārya, "is articulately described by illusory predications, and the unsaying of those predications:" *ādhyāropapavādābhyām nishprapanchah prapanchyate*.

What is to be said of this ultimate reality, that lies beyond or beneath the world of appearance, the unmanifested that transcends the manifested? What is *brahman* in its original conception? Let us look at the word, to get at the thing. "The term *brahman*" says Anandagiri in his gloss to Sankarāchārya's commentary on the Taittiriya, "comes from the root *brih* to grow, to increase, and is expressive of growth and greatness. This is a vastness unlimited as to space, time, and content, there being no evidence of any coetation, and applies to a subject of unsurpassed magnitude." And again: "*Brahman* is from *brih*, to grow, and it is matter of common experience how the body grows by respiration and similar functions." This latter note has reference to a passage in which the vital air is identified with *brahman*, of which it is one of the manifestations. Perhaps its earliest signification was the expansive force of nature, regarded as a spiritual power, the power manifested most fully in vegetable, animal and human life, but everywhere present though unseen. It is, to use the language of Emerson, "the great and creative self rooted in absolute nature." It underlies all phenomenal existences, from the highest divinity down to the humblest grass, *brahmādistambaparyantam*. As Fichte says:—"A flower has sprung out of the earth, and I infer from thence a plastic power in nature. Such a formative power exists for me only so far as this flower and others, plants generally, and animals, exist for me:—I can describe this power only by its effects, and it is to me no more that the producing cause of such effects, the generative principle of flowers, plants, animals, and organic forms in general. I have not come into being by my own power. It would be the highest absurdity to suppose that I was before I came into existence, in order to bring myself into existence, I have, then been called into being by another power beyond myself. And by what power but the universal power of nature, since I too am a part of nature? The time at which any existence began,

and the attributes by which I came into being, were determined by this universal power of nature; and all the powers by which these inborn attributes have since manifested themselves, and will manifest themselves as long as I have a being, are determined by the same power. I cannot, indeed, explain how the power of nature can produce thought; but can I better explain its operation in the formation of a plant or in the motion of an animal? There is in nature an original thinking-power, as there is an original formative power. This original thinking-power of the universe goes forth and develops itself in all possible modes of which it is capable, as the other original forces of nature go forth and assume all forms possible to them. I, like the plant, am a particular mode or manifestation of the formative-power; like the animal, a particular mode or manifestation of the power of motion; and besides these I am also a particular mode or manifestation of the thinking power, and the union of these three original powers into one,—into one harmonious development,—is the distinguishing characteristic of my species, as it is the distinguishing characteristic of the plant species to be merely a mode or manifestation of the formative power, when I contemplate all things as one whole, one nature: there is but one power.” This ultimate power is the *brahman* of Indian metaphysics. Again, Fichte says: “Man, a particular mode or manifestation of all the powers of nature in their union, when left to himself proceeds from birth to death in old age. I as individual—that which I call *me*—my personality,—am not the man-forming power of nature, but only one of its manifestations; and it is only of this manifestation that I am conscious as myself, not of that power whose existence I only infer from the necessity of explaining my own.” This manifestation is the *jīva*, the personal soul, or individual sentience, of the Upanishads, rising through innumerable varieties, “to man’s imperial race, from the green myriads in the peopled grass.”

“See matter next, with various life endued,
Press to one centre still; the general good.
See dying vegetables life sustain,
See life dissolving vegetate again:
All forms that perish other forms supply,—
By turns we catch the vital breath and die—
Like bubbles on the sea of matter borne,
They rise, they break, and to that sea return.”

“In each individual,” proceeds Fichte “nature beholds herself from a particular point of view.” For nature, take *brahman*. And you have the sense of the Upanishads exactly. “I call myself—*I*, and thee—*Thou*; thou callest thyself—*I*, and me—*Thou*; lie beyond thee, as thou beyond me. Of what is without me, comprehend first those things which touch me most nearly; tho those which touch thee most nearly, from these points we each

proceed onwards to the next proximate; but we describe very different paths, which may here and there intersect each other, but never run parallel. There is an infinite variety of possible individuals, and hence also an infinite variety of possible starting-points of consciousness. This consciousness of all individuals, taken together, constitutes the complete consciousness of the universe; and there is no other, for only in the individual is there definiteness and reality." This consciousness of the universe is *jagadātmān*, the *anīma mūndī*, the God, of the ancient Indian theosophists, the absolute Ego as manifested in infinite variety of "name and form," in the apparent and fictitious world of sense. In the language of *Pāṇin*, there must be assumed to be some internal spring that impels everything to life, and to a life more and more developed.

The spiritual reality which unmanifested underlies all the manifested and unreal world of experience is said in the Upanishads to be "the uncaused cause of all," "thought by him that cannot think it, he that thinks it knows it not, unknown to them that know it, known to them that know it not" (*Kenā* II. 3.) It is necessitated to negative thought, withheld from positive conception: *cognoscendo ignoratur, et ignorando cognoscitur*. "From it words turn back with the mind, not reaching it." (*Taittirīya* II. 4.) It lies beyond all apparent things of every-day experience, *śarvāvyaavaharagoccharātītam*; it is untouched by the internal and external order of things, *prapanchāsprishtam eva brahma*. All duality, all the cognition, the action, and passion of all sentient beings, is the fictitious creation of the illusion, associated unreally with this one reality, from everlasting, *avidyāparikalpitaṃ dvāitam*. "The deity, that is, the one spiritual reality associated with illusion," says Sankarāchārya in his commentary on the *Svetāsvatara Upanishad*. (V. 10.) "is to be viewed as the moving cause of all things, inasmuch as it underlies them, imparting existence and manifestation to all created things:" *sattāḥsphūrtyāḥlipradatayā 'dhīśhaktānāṃ venū prerayitūram eva vidyāt*. As associated with illusion and viewed as Deity "it is the internal ruler, as presiding over all created things, by giving to them existence and manifestation." This is that which "existed in the beginning, one only, without duality." (*Chhāndogya*. VI. 1-2.) And without duality means, as Anandagiri tells us, without aught like itself without, and without differences within: *Svarjātyasvayatabhedhakīna*. As the cause of all change, it is itself unchangeable. It is exempt from activity, and all modes of transmigration existence; *katritvādisakulasamsāradharmavaravīta*. It has naught before it, or after it, or within it, or without it: *tad etad brahmūpuruṣam anaparam, anantaram avāhyam*. In its real essence, and when the unreal world is left out of view, it is, as Sankarāchārya says, in his com-

mentary on the S'vetasvatara Upanishad neither a cause, nor not a cause, nor both cause and not cause. It is eternally pure, intelligent, and free. Pure, says Nrisinhasarasvati in the Subodhini, & exempt from illusion and all other imperfections, intelligent as self-luminous, as excluding all that is incognitive, free as absolved from all illusory adjuncts. "It is" the Kena Upanishad declares "other than the known, and above the unknown" on which Anandagiri remarks that, that which is other than the knowing subject is either known or unknown, and thus the text by denying both the known and the unknown, in regard to the absolute, identifies it with the self or soul of the knowing subject. "The eye reaches it not, speech reaches it not, thought reaches it not; we know not, we understand not, that one should teach it; it is other than the known, above the unknown. Thus have we heard of those of the old time, who set it forth to us. That which by speech is not uttered, by which speech is uttered; that know thou as self (as *brahman*), not that which they think to be this. That which with thought one thinks not, that whereby the thought is thought, that know thou to be self the supreme, not that which they think to be this. That which with the eye one sees not, that whereby the eyes see, that know thou to be self, not that which they think to be so. That which with the ear one hears not, that by which the ear is heard, that know thou to be the supreme, not that which they think to be this. That which the breath breathes not, that by which the breath is breathed, that know thou to be the supreme, not that which they think to be supreme.

Similarly in the Brihadāranyaka: This same imperishable principle is that which sees unseen, hears unheard, thinks unthought, knows unknown. Other than this there is none that sees; other than this there is none that hears; other than this there is none that thinks; other than this there is none that knows. Over this imperishable principle the illusory expanse is woven, both woof and warp.

As in dreamless sleep seeing the spirit sees not this or that, so seeing the spiritual reality sees not; for there is no interruption in the sight of that that sees, its vision is imperishable; but there is nothing second to that, other than that, apart from that, that it should see.

As in dreamless sleep hearing the spirit hears not this or that, so hearing the spiritual reality hears not; for there is no intermission in the hearing of that that hears, for its audition is imperishable; but there is nothing second to that, other than that, apart from that, that it should hear.

As in dreamless sleep thinking the spirit thinks not, so thinking the spiritual reality thinks not; for there is no interruption in the thought of that that thinks, for its thought is imperishable; but

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there is nothing second to that, other than that, apart from that, that it should think.

As in dreamless sleep knowing the spirit knows not, so knowing the spiritual reality knows not ; for there is no interruption to the knowledge of that that knows, for its knowledge is imperishable ; but there is nothing second to that, other than that, apart from that, that it should know.

Where, in waking or dreaming, there is, as it were, something else, there one sees something other than itself, smells something else, tastes something else, says something else, hears something else, thinks something else, touches something else, knows something else.

In the Katha Upanishad the ultimate spiritual reality, the absolute Ego, is thus described as illusively underlying the world, but unaffected by its imperfections.

As one fire spreading through a house becomes the counterpart of every form, so the one soul internal to all sentiences is the counterpart of every form, and extends beyond.

As the one atmosphere filling a house becomes the counterpart of every form, so the one soul within all sentiences is the counterpart of every form, and extends beyond.

As the sun, the eye of all the world, is unsullied by external, visible impurities, so the one soul within all sentiences is unsullied by the misery of the world, being external to it.

In the Atharva-siras we read :

The sages that see that spirit, of the size of the extremity of a hair, in the midst of the heart, the universal deity, golden (that is self-luminous), most excellent, they find peace, and no others find it.

In the Brihadāranyaka and the Mundaka, the spiritual reality out of which, when overspread by the comical illusion, all things emanate, into which they are withdrawn at the periods of universal collapse, is exhibited, in the following illustrations:—

As a spider extends and retracts its threads, as plants spring up from the earth, as from the living man grow the hairs of the head and body, so from that imperishable reality arises this universe.

In the Brihadāranyaka we read :—

This same spiritual reality is the lord of all beings, the king of all beings. As in the axle and in the felly of a wheel all the spokes are fixed, so are all creatures, all living souls, superposed upon the spiritual reality.

The impersonal self is "existent, intelligence, beatitude, *sachchid ānanda*." "The absolute self, says the Taittiriya, is truth, knowledge, infinity." "The absolute self," to quote Sankarāchārya's commentary on this passage, "is truth ; the absolute self is knowledge ; the absolute self is infinity. A thing is true when it does not exceed or fall short of the form under which it is cognised."

The false is that which does exceed or fall short of the form under which it is cognised. Hence all change or modification is fictitious, 'a modification of speech, a change, a name only, and the clay is the only reality'. Thus the existent alone being found to be true or real—*Eṣa* being real and *śientia* fictitious, unreal, having a spurious being only, the mere semblance of an existence,—“the words, the absolute self is, truth exclude all changes or modifications from the one reality. It follows hence that the absolute self is the universal emanatory cause. Its causality is inferred from its reality, and lest it should be inferred that being the principium, that of which all things were made, it must like the potter's clay be incognitive, it is added that the absolute self is knowledge. Knowledge is here an abstract, indicating cognition not the cognitive subject, being predicated of the ultimate spiritual reality along with truth and infinity. Truth and infinity would be incompatible with it, did it imply a subject of cognition. If the pure idea were susceptible of modifications, how could it be true and infinite? That is infinite which cannot be demarcated in any direction. If it were a knowing subject, it would be limited by its objects and its cognitions. Another Upanishad text says: that is the infinite where naught else is known, where one knows something ulterior, that is finite. Being thus, affirmed of the absolute together with truth and infinity, the word knowledge is an abstract term. The words the absolute self is knowledge are intended to deny agency and other active modes, and at the same time to deny that it is incognitive, like the potter's clay in the familiar example of material causation. The same words might be taken to imply the finitude of the spiritual reality, all the cognitions of every-day experience being limited or finite. The word infinity is therefore added to exclude the idea of finitude. The term infinite is negative, denying the presence of limits, the words truth and knowledge are positive as affirming a sense of their own. The knowledge of the absolute spirit, like the light of the sun, or like the heat in fire, is naught else than the absolute essence itself. It does not, therefore, like our experiences, need any conditions external to itself, being the eternal essence.”

In this knowledge there is neither subject nor object, it is, as Rāmairtha says in the *Padayojanikā*, eternal objectless cognition, *nityam nirviśyam jñānam*. When the impersonal self is said to be omniscient, this means that it is self-luminous, and that it gives light to all objects, and to all the modifications of the cognitive faculties of all sentient beings. Its omniscience is an illumination of all things *sarvābhāsakāva*. “It is not literally, but figuratively,” says Anandagiri, “that the absolute self is said to be omniscient,” *sarvajnam brahmopacharyate*. “The cognitions of the ordinary mind in the world of sense suppose faculties and organs,

but the knowledge which is the essence of the idea does not suppose faculties and organs, for otherwise it could not exist in the state of dreamless sleep, in which the activities of all the faculties and organs have ceased."

"In regard to the infinity of the spiritual reality Sankarāchārya proceeds: "Its infinity is threefold, it is infinite in space, time, and content, extensively, protensively, and substantially. Space, as having no bounds, is extensively infinite, but space is not protensively or substantially infinite. And why so? Because its existence is derived. But the spiritual reality is not like space, limited temporally, because its existence is undervived. Whatever has a derived existence is bounded as to time, but the spiritual reality has an undervived existence, and is therefore infinite as to time. So also it is infinite as to matter or content. And how so? Because it is indifferent from all that is. One thing is the limit of another thing, inasmuch as the notion of one thing has a certain extent, as excluded from that of another thing. The limit of any given thing is the point where the conception of that thing terminates. The notion, for example, of a cow withholds itself from the notion of a horse, and thus the nature and notion of a cow, is limited by the nature and notion of a horse, and therefore finite. This sort of limitation is seen in other things, but there is no limitation of this kind in the absolute Ego, and therefore the absolute Ego is unlimited as to content. If it be asked how the spiritual reality is indifferent from, or identical with all things, it must be replied that it is so because it is the *prīncipium*, the *ἀρχή*, of all things. For *brahman* is the source of all that is: of space, and time, and all things else. Is it urged that *brahman* must be limited as to content, by those things? *Negatur*: for all things having a derivative existence are fictitious or unreal. No derivative existence has any existence apart from that from which it emanates. The notion of existence terminates at that *ἀρχή*, as the text of the Chhāndogya Upanishad already cited, says. It is a modification of speech only, a name; the clay is alone the reality, and the existence alone is the reality. The spiritual absolute is therefore, as the *ἀρχή* of space, and time, and things, unlimited as to time. Everybody knows that space is unlimited as to extension, *brahman* is the emanatory cause of space, and therefore soul or self is infinite as to extent. No one knows of anything ubiquitous emanating from the ubiquitous, and thus the spatial infinity of soul or self is unconditioned. As having an undervived existence, it is infinite as to time; all other things having no real existence, it is infinite as to content. Its reality is unconditioned."

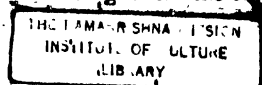
These quotations are a fair specimen of Sankarāchārya's metaphysics, and it is trusted, that the reader will forgive their prolixity. They bring to light the eternal difficulty to the thinker, the co-ex-

istence of the unrelated with the related : of the finite with the finite. This is the *crux philosophorum*. The Upanishads try to cut the knot, by teaching the unreality of the many : the finite, the imperfect, the relative.

"The conception of the absolute and infinite" says Dr. Mansel, "from whatever side we view it, appears encompassed with contradictions. There is a contradiction in supposing such an object to exist, whether alone or in conjunction with others ; and there is a contradiction in supposing it not to exist. There is a contradiction in conceiving it as one ; and there is a contradiction in conceiving it as many. There is a contradiction in conceiving it as personal ; and there is a contradiction in conceiving it as impersonal. It cannot, without contradiction, be represented as active ; nor without equal contradiction, be represented as inactive. It cannot be conceived as the sum of all existence ; nor yet can it be conceived as a part only of that sum." The ancient Indian theosophists, were alive to these contradictions. They tried to overcome them by their "method of unreal predication and the annulment of that unreal predication," *adhyāropāpavādan-āyena*, teaching first how all the outer and the inner order of things, in the world of semblance, through which the transmigrating spirit had to pass, were illusorily overspread, *adhyasta, adhyāroṇita*, upon the undifferentenced unity, the impersonal and spiritual absolute, and then, how, by recognising the unreality of all these things, and by throwing away all differences as unreal, the intuition of the one undifferentenced reality was to be attained, on the rise of which all apparent action, passion and cognition cease, and the soul or self recovers its reality, remaining the pure, undifferentenced self. The many, the relative, and the imperfect, is to be shown to be unreal, a semblance only, adequate to the experience of the ordinary man, inadequate to the science of the theosophist, the fictitious creation of an illusion that has been in association with the one absolute self from all eternity. All this seeming action, and passion, and cognition, arises from the reflection of the one real self upon the unreal sensories of innumerable personal, transmigrating selves, or *jīvas*. "One general soul fills every brain"—the Indian theosophist would say the interior of every heart,—"as one bright sun sheds light in every star." "There is," says Anandagiri in his gloss on Sankarāchārya's commentary on the Aitareya Upanishad, "one soul other than all sensories, other than the modifications of all sensories, self luminous in its essence, the witness of all things, present throughout the modifications of all sensories." *In Deo unum sumus et iterum diversa ab es, ut a sole radii.*

It is only as the light of this spirit becomes one with the light of the sensory and the light of the object that the object rises

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into consciousness; apart from its light the faculties could not operate. In the absence of this, in such a state of things as the Buddhist nihilists describe, there would follow, as Rāmatīrtha teaches in the Vidvanmanoranjinī, a total blindness throughout the whole imagined universe, *jagadāndhyam prasajyeta*. In a like manner it is that Plotinus says that the intellectual vision beholds things enlightened by the fontal unity, and in the light of that fontal unity.

"The same spirit is present throughout all sentiences," to cite S'ankarāchārya's Bhāṣhya on the Svetāsvatara "as the same ether is present through a plurality of water-jars, at once one really and unreally many, like the one sun reflected upon many sheets of water." "The one sun appears to be many in many sheets of water, the absolute Ego appears to be many, residing throughout its many illusory adjuncts," that it is throughout the sensories (*antahkarana*) of all sentiences. In the language of Plotinus, there is one life in all things, manifesting itself by its presence in bodies, shining into them and animating them, thus projecting pictures of itself, like a face seen in many mirrors. As Fichte says: In all the forms that surround me, I behold the reflection of my own being broken up into countless diversified shapes as the morning sun, broken in a thousand dew-drops, sparkles towards itself.

"That which all sentiences are," Sankarāchārya says in his Bhāṣhya on the Taittirīya, is the real, absolute self, transcending all trans-migratory conditions, and they are nothing else than that." Brahman is the "one spirit internal to all sentiences," *ekah sarvabhūt-āntarātmā*. It specially abides in the heart, for it is there that the internal faculties are lodged, and it is there reflected upon or in juxtaposition to those faculties, and thus illuminates them. "The unmanifested *brahman*," writes Anandagiri (on Taittirīya Upanishad II. I.) "resides as a looker-on in the intellect, in the elemental ether within the heart." As thus residing in the sensories of all sentient creatures it is the witness of the cognitions in all intellects, *sarvabuddhipratyasākshin*. It is seated according to the physiology of the Upanishads at a point in the heart from which a hundred and one arteries radiate. Of these, one, the coronal artery, *sudhāmṇā*, is the passage which the spirit of the worshipper, who adds knowledge of the deities to his works, takes to ascend to the sphere of Brahman. "The spiritual reality" says Anandagiri (on Taittirīya II. I.) "dwells manifested as a witness or spectator in sensory, in the elemental ether which occupies the heart." When it is said that the spiritual reality dwells in the sensory in the heart, we are, Sankarāchārya tells us in his commentary on the same passage, to understand that the spiritual reality is to be learned from a modification of the

sensory, for then is no other way in which that universal soul omnipresent and undifferenced could have connection with any space. In other places he explains the special localisation of this supreme spiritual principle to be its juxtaposition to or reflection upon, the sensory. The sensory is unreal, a fictitious creation of the cosmical illusion, the localisation is therefore unreal. Like the other assertions about *brahman* it has to be said, and then to be unsaid. Such is the only way in which the teacher can expound the real self. "A hundred and one," to quote the Chhândogya (VIII. 6,) "are the arteries of the heart. Of these, one proceeds upwards through the head. Going upwards by it the soul proceeds to immortality. The others proceed in all directions, to give egress to the soul." The immortality here spoken of is "relative immortality", *āpekshikam, nityavam*, a sojourn in the sphere of Brahmā till the end of an æon, till a period of universal collapse, *ābhūtaśamplavām avasthānam amṛitatvam uchyate*. The others proceed in all directions, for its egress, that is, for its further transmigration, as Śaṅkarāchārya says, in regard to parallel passage in the Katha Upanishad : "A hundred and one are the arteries of the heart, of these one proceeds, upwards through the head. Going upwards by it the soul proceeds to immortality. The others proceed in all directions for its passage outwards. The spirit, the soul within, of the size of the thumb, is ever seated within the heart of sentient beings. This a man should steadfastly extricate from his body, like the pith from a reed. This he should know to be the pure, the immortal" (Katha II. 3-16-17). In the Pras'na (III. 6) we read : "This spirit is in the heart. In the heart are these hundred and one arteries. Of each of these there are a hundred branchlets, and of each branch there are seventy-two thousand ramifications, through which the vital air circulates. By one of the arteries the ascending vital air conducts the soul by its good deeds to a sphere won by merit, by its evil deeds to an evil sphere, by good and evil deeds commingled to a human embodiment." The reader will note that the arteries, detected as one of the scholiasts remarks in the inspection of sacrificial victims, are in the primitive Indian, as in the Aristotelian, physiology, regarded as air-passages. "The personal soul or sentience" to cite Śaṅkarāchārya's exposition of this last passage, "that is the tenuous *involucrum*, the *lingaśarīra* investing the transmigrating spirit, is seated in the ether of the heart, in a lump of flesh shaped like a lotus."

The transmigrating soul, really one with the universal spirit, but individualised and personalised by its illusory adjuncts, is invested in a series of wrappers or *involucra*. It is explained in the Taittiriya Upanishad how these must be successively stripped off,—peeled off like the envelopments of a grain of rice,

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as Anandagiri says,—to arrive at the fontal unity of undifferented self. The outermost of these is the gross external organism built up of and repaired with food, and therefore called the nutrimentitious sheath. This is the *annamayakos'a*, made up of the active organs and the common sensory. Below this and wrapped within it lies the respiratory sheath, the *prāṇamayakos'a* made up of the five vital airs, and the active organs. Below this is the sensorial sheath, the *manomayakos'a*, composed of the active organs and the common 'sensory.' Below this lies the cognitional sheath or wrapper, made up of the sensitive organs and the intellect. Innermost of all is the beatific wrapper or investment, made of the bliss of being, *ānandamayakos'a*. Beyond all these the aspirant must pass to reach the ultimate spiritual reality. The tenuous *involutum* that resides in the heart, and passes, together with the spirit it invests, from body to body, is made up of the cognitional, sensorial and respiratory wrappers. To this it is that the merits and demerits cling that determine the embodiments of the transmigrating spirit.

All these illusory adjuncts arise out of that inexplicable illusion which has been associated with the universal soul from all eternity. It is from the universal soul as associated with illusion that the world of experience, the fictitious order of duality, emanates. Apart from its associate illusion, as we have already seen, the ultimate spiritual reality, *brahman*, cannot be spoken of either as a cause, or as not a cause, of things, for these are no things to which it could stand in this relation. Apart from its associate illusion too, the ultimate spiritual reality, is neither bound nor free, neither implicated in, nor absolved from, transmigratory experiences, for there is no transmigratory experience to which it could stand in these relations. Bondage and liberation are in fact relative to the fictitious order, the world of semblance. As Nisimhasarasvatī says in his *Subodhini*: "Ether and all the others constituents of the world of experience are fictitious, and it is no objection to this to say that bondage and liberation as products of illusion are unreal, if the illusion itself is unreal; for we freely grant their unreality. And thus it is said in the *Bhāgavatapuṇa*: "The difference of bound and liberated is from the illusory *primordia*, not in reality: the *primordia* are illusory, and therefore I am neither bound nor free."

A self-outspread illusion accounts for the apparent plurality and imperfection of the world of experience. The conception of this illusion, neither entity nor nonentity,—“more than nothing less than anything”—self-outspread, fictitious, from everlasting, is no doubt unintelligible and contradictory. The Indian theosophist accepts the unintelligibility and contradiction. It is none of his making, he says; it has made itself, projected itself from time with-

out beginning. The world of semblance, the twofold order of subject and object, is the fictitious efflux of illusion, *avidyā-parikalpitaṃ dvaitam*. Illusion is defined as taking the unreal for the real, the order of fictitious experiences, for the ultimate reality, identification of self with the organism, the organs, the sensorium, the vital breath, and the like. *Anātmādāy ātmavā-dibuddhir avidyā*. "All cognitions," says Sankarāchārya in his commentary on the Mundaka, "other than that idea which is the ultimate spiritual reality, are illusion only, like the cognition of a snake in regard to a rope." And in his commentary on the Katha Upanishad: "The undeveloped principle, illusion, known by such appellations as the unevolved, *cinet*, and the like, is the aggregate of all powers, causes and effects, spread out like warp and woof upon the ultimate spiritual reality, as the power of growing into a tree resides in the seed of that tree." And Anandagiri adds: "The seed of a tree is not twofold, and contains no duality, on account of its power, the power of becoming a future tree; and in like manner the spiritual absolute is not implicated in duality by its power of illusion."

It is illusion that presents the multiple in experience, *Nānātva-pratyupasthāpikā vāi yā*. "The appearance of duality," we read in Sankarāchārya's commentary on the Svetāsvatara, "both in waking experience and in dreams is erroneous, in every case the truth is, non-duality." And in his commentary on the Chhāndogya (vi. 3): "All things, all names, all forms, are true only, as identified with the spiritual reality, which they fictitiously overlie; all derived existences are in themselves unreal, a modification of speech only, a change, a name." In the Brihadāranyaka we read: "Where there is, as it were, duality, there one sees another, one smells another, one hears another, one speaks to another, one thinks of another, one knows another; but where the whole universe is self, with what should one smell, with what should one see, with what should one hear, with what should one speak to, with what should one think, with what should one know, another? That with which he knows all things, that how should he know? With what should he know that which knows?" *Vijnātāram are kena vijānīyāt?*

Unity, the unity of the absolute. Ego, alone is real, plurality is unreal, and proceeds from unreality. If the one infinite, and unrelated is knowledge *juāna*, the many, the finite, the related, is ignorance, fictitious cognition, the semblance of knowledge, illusion, *ajnāna*, *avālyā*. Recognition of the real self leads back to the fontal unity; the mistaking of not-self for self is the source of plurality, that from which duality arises, that of which the seeming world of fictitious experience is constructed. Ignorance or illusion is that which separates, but in semblance only, the personal self from the one impersonal, spiritual reality. It severs

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as it were self from self by identifying self with its phenomena manifestations and illusory adjuncts, for it is under the influence of illusion that sentient creatures seem to themselves to be identical with their faculties, their organs, or their total organisms. To the ordinary man, the *laukika*, self is his animated organism. The sum total of these errors, or illusion associated with the reality beyond, is that from which the spurious order flows in which "one sees another, hears another." And as the whole flow of transfigiatory experiences is a succession of pleasures, pains, and neutral states, the whole apparent order of things is made up of pleasure, pain, indifference, the three strands of the cord that binds the transmigrating spirit, *triguṇātmanikā māyā*. The unintelligible source of the seeming world, of the environments allotted according to their merits, by the fatality of works, to the innumerable transmigrating spirits, is a complexus of pleasure, pain, indifference, *sattva, rajas, tamas*. This is perhaps as distinct a conception, as we shall get of the illusion, the *andhā* of the Upanishads. The term has many synonyms: *avyākṛita, ākṛita, paramavyomvan, māyā, prakṛiti, sukṛi, tamas, chhāyā, ajānata, anṛita, aśyākṛita*.

The ultimate spiritual reality associated with, illusorily overspread by, this illusion, is God. As the totality of the illusion and the illusion distributed through the sensories of all sentiences are one, and as the spiritual reality, the undifferented self, which underlies both the aggregate and the distributed illusion is one, it follows that the sum total of sentiences are God. All animated things from the tuft of grass to the highest deity in the pantheon are God. The total aggregate of illusion thus in semblance overlying the undifferented real, the impersonal self, is the causal body, *kāraṇasaṁhāra*, of God. It is the causal or all-originating illusion, *kāraṇaśūnīyāvidyā*.

The sentiences associated with causal illusion are all transmigrating spirits in the state of dreamless sleep, in which they are technically designated *prajña*. In dreamless sleep the world of plurality has melted away into its illusory origin, and the soul sinks into a state of unconscious beatitude. That it does so is certified by the consciousness of those waking from dreamless sleep, that they saw nothing, dreamed nothing, but slept at their ease. Aṇandagiri says in reference to Māndūkya Upanishad v. 5, "We cannot concede that in the state of dreamless sleep the bliss of the sleeping and undreaming spirit is the unconditioned beatitude of the ultimate spiritual essence, inasmuch as the spirit is still associated in semblance with the all originating illusion. If it reached the undifferented bliss of the spiritual reality it would attain liberation from transmigratory experience, and we should not see it rise again, as we do, after the dreamless sleep

is over. It must therefore be held that it attains only to a prevailing state of happiness." "In the state of dreamless sleep to quote Nrisimhasarasvatī's Śubodhinī, "and in a period of universal dissolution, the sleeping and undreaming spirit, and God, through modifications of illusion, experience, beatitude. The state of dreamless sleep arises from the resolution of the whole seeming universe, perceptible, and imperceptible, into the all-originating illusory adjunct of the ultimate spiritual reality." The soul Anandagiri tells us (on Māndūkya v. 12) rises again from dreamless sleep, because the illusion which is the germ of the seeming world is still associated with it in that condition. The absolute Ego, then, associated with the totality of illusion, that illusion abiding in its causal state, is God. The absolute Ego associated with the illusion allotted to this or that sensorium, that illusion remaining in its causal state, is the individual sentiency and the personal soul, in its state of dreamless sleep. These souls are in the aggregate God, as the forest-trees are in the aggregate forest, as the waters of a pool are on the aggregate the pool itself. And one and the same ultimate spiritual reality underlies both God and the personal souls, as the same space is occupied by the trees and the forest, by the waters and the pool.

God, then, belongs to the unreal God is a figment of the cosmical illusion. God is the earliest of the illusory manifestations of the impersonal self or absolute Ego. He is called Isvara as presiding over all personal souls, and meting out to them rewards and punishments according to their works. He is feared by the many as he that retracts them into his own essence at the universal collapse, or casts them into places of torment according to their evil deeds. The sage learning God's unreality, and his own identity with God, ceases to fear God. He passes to fearlessness, *abhayaṁ*. There being no God apart from that absolute knowledge which is absolute being, to be an object of fear, a state of fearlessness is competent to the philosopher. "By the knowledge of God and myself I sublate duality, and there remains no cause of fear," *īśvarāt-majñānenāham bādhe dvaitam, tato nāsti bhayakāraṇam*. This is the teaching of Sankarachārya and Anandagiri in their expositions of the Taittirīya (II. 8, III. 6) and other passages of the Upanishads. The ultimate spiritual reality, out of which the divine and other personal souls illusorily emanate, is technically styled the fourth, *turiyaṁ*, as distinguished from the three states of waking, dreaming, and dreamless sleep.

As associated with illusion, the undifferented self, is illusively exhibited in a second state, that of Hiranyagarbha if viewed collectively, that of dreaming sentiencies, *taijasa*, if viewed distributively. The illusion which unreally overspreads the real self, has two powers, that with which it envelopes self, hiding from the

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soul its real nature, and that which projects the seeming world of duality. "That self desired, let me become many, let me pass into being, let me differentiate into name and form." Thus from it arose the elements, ether, light, air, water, earth, as yet imperceptible. From these supersensible rudiments emanated the tenuous *involutura* of transmigrating spirits, and the perceptible elements. The tenuous *involutura* are made up, as has been already seen, of the cognitional, sensorial, and respiratory, wrappers of the soul. The soul invested with its cognitional *involutum*, and appearing to itself to act and suffer, is the soul which passes from sphere to sphere of transmigratory experience, having a kind of being sufficient to account for the facts of every-day experience, the *vyāvahariko jīva*. Hiranyagarbha is spirit identifying itself illusively with the aggregate of the subtile elements, and tenuous *involutura*. As passing like a thread through them all, Hiranyagarbha is styled the thread-soul, *sūtrātman*. The individual sentiences associated, or illusively identifying themselves, with the supersensible rudiments and tenuous *involutura* distributively, are the dreaming souls, *taijasa*. Hiranyagarbha is the totality of dreaming consciousness.

The ultimate spiritual reality, illusorily associated with illusion in a farther degree exhibits itself in another state, that of Vaisvānam or Virāt, the self of all waking sentiences, and the waking soul, technically styled Visva. Vaisvānara is the spiritual reality illusively identifying itself with the perceptible elements, and the gross organisms, the visible and tangible bodies of all sentient things. Vaisvānara is also Prajāpati, the Purusha of the Purushasākti. The waking soul is the spiritual absolute as illusively identified with this or that external organism.

Thus then there are three bodies, three illusory adjuncts, of the transcendent spirit, (1) the causal body, the aggregate of illusion; (2) the imperceptible body, the supersensible rudiments, and the tenuous *involutura*; (3) the perceptible body, the sensible elements, and the external organisms of sentient beings. The ultimate spiritual reality exhibits itself illusively in three states, *trishv avasthāsu*, (1) as Īśvara and prajna, God and the sleeping but undreaming spirits of all sentiences; (2) as Hiranyagarbha and *taijasa*, the thread-soul and the spirits of all dreaming sentiences; (3) as Vaisvānara and Visva, the spirit of all embodied life and the spirits of all waking sentiences. Beyond these manifestations, unmanifested, the ultimate spiritual reality is the *fourth*, the pure and only essence.

This doctrine of the three states of the soul is exhibited in the Māndūkya Upanishad:—

OM. This syllable is all. Its interpretation is that which has been, that which is, and that which shall be. All is Om

and Om alone. And whatsoever overpasses trinal time is Om and Om alone.

For all this is Brahman, this self is Brahman, Brahman is, this same Ego, has four quarters.

The first quarter is the Ego in its waking sphere, externally cognitive, with seven members, with nineteen inlets of experience, having fruition of the sensible,—the spirit of all waking sentencies.

The second quarter is the Ego in its dreaming sphere, internally cognitive, with seven members, with nineteen, avenues of experience, having fruition of the super-sensible,—the dreaming spirit.

Dreamless sleep is that state in which the sleeper desires no desire, sees no dream.

The third quarter is the Ego in its sphere of dreamless sleep, unified, a mass of knowledge, made up of bliss, having fruition of beatitude.

This the fourth is the lord of all, this the internal ruler, this the source of all, this the origin, the re-absorbent, this is all things.

Neither internally nor externally cognitive, nor cognitive both within and without, not a mass of knowledge, neither conscious nor unconscious, invisible, intangible, characterless, unthinkable, unspeakable, to be reached by the knowledge of the unity of all spirits, that in which the world ceases to be, unchanging blissful, above duality. Such do sages think the fourth to be. That is the self, that is to be known.

Such is that self exhibited in that syllable. Om is exhibited in letters. The quarters are the letters, and the letters are the quarters, the letter A, the letter U, the letter M.

The first letter, the letter A is Vaisvānara, the spirit of waking sentencies, in the waking world, because it is pervasive, because it has a beginning. He that knows this attains to all desires, and becomes the first of all men. The second letter, the letter U, is the spirit of dreaming sentencies, in the world of dreams, because this letter is more excellent, or because it is the intermediate letter. He that knows this elevates the train of his ideas, becomes passionless, there is none in his family that knows not Brahman. The third letter, the letter M, is the sleeping and undreaming spirit, because it comprehends the others, because it is the origin of all things. He that knows this comprehends the art of all things, and becomes the origin of things.

The fourth is not a letter, but the whole syllable Om, unknowable and unspeakable, that in which the world ceases

to be, blissful, above duality. His soul enters with self the Self,—his soul, who knows this, who knows this.

'Ineffable indeed is the efficacy of this mystic syllable Om, the nearest image of the transcendent Ego, *brahmano nedishtham pratikam*. Though insentient it is an image of the supreme self, as the black ammonite, *sālagrāma*, is a representative of Vishnu. It is identical with the one and all, for it includes the whole of speech, and names and the things named, the scholiasts tell us, are one and the same. As one with all names, it is one with all things. Its constant iteration conducts the tardy aspirant *māṇadhikārin*, to a gradual liberation from metempsychosis, to *kramamukti*. The poet of the Taittiriya Upanishad thus hymns the mystic syllable:—

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May that India (Om), that is the highest thing in the Vedas, that is all that is, that is immortal above the immortality of the Vedas, may that deity strengthen me with wisdom.

• Let me, O god, become a holder of immortality. Let my body become competent, my tongue mellifluous. Let me hear much with my ears. Thou art the sheath of the spiritual reality, only obscured by wisdom. Preserve in me that which I have heard. That prosperity which brings which enlarges, which quickly provides, clothes, and kine, and meat and drink at all times,—that prosperity bring thou to me. Wealth woolly with herds: Svāhā. Let the sacred students come to me: Svāhā. Let the sacred students resort to me: Svāhā. Let me become a glory among men: Svāhā. O holy one let me enter into thee: Svāhā. In thee with thy thousand branches let me become pure: Svāhā.

As the waters flow downwards, as the months pass away into the year, even so let the sacred students come to me. O maker, let them come on from every side: Svāhā. Thou art the refuge. Give me thy light. Receive me into thyself."

"This syllable Om," says Pippalāda in the Prasna Upanishad (V. 2.) "O Satyakāma, is the higher and the lower Brahman," that is, both Brahman viewed under illusory predicates as the supreme deity, and Brahman viewed in its own nature as unconditioned. "The supreme spiritual principle," to cite Sankarāchārya and Anandagiri's comments on this passage, "cannot be explicated in language, is exempt from all particular conditions, and therefore cannot be dealt with by the thinking faculty, being a transcendent entity; but if the mystic syllable Om be taken, as one may take an image of Vishnu or the like, and devoutly identified with the absolute essence, the inner faculty of the aspirant is purified by that course of meditation, and upon it the undifferented spirit of itself shines forth." The mystic syllable is a bow, the soul is the arrow the absolute self the mark. Thenceforth let the aspirant carefully hit

it, and like the arrow the soul will be united to its mark. Let him make his body the nether fire-drill, and the mystic syllable the upper fire-drill, and by meditation as by friction, come to see the latent fire."

The greatest of all the texts of the Upanishads, that on the comprehension of which the intuition of the spiritual absolute arises in the inner faculties (*antahkaraya*) of the aspirant to liberation, is the text, That art thou. This, the *mahāvākya*, the great text *kat' īgāḥ*, is taken from the sixth Prapāthaka of the Chhândogya Upanishad:—

"Rooted in the existent are all these created things, built upon the real, based upon the real. I have been already said how these three divine elements, heat, water, earth, in man are threefold. As man dies, his speech passes into his thinking faculty, his thinking faculty into his vital breath, his vital breath into heat, the heat into the supreme divinity, that which is transcendent.

Animated by this is all the world. This is real. This is self. THAT ART THOU, Svetaketu. Hearing this, Svetaketu spoke again: Teach me further, holy sir. Be it so, my son, he replied.

As bees make honey, gathering into one mass, into unity, the sweet juices of divers trees; as those juices cannot distinguish between themselves as the juice of this and of that tree; so all these creatures unified in the one self, know not that they are unified in that spiritual reality.

They in this world become severally, as it may be, tiger or lion, or boar, or worm, or moth, or gnat, or mosquito. That which is transcendent,—animated by that is all the world. This is real. This is self. THAT ART THOU, Svetaketu.

Hereupon Svetaketu spoke again: Teach me further, holy sir. Be it so, my son, said Aruni.

These rivers flow east and west, from west from east they rise from the sea and flow into the sea again. They become the sea, the sea only. There they know not that one is this, another that, river. So are all these creatures. Proceeding from the real, they know not that they proceed from the real. They become, as it may be, tiger or lion, or boar, or worm, or moth, or gnat, or mosquito. That which is the transcendent,—animated by that is all the world. That is real. That is self. THAT ART THOU, Svetaketu.

Hereupon Svetaketu spoke again: Teach me further, holy sir. Be it so, my son, said Aruni.

Of this great tree if a man strike the root, it still lives, its sap flows out. If a man strike it in the midst, it still lives, its sap flows out. This tree permeated by the living soul stands

still imbibing, still luxuriant. If the living soul forsake one of its branches, that branch dries up: if it forsake another, that branch dries up: if it forsake a third branch, that branch dries up: if it forsakes the whole tree, the whole tree dries up. Know this, my son, said Aruni. Informed by the living spirit the body dies, the spirit dies not. That which is the transcendent,—animated by that is all the world. That is real. That is self. **THAT ART THOU**, Svetaketu.

Hereupon Svetaketu spake again: Teach me further, holy sir. Be it so, my son, said Aruni.

Take a fruit of the holy fig-tree. Here it is, holy sir, said he. Break it open. It is broken open, holy sir. What seeest thou therein? These little seeds, holy sir. It is broken open. What seeest thou therein? Nothing, holy sir. To him his father spake: From this, so small that thou canst not see it, from this minuteness, the great banyan-tree springs up. Believe, fair son, that that which is the transcendent,—animated by that is all this world. That is real. That is self. **THAT ART THOU**, Svetaketu.

Hereupon Svetaketu spake again: Teach me further, holy sir. Be it so, my son, said Aruni.

Take this lump of salt, throw it into water, and come to me again on the morrow. Svetaketu did so. His father said to him: Take up again the salt which thou threwest yesterday evening into the water. He sought for it, but found it not. Since it is melted away, said his father, taste it from the surface: how is it? It is salt, he replied. Taste it from the middle: how is it? It is salt. Now that thou hast tasted it; come to me, said Aruni. Svetaketu did so, saying, It remains always as it is. His father said to him: The salt remains in it, though thou beholdest it not. That that is the transcendent,—animated by that is all this world. That is real. That is Self. **THAT ART THOU**, Svetaketu.

Hereupon Svetaketu said again: Teach me further, holy sir. Be it so my son, said Aruni.

As a highwayman leaves a stranger from Kandahar, in a desolate waste to which he has brought him blindfolded. As the wayfarer knowing not what is east, what is north, what is south, cries aloud for guidance, blindfolded, brought into the waste blindfolded, and there left; as some passer-by unties his hands and unbinds his eyes, and tells him. This is the way to Kandahar, walk on in that direction; and as the traveller proceeds, asking for village after village, instructed and informed, until he reaches Kandahar; even so a man finding a spiritual guide learns his way, and proceeds alone till he is liberated, till he reaches his journey's end. That

which is the transcendent,—animated by that is all this world. THAT ART THOU, Svetaketu.

Hereupon Svetaketu spake again: Teach me further, holy sir. Be it so my son, said Aruni.

His relations come round the dying man and ask. Dost thou know me, dost thou know me? He recognizes them so long as his voice lapses not into thought, his thought into breath, his breath into warmth, his warmth into the supreme divinity. Then when his speech has passed away into thought, his thought into breath, his breath into warmth, his warmth into the supreme divinity, at last he knows them not. That which is the transcendent,—animated by that is all the world. That is the real. That is self. THAT ART THOU, Svetaketu.

Hereupon Svetaketu spake yet once again: Teach me further, holy sir. Be it so, my son, said Aruni.

As they bring a man with his hands bound, and say to the Raja, this man has stolen, has committed a theft, put him to the ordeal of the red-hot axe: as the prisoner if he has done the deed, if he falsify himself, if thus clothing himself with a lie, he lay hold of the glowing hatchet, he is scared, and then is put to death. But if he has not done the deed alleged against him, he shows himself a true man, and clad with the truth, lays hold of the red-hot hatchet and is not burnt, and is not put to death. As he is thus unburnt in that ordeal, so is it with the soul in the fiery trial of transmigration. That which is the transcendent,—animated by that is all this world. That is real. That is self. THAT ART THOU, Svetaketu. Hereupon Svetaketu knew the truth. He knew the truth.

THAT ART THOU. The word THAT, says Nṛsimhasarasvatī in his Subhāṣinī, primarily denotes the sum of existence, that is, (1) the cosmical illusion, (2) the divine consciousness, illusorily conditioned by that illusion, and (3) the pure consciousness, the spiritual reality, unconditioned by that illusion. These three appear one through the illusory attribution of sameness of one with another, like a red-hot iron ball and the fire which permeates, and interpenetrates it. The word THOU implicates secondarily the pure, unconditionate, consciousness, the absolute Ego, which illusively underlies the consciousness of God conditioned by the cosmical illusion. The word THOU primarily denotes (1) the distributed illusion, (2) the common sensoria to which it is severally allotted, the consciousness of transmigrating spirits, and (3) pure consciousness, the spiritual reality, unaffected by that illusion. These three appear to be one, being illusorily identified with one another, like a red-hot iron ball, and the fire which permeates and inter-

penetrates it. The word *trou* implicates secondarily the trans-
 pendent beatitude, pure undifferenced intelligence, unassociated
 with illusion, illuſively underlying or containing in itself the
 consciousness allotted to the several sensories.

Thus the traditionary explanation of the Great Text is this.
 Particular souls are one with the universal soul and the un-
 versal soul or God is one with the real self, the absolute Ego.
 Self is one and all, alone-existent. It is of this, but only, when it
 is overspread with illusion, that all individual things and persons
 are the parts :

Not all parts like, but all alike informed

With radiant light, as glowing iron with fire.

*Ego sum, et ens est, omne aliud non-ens, et non-ens non est, et
 fingit tantum.* This last, this highest, of cognitions, the intuition
 of the absolute Ego, the *phalitam brahma*, the spiritual reality
 resultant from gnosis, is itself a modification of the sensory which
 must pass away, that the absolute Ego may alone remain, the
 isolated, only real. The sage to whose inner faculties this vision is
 present, remains in his body till those merits are exhausted which
 have procured his present embodiment. Then when his body falls
 away, his soul returns to its state of pure indetermination, to abide
 in itself an undifferenced existence, undifferenced intelligence, un-
 differenced beatitude. This is the end of *brahmavidyā*, the con-
 summation of theosophy.

The theosophist thus liberated from metempsychosis, but still
 in the body, is untouched by merit and demerit, absolved from all
 works good and evil, unsoiled by sinful works, *na lipyate kar-
 manā āpakena*, uninjured by what he has done, and by what he
 has left undone, *nainam kritākrīte tapatah*. Good works, like evil
 works, and like the God that recompenses them, belong to the un-
 real, to the fictitious duality, the world of semblances. "Gnosis,
 once arisen," says Sankarāchārya in his prolegomena to the *Sve-
 tāsvatara*, "requires nothing farther for the realisation of its
 result, it needs *subsīdia* only that it may arise." Anandagiri:
 "The theosophist, so long as he lives may do good and evil as he
 chooses, and incur no stain, such is the efficacy of gnosis." And so
 in the Taittirīya Up. (II. 9) we read: "The thought afflicts not
 him, What good have I left undone, what evil done." And in the
 Brihadāranyaka: "Here the thief is no more a thief, the Chandāla
 no more a Chandāla, the Paukasa no more a Paukasa, the sacred
 mendicant no more a sacred mendicant: they are not followed by
 good works, they are not followed by evil works. For at last the sage
 has passed beyond all the sorrows of his heart." Immoral inferences
 from this doctrine,—the quietists of all ages have been taxed with
 immorality—are thus redargued Nṛsiṃhasarasvatī: "Some one
 may say, It will not follow from this that the theosophist may act

as he chooses. That he can act as he pleases cannot be denied in the presence of texts of revelation, traditionary texts and arguments such as the following. "Not by matricide, not by parricide." "He that does not identify not-self with self, whose inner faculty is unsullied,—he though he slay these people, neither slays them, nor is slain." He may offer hundreds of thousands of horse-sacrifices, he may slay hundreds of thousands of Brahmans. "He that knows the truth is sullied neither by good actions, nor by evil actions." "If he sees the unity of all things he is unstained, though he offer hundreds of horse-sacrifices, though he slay hundreds of Brahmans." "Sages through the influence of merits already fructescent—determining that is the nature of their actions and sufferings in their present bodies—act in various manners." In answer to all this we reply: True, but as these texts are only eulogistic of the theosophist, it is not intended that he should thus act. And thus it is that the great master has said: From evil doing arises ignorance, and from that the following of one's own desires; how can this arise in the result of good works, in which the good works pass away? The preliminary qualifications of the aspirant, his humility, sincerity, kindness to all sentient creatures, remain upon him like ornaments, even after the rise of the intellectual intuition."

The reader will have no difficulty now in understanding the following excerpts from the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*. They contain some of the texts most frequently cited in the *Vedānta*, and must conclude the present paper.

Invisible is the path, outspread, primeval, reached, by me, by me discovered; along that path the sages travel,—they that know the real self,—to paradise, after this world, emancipated

Thick darkness they enter that follow after illusion, a thicker darkness still they that remain satisfied with the knowledge of Vedic ritual.

Joyless are those spirits, overspread with thick darkness,—to them go those infatuated men that have no real knowledge.

If a man know himself, that he is this universal spirit, what can he desire, to gratify what passion, shall he go through the feverishness of another embodiment?

He whose soul is found, is gazed upon, amidst this wild of doubts and difficulties,—he is the maker of all things, the creator of the world, the world is his, for he is the world.

Being here we know this, and if we knew it not, it would be a great perdition:

They that know this become immortal, and others go again to misery.

When he sees this self aright, as God, the lord of all that has been, all that shall be, then he shrinks away from none.

That outside of which the year revolves day by day,—that the gods adore as the light of lights, as the never-ending length of life.

That upon which the five orders of living beings, upon which the ether, is outspread,—that do I, immortal, know to be myself, the universal soul.

They that know the breath of the breath, the eye of the eye, the ear of the ear, the thought of the thought, they have seen the fontal spirit, primeval, existing from before all time.

It is to be seen with the intellect only. In it there is naught that is manifold.

From death to death he goes, that looks on this as manifold.

It is to be seen in one way only, it is unthinkable, it is imperishable, unsullied, beyond illusion. Unborn, infinite, imperishable, is Self.

Let the patient Brahman know that, and learn wisdom. Let him not learn many works, for that is a weariness of the voice.

This indeed is the great, unborn Self. This in its cognitional form, amidst the vital airs, dwelling in the ether, the heart, is the ruler of all, the lord of all, the king of all. It becomes not greater by good works, nor lesser by evil. This is the lord of all, the king of the worlds, the upholder of the worlds. This is the bridge that spans the sphere that they fall not into confusion. This it is that Brahman seek after in reciting the Vedas.

By sacrifice, by almsgiving, by self-inflicted pains, by fasting, if he knows this, a man becomes a quietist. This it is that the holy mendicants long for, in setting out upon their wandering life. Yearning after this it was that the sages of old time desired no offspring, saying, What have we to do with children, we to whom belongs this spiritual reality, in this real world? They arose and forsook the desire of children, of wealth, of worldly existence, and set out as holy mendicants. For desire of children is desire of wealth, and desire of wealth is desire of worldly existence, and these both are the desires of men.

This same Self is not this, not that; it is impalpable, for it is not handled; undecaying, for it wastes not away; unattached, for it is not implicated.

It is not harmed by the sword, it is not slain. Things done and left undone reach it not. It passes beyond both the thought that it has done evil, and the thought that it has done good. That which it has done, that which it has left

undone, afflicts it not. Therefore it has been said in a sacred verse : This, the eternal greatness of the sage that knows *brahman*, becomes neither greater nor lesser by works good and evil. Let him learn the nature of that greatness. He that knows it is not sullied by evil acts. Repressing his senses, quiescent, free from all desires, ready to suffer all things, with his thoughts fixed, he sees within himself the Self, the universal soul. Imperfection reaches him not. He passes beyond imperfection, he burns up all his imperfections. He that knows *brahman* becomes free from imperfection, free from doubt, insphered in reality.

This same great, unborn Self, is undecaying, undying, imperishable, beyond all fear. The real Self is beyond all fear. He that knows this becomes the spiritual reality beyond all fear."

A. E. GOUGH

ART. II.—THE FULLER CASE AND INDIAN APPELLATE COURTS. (*Independent Section.*)

WE hope that no reader who follows us to the end of this article, will require an apology for our uttering a final word on the now famous Fuller case. We hold no brief either from the judicial or the executive branch of the public service. But the cry has been raised that the independence of the Indian Judges is in danger. They themselves claim exemption from all criticism except that of Her Majesty; and it is on their qualifications, the character of their work, and the exact position which we think ought to be assigned to them, that we intend to make some observations.

On the morning of the 31st of October 1875, at Agra, Mr Fuller, an Eurasian,* inflicted chastisement on his syce which resulted in the syce's death. Of the nature of that chastisement there were contradictory versions given at the trial. Three out of four men who saw the assault, deposed that Mr Fuller kicked the syce in the stomach. The fourth eye-witness, Mr Fuller's coachman, was silent on this point. Mr Fuller himself stated, that as he and his family were going to church, a syce who ought to have been present, was not in attendance. Mr Fuller sent for him, and on his arrival struck him on the head and face with the open hand, pulled his hair, and thus caused him to fall. The syce at once got up, took to his heels, fell in the adjoining compound, and died shortly after. The presumption that Mr Fuller wished to have gathered from his defence and his subsequent statement addressed to a newspaper was, that the syce died from the effects of the second fall.

Mr. Leeds, the Magistrate, accepted Mr. Fuller's own statement in preference to that of the three native eye-witnesses, and gave six reasons for doing so. To any one accustomed to magisterial duties in India, only one of Mr. Leeds's reasons can be held at all satisfactory, namely, that there were no external marks of injury on the deceased. Indian Magistrates, however, who have tried charges of torture, know that generally very considerable violence is necessary to leave such a mark on a black skin as will not speedily disappear.† In the present case six days intervened be-

* "Mr. Fuller was not an European; he was what was generally called an East Indian." *Sir G. Campbell in the House of Commons.*

† "Mr. Leeds believed the accused, supported by the silence of one witness, and disbelieved the three who testified against him. Some of

"the reasons he gives for this view are certainly open to serious criticism, yet it is quite possible he may have been right as to the facts." *Despatch of Secretary of State.*
 "Mr. Leeds seemed to have assumed, what was contrary to all rules of evidence, that the fact that one

tween the assault and the final judgment, and marks of assault might well have vanished in the interval. Be the nature of the assault, however, what it may, the medical evidence tended to show that the syce was suffering at the time of his chastisement from enlarged spleen, and that only very slight violence was needed to rupture that organ. The syce might then have died from the fall—perhaps the second one—though this point is not at all clear from the published papers—and so Mr. Leeds fined Mr. Fuller only Rs. 30 under section 323 of the Indian Penal Code, for causing simple hurt.

Mr. Fuller, a pleader, was defended by a pleader. Two appeals* lay from Mr. Leeds' order, one to the District Judge, and another to the High Court of the North Western Provinces. If the case had been appealed, there would have been no pleader to defend the action of Mr. Leeds before either of the Appellate Courts. Mr. Leeds had been fourteen years in India when he decided the case. At that time of an officer's service, if not long before, he has had, or we are much mistaken, practical experience of the temper of Appellate Courts. He knows their views on certain classes of crime. He knows the illegalities they will tolerate. He knows to a nicety how they will interpret the words of codes to agree with their own conceptions of justice. He has heard judges indulge in strong language. He has had sharp lessons in the system by which a magistrate's record is ignored and a pleader's statement taken for gospel. And years of weary drudgery have taught him that, however creditable it would be to his independence to act according to his own judgment, such a course would, at least, be useless so long as that judgment was subordinated to the judgment of others, and, what is worse, so long as its independent exercise might involve him in unpleasant altercations with superior authority.

A letter, very instructive on this point, was addressed in the end of 1876 by the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces to the Secretary to the Government of India. The object of the letter really was to show, that the Judicial Commissioner of Nagpur erred in his interpretation of the law, and that the subordinate

"witness, out of four did not see
"what other three independent wit-
"nesses had deposed to, necessarily
"derogated from the evidence.

"Then again Mr. Leeds said there
"were no external marks of violence
"on the deceased. Now, a kick on
"the soft part of the stomach would
"most likely leave no marks of exter-
"nal violence, and therefore the

"reasoning of Mr. Leeds was open
"to considerable objection." *The
"Solicitor General in the House of
"Commons, June 29.*

* The Criminal Procedure Code
(sec. 79, says the appeal may lie to
the Court of Session or the High
Court. When the Court of Session
does not accept an appeal, the High
Court will generally do so if it can—
on a point of law, of course.

courts took their cue from him and erred accordingly. Some of the results brought to the notice of the Chief Commissioner were, — that, in one case, men who had beaten a suspected witch to death; in a second case, men who had tied a thief's arms tightly behind his back, and then dropped hot oil on them till he died; in a third case, a police constable who had tortured a man to death in the process of extracting information from him; and in a fourth case, a man who had killed his mother, were all tried for the offence of causing death by rash or accidental acts; and none of the accused received a more severe punishment than two years' rigorous imprisonment. This penalty for such grave offences was, of course, a mockery of all justice; but it was inflicted with the full and formal approval of the highest judicial tribunal of the province. We presume, then, that magistrates and Sessions Judges who adjudged more adequate punishments for these grave offences, would only have received snubs or insults for their zeal. They, with a discount of official wisdom, repressed their indignation at the outrages perpetrated, and sentenced murderers to two years' imprisonment apiece.

We know nothing personally of Mr. Leeds or of the High Court of the North Western Provinces; but we believe if the High Court had held views very different from the Judicial Commissioner of the Central Provinces, or if Mr. Leeds had felt confident that he would be supported, he would have dealt more satisfactorily with Mr. Fuller's case. That he would not have been supported appears clearly enough from the subsequent correspondence with the High Court. That tribunal declared that the sentence, though perhaps lighter than the Court would have been disposed to inflict, did not appear specially open to objection. Indeed the Court admitted in the conclusion of its rejoinder that Mr. Leeds' "action could not but have been influenced by the views of the law entertained by the Court to which he was subordinate." The Chief Justice in a minute which we shall afterward further notice hinted that if Mr. Fuller had been committed to the Sessions Court or the High Court, the fine might probably have been less than Rs. 30, as the syce had violated his duty, and disobeyed his master's orders. The Chief Justice further stated as the result of his experience, that there was no particular tendency on the part of magistrates to adopt a lenient view of cases on trial before them, whether the accused were Europeans or natives, but quite the reverse. And the judges collectively and unanimously bestowed the tribute of a pleasing eponium on Mr. Leeds, presumably because he invariably paid attention to their wishes and crochets.

Still, notwithstanding all this, we maintain the opinion, that Mr. Leeds, even at the risk of censure from the Appellate Court

on the representation of Mr. Fuller's pleader, should have imposed a heavier fine on the accused. Mr. Fuller's illegal act led to the death of the syce; and, though it is not at present the law to take the fatal issue into consideration, we believe it to be according to the dictates of common sense. A fine of Rs. 150 or Rs. 200 paid, as Mr. Leeds ordered the fine imposed to be paid,* to the widow and family of the deceased, would probably have met all the circumstances of the case. For this sum a slave can be purchased in a native state; for this sum an ordinary agriculturist or money-lender who has lost caste and the advantages of life itself, can be restored to religious and social communion; and for this sum the zemindar of Upper India can purchase a woman to love as a wife, to chastise as a slave, and to imprison as a criminal in a zenana. Our verdict then is this, that the High Court was primarily, and Mr. Leeds but secondarily responsible for the mild punishment inflicted; and that it was the High Court that should have received the main portion of the censure of the Government of India.

Two pleas, however, might be urged on behalf of courts which have to deal with such offences as Mr. Fuller's. In the first place, "strictly speaking it may be said that such actions are not punishable under the Penal Code, as no section of it exactly applies to them.†" We will, at the risk of being considered technical, briefly consider this plea.

The Indian Penal Code, after elaborately explaining when culpable homicide is or is not murder, lays down the punishment in the latter case:—"Whoever commits culpable homicide, not amounting to murder, shall be punished with transportation for life, or imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine, if the act by which the death is caused, is done with the intention of causing death or of causing such bodily injury as is likely to cause death; or with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, or with fine or with both, if the act is done with the knowledge that it is likely to cause death, but without any intention to cause death, or to cause such bodily injury as is likely to cause death."

Now, oddly enough, neither this nor any other section of the

* We prefer granting compensation under the Criminal Procedure Code to obliging the injured party to resort to a suit under Act XIII. of 1855. The operation of the Criminal Procedure Code is swift, and within the competency of the magistrate before whom the criminal charge is brought. Proceedings under Act

XIII. are tedious and unsuited to persons of the status of a domestic servant's wife.

† Letter (above cited) from the Officiating Secretary to Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces, to Secretary to Government of India, Home Department.

Indian Penal Code meets cases in which the person assaulted has a secret disease such, as enlarged spleen, and the assailant has no intention of causing death and no knowledge that his act is likely to cause death, but yet death to his horror results. To impose punishment in such cases magistrates are obliged to strain the law. They either treat the offences as rash or accidental acts, as in the Central Provinces, or as offences of simple hurt or grievous hurt, according to the nature of the original violence, as in the North Western and other Indian Provinces. Here, manifestly, there is some flaw in our legislation. Such offences are not at all of the nature of rash or accidental acts.

And although the operation of killing a man is generally begun by causing him hurt or grievous hurt, yet it seems to us an unnecessary delicacy not to call the act by its proper name—homicide. The reason of our delicacy on this subject, however, is not difficult to explain. As Englishmen reared in a clime more favourable to man's physique, where the vital spark does not so readily quit its mortal flame as in India, we are unwilling to apply the word homicide, which has now acquired a pronounced meaning in our language, to cases of death resulting from slight force applied by way of chastisement. But if the etymology of the word be considered, it is difficult to understand how its application even in such cases is inappropriate. It appears to us, the death of a servant resulting from even moderate chastisement is a homicide which can hardly be called innocent or altogether accidental, but which, nevertheless, may be a homicide of the least culpable character. Such homicides, however, are either not contemplated or purposely ignored in the section of the Penal Code which lays down the punishment for culpable homicide.

The silence then of the law on the subject of punishment for this particular class of offences allows courts to set their own value on the heinousness of such offences. If a man is put to sea with no compass or chart to guide him, he can hardly be blamed for not gaining the harbour of destination. If it be necessary to treat as culpable homicide the case of a servant, who, suffering from some secret disease, dies while undergoing moderate chastisement at the hands of his master, it appears to us that the addition of such a clause as the following to the section we have cited laying down the punishment for culpable homicide would meet the difficulty:—"Or with imprisonment of either description, which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both, if the act, being of the nature of a simple assault, is done without the knowledge that it is likely to cause death, and without any intention to cause death, or such bodily injury as is likely to cause death." The difficulty in the way of adding this clause to the section of the Penal Code, however, is the principle on which the sections of

the code relating to offences affecting human life were drawn up, namely, that a man should be only responsible for the natural or necessary consequences of his own act. In the case of mildly chastising a servant for misbehaviour, his death is neither natural nor necessary according to English ideas. Even if the addition that we propose were made to the code, courts would still be called upon to use their common sense, and they would need protection from the incompetence or the crotchets of superior appellate tribunals. These should, by the way, among other lessons which we shall point out to be administered to them, receive a memorable warning; that cases of witch-murder, matricide, and torture to death by the police, are not simply rash or accidental acts.

The second plea that might be urged for mild punishment in the case of fatal assaults on servants by their masters, is the absence of a law between master and servant. The native press—and indeed a portion of the European press in return—treated the Fuller case as an opportunity for the expression of race antipathies. With great respect for the gentlemen who treated the question in this manner, we think they were in error. It was not a question between black man and white man, between Indian and European. It was a question between Indian master and Indian servant. As we have heard Europeans, so we have heard native masters complain of their servants; and cases of death of servants and dependents at the hands of native masters have come to our notice, and are not uncommon.

It cannot be denied that, as masters, Europeans are often unreasonable. They in many cases require their servants to be in continual attendance, and do not allow them sufficient time for sleep or meals. A servant is perhaps called in the middle of the night. At a time, next day, when he is ordinarily on duty, he is found asleep and falls under his master's displeasure. A servant may be ill, and his master pays no heed to the circumstance, but exacts service all the same. Masters often give orders which for various reasons cannot be promptly obeyed. A European master can very frequently not express himself intelligibly in any Indian language, and he is, we fear, often unreasonable enough to punish his servant for misunderstanding him. Then the climate is hot and apt to spoil the temper of European masters; and this condition of things is not improved by the strain on the nervous system produced by the severe mental toil which they generally have to undergo.

But in any case, Europeans, still possessing at least a recollection of the physical activity of man in their native country, are intolerant of the laziness and apathy of Indian servants. The European master is accustomed to trust for success in this world,

at any rate, to his own energy and perseverance. The native servant thinks that, if destiny has so ordained it, his happiness in this world and the next are fully secured without any exertion on his part. To the European master time is precious. A native servant annihilates time with the skill of a Kantian philosopher; and, if ever he applies his mind to reasoning, regards all existence as an unexplained and unexplainable illusion. A European partakes of the energy and vigour of the animals of his climate. A native is lazy like the oxen which obstruct the traveller's path through the fields, like the sheep which will barely move out of the way of his carriage-wheels, like the canine quadrupeds which are too lazy to bark on his approach to their village.

But though the European master is often unreasonable in not making allowance for the peculiarities of the Indian servant, the latter too has his own failings. In the first place, he could rarely be truthful, even though he would. He can extemporise falsehoods with the easy fluency of the most accomplished political hireling. In his master's house he will break all things breakable, and then tell him, with the most grave and convincing demeanour, that the articles terminated their existence, by self-destruction. When his services are necessary at home, he is away in the bazar, selling articles pilfered from his master's house, or carousing and spending his ill-gotten gains on improper objects. He has reduced thieving and peculation to a well defined system. While his master is asleep, he steals his keys and purloins, not indeed the whole of his rupees, for that would lead to a formal enquiry and possibly a conviction before a magistrate, but such a small proportion of them as will make his master suspect that the fault is his own in having erred in counting the money deposited, or in having forgotten some small expenditure which he has made from it. The native servant receives an order to do any particular act; but that he considers no reason at all for doing it. He is warned against a particular course of action; but that again is no reason at all for heeding the warning. If his master is at any time ill, he selects the occasion as a time of release from labour, and carefully remains out of ear-shot. Servants in European countries occasionally indulge in strong drink. This is not generally a fault of the Indian servant, but he has a more inconvenient one. He frequently uses some drug which stupefies his intellect and renders him unable to heed orders or perform intelligent service. Trained from youth to despise the female sex, he is impertinent or disobedient to his master's wife. When a native of position comes to visit his master, the servant stands behind the door to hear what is said, and will afterwards, retail to the stranger his master's every foible, peculiarity, and eccentricity. If remonstrated with

for petty faults, the servant is insolent, and causes his master pin-point or intangible worries by his rude and provoking demeanour. If warmly reprovcd, he asks for his discharge, and, if his master does not grant it, absconds at the very moment when the loss of his services will be most keenly felt. And to all this is added the fact, that his master is a *Kiringi*, unclean as the Pariahs of an Indian village, and communicating a blight to a Hindu or Musalman's* viands by his shadow falling over them either in sunlight or moonlight.

With these failings and unreasonablenesses on both sides, it is not surprising that differences should arise between masters and servants. The master looks on his servant in the light of an unreasoning child, and when provoked beyond endurance chastises him accordingly. Though members of the ruling power are willing enough to admit, in a general way, that the native is still in a state of tutelage, this is not admitted in the particular instance when a servant drags his master before a magistrate for assault. The Penal Code does not contain one law for the servant and one law for the master—one law for the black man and one for the white man. It gives equal rights to all, to the Briton and the Indian, to the school-master and the pupil. The result is that, on the whole, we believe the European master in India receives more annoyance from his servants than his servants receive from him, and that it is the poor European, particularly if a non-official, who often stands most in need of protection and commiseration.

Although, as we have stated, native masters often complain of their servants, they never receive a tithe of the annoyance from them that Europeans do. In the native community servants and masters are bound by the ties of nationality, language, prejudice, religion, and customs. The native master feeds his servant, gives him his cast-off clothes, confers on him presents at stated anniversaries, and treats him more as an equal than a European master, for obvious reasons, can possibly do. The result is that more satisfactory relations subsist between a native master and his servant. If the servant is chastised by the master, he is not prone to complain before a court of justice; and if a servant's swollen and diseased spleen is broken by the assault, the privacy that reigns in natives' houses and the facility with which a rich native can escape, even if his offence be known to the police, generally hinder the scandal of unpleasant and inconvenient legal investigations.

It has often been suggested that there should be a law to regulate the relations between master and servant in India. While we write, a draft Act of the Legislative Council on the

* In India the Musalmans have generally adopted the prejudice of the Hindus in this respect.

subject has been printed in the *Gazette of India* with a view to its receiving brief criticism before it obtains the force of law. The matter is hedged around with great difficulties. Our legislature cannot take a retrograde step, and declare that a master and his servant are unequal before the law, and that a master may beat his servant at his own caprice with impunity. This would be to reduce the native servant to the condition of a slave, and to encourage violence on the part of the lowest and most thoughtless class of European residents in the East. In the draft Act, there are enumerated certain offences of servants for which they may be discharged with the loss of salary. This no doubt will be a punishment to the servants, but will it relieve the master who, if he get a servant at all, is pretty certain to get as bad an one as the man he has discharged. The servant summarily discharged will sit in the bazar, and hinder his own class from going to serve his late master; and how will this be remedied? Who will perform the master's service till he gets a substitute? Though the proposed Act contains many admirable provisions which will no doubt tend to the security of servants as well as masters, still we fear that, even when legislation has exhausted all its efforts on the subject, masters and servants must make the best of their positions, until the Indian relinquishes his prejudices, becomes more intelligent and active, and has a higher sense of duty and honesty. Meantime, in the case of assaults on native servants by European masters, we must trust to our magistrates to determine in each case that is reported to them, the extent of the provocation, the exact nature of the master's retaliation or chastisement, and the penalty, if any, to be inflicted therefor. And we hope that, in the discharge of this duty, magistrates will on the one hand show themselves mindful of human life and suffering, and on the other hand disregard the suggestions of all spurious philanthropy.

The Government censure which elicited the ire of the judges of the High Court at Allahabad was the following.—After referring to the opinion of the judges that the fine of thirty rupees for Mr. Fuller's offence, though perhaps lighter than the Judges of the High Court would have been disposed to inflict, was not specially open to objection, the letter of censure went on to say—“The Governor General in Council cannot but regret that the High Court should have considered that its duties and responsibilities in this matter were adequately fulfilled by the expression of such an opinion.” This very mild and very proper censure lead to some tall talk on the part of the judges. They point out that the “Statute 24 and 25 Victoria, Chapter 104, declares the Judges of the High Courts shall hold office during

"Her Majesty's pleasure, and confers on the Governor General in Council or Governors in Council, as the case may be, no other powers in respect of the appointment or removal of judges than the power to receive their resignation, and to make temporary appointments to vacancies in the court until Her Majesty's pleasure be known." The judges further maintain that their court is not subject to the executive power of the Governor General, further than that the court shall comply with such requirements as may be made for records, returns, and statements. The judges assert, in fact, that their powers being derived from Her Imperial Majesty, they are only responsible to her for the proper discharge of the functions committed to them.

With great respect for the High Court of Allahabad, we think this is all nonsense. The control of Her Majesty in person is a well-known legal fiction; the Governor General in India as Viceroy occupies the place of her Majesty; and the appointments to judgeships are really made by him, and not by Her Majesty in person. The Chief Justice, however, not satisfied with the manifesto of the judges in their collective capacity, put forth a high-falutin defiance of his own. "I grow full of anger, Sir Lucius,—I fire apace, odds 'hilts and blades!" The Chief Justice declared that the language of the Government of India invaded the Court's independent authority which was protected and enforced on the same constitutional principles as those recognized in the case of English Courts, the only difference being that, instead of proceeding by appeal and error in Parliament, the appeal from the Supreme Court was to be to the Queen in Council; that the Government had consequently assumed a false and untenable position towards the High Court; that the High Court was not bound to answer official enquiries addressed to it by the Government, and that even a Magistrate of Mr. Leed's position was not in any way answerable to any Government authority for his judicial conduct. The Chief Justice further pronounces *ex cathedra*, that "there are no persons or authorities in India possessed of qualifications which could fit them to supervise, or in any way control Her Majesty's Courts, for, I say it with all respect, His Excellency and His Council, with one exception, are not legally and technically learned persons. They have not within themselves as a body, necessarily and intrinsically, any official forensic, or judicial training, or experience in matters of law; and they could not, however justly disposed (and they could not be other wise than justly disposed) satisfactorily perform the duties of Directors or Superintendents of the Courts." After this we think the Government of India must have regretted its quarrel with this redoubtable functionary who, like the Fencing Master in Molière's inimitable comedy, *entend la tierce et la quarte, e*

qui sait tuer un homme par raison démonstrative.

But, seriously, we wonder that the Chief Justice did not receive official chastisement for this insolent bravado. The executive authorities in India, who make the laws, may without any argument on our part be presumed to know what they mean by them. They are generally men of common sense, and do not require a knowledge of the rulings of the High Court of Allahabad nor yet of the antiquated forms of English legal procedure to tell them whether a fine of Rs. 30 is sufficient penalty for culpable homicide. We believe the Members of the Government of India to be for the most part intellectually superior to High Court Judges; and we will go further, and state, since the gauntlet has been thrown down, that the really able men whom we have ever known among Indian High Court Judges were but few, and that their Courts are, as was once recorded in a minute by the late Sir Henry Durand, a terror to the native community.* Yet the position they take up, would, as the Governor General states, "shut out the Government from noticing all judicial acts, however corrupt, however arbitrary, however perverse, however calculated to bring obloquy on the Indian administration." The position claimed would also produce the extraordinary anomaly of leaving the power of commendation and reproof with the High Courts and the whole power of reward and punishment with the executive authorities.

It might be inferred from the speeches of Mr. Lowe and Sir Henry James in the debate in Parliament on the independence of the Judges of the High Courts of India, that Lord Lytton and the Members of his Council were some wicked monsters, who sought to put pressure on the Indian Judges to keep obnoxious Oriental nobles or perhaps lovely maidens in captivity in some remote Indian tower, and afterwards, as described in some Arabian tale, behead the interesting victims of their jealousy or caprice. By no means. The chief judicial officers of districts in the regulation provinces or of divisions in the non-regulation provinces are the real judges of India. The High Court Judges can hardly be called judges at all in the sense in which the word is generally used in England. Except the few justices of appeal in the British

* "The error of our Indian Judiciary has notoriously been the influence which the example of the technicalities of English law, practice, and procedure have unfortunately been allowed to exercise. The influence vitiates the regulation system, and it has rendered the Courts which it rules hateful to the people. Though hateful to the

"people of India, these Courts are not, however, such a terror to them as the Supreme Courts of the Presidency Capitals, and any measure which tends to assimilate Indian to English Courts of Justice will spread dismay among the most influential classes of the native community."
—*See Henry Durand on the Indian (Civil Service) Bill.*

Islands, all English Judges have original jurisdiction. In India, Judges of High Courts may be said to have no original jurisdiction whatever. It is true, they try Europeans charged with the commission of certain felonies; and they can call for civil cases from subordinate courts for their own decision. Practically, however, such cases are very few; and it may consequently be said that High Court Judges have no original jurisdiction over the great mass of the population of India. They are simply supervisors of the works of original and subordinate appellate courts. This is the domain in which the High Court Judges, who ought probably to have some other official designation, claim to be absolute. We now proceed to consider how they have obtained this authority, and the manner in which they exercise it.

We are not aware that any jurist or archæologist has stated whence the Indian appellate system has been derived. It is certainly not English; nor, we think, would any civilized country tolerate such a system for a fortnight. It is possible it originated somewhat in the following way:—In the early years of Anglo-Indian administration, magistrates were sent out young from the mother-country to India, and their knowledge of any sort, legal or worldly, was not extensive. At the same time, they worked on the whole very well, though they occasionally erred in their legal procedure and in their appreciation of the veniality or enormity of certain classes of crime. It was deemed necessary that appellate tribunals should be placed over them, to correct their occasional errors. This necessity at the same time dovetailed with the desire of the East India Company to give enhanced pay and light work to the older magistrates. In this way Appellate Courts were gradually introduced. The Appellate Judges, too, made mistakes, particularly in their interpretation of English statutes and international law. Over these Appellate Courts it was deemed necessary to have other checks, and so Sadr Adalats and High Courts were finally constituted. It was thought necessary to appoint at least one English Barrister to each High Court to keep the civilian judges on the straight legal road. This arrangement again was found to dovetail with the desire of the Home Government to provide for useful Members of Parliament of the legal profession.

The system as at first elaborated looked the most complete thing that could be imagined. Appeals from the courts of a subordinate magistrate lay to the District Court, appeals from the District Court lay to the Session's Court, corresponding to a Court of Assize in England; and appeals from the Judge of Assize lay to High Courts. There was to be one appeal on a point of fact and another on a point of law; and the whole thing looked perfect on paper. It was hoped that not a shadow of injustice could be

perpetrated in India, and that there would be a return to the primitive golden age, in fact to a state of public security when, to use the familiar language of the *Bagh-o-Bakar*, "no man would ask another how many teeth he had in his mouth, or whither he was going."

The appeals presented in High Courts are decided on the perusal of the records of the Original Courts. With civil appeals we have here nothing to say. In criminal appeals the appellant is either represented by a pleader, or has his appeal drawn up by a quasi-professional lawyer in the shape of a court petition-writer. The Crown, so far as the appeal goes, is totally unrepresented. Several points are so clear to the Original Court, that they are not referred to in the record; or the Magistrate of the Original Court has not had time to write an exhaustive judgment. The record is mercilessly criticized by a hireling pleader. The parties accused and the witnesses are not before the Appellate Court, and it bases its action altogether on hearsay evidence of what they said. On paper, false evidence often reads the same as true evidence. Or the true evidence is made to appear false, and the false true, by the wily or unscrupulous pleader who, like one Eurasian lawyer we know, always makes a solemn asseveration before the Appellate Court as to his belief in the innocence of his client. The just decisions of Original Courts are, by these and other means known to the mitigated, reversed in a huge proportion of the appeals presented; and thieves and murderers are let loose on society to pursue their careers of crime and be a terror and a source of misery to the community.

But even when criminals are not in this way let totally loose on appeal, there is an ever-growing tendency on the part of the higher Appellate Courts to reduce the sentences of convicts. As we have indicated, it is in reversing or reducing the sentences of Original Courts that High Court Judges can exercise any authority. Whether the exercise of this authority be in every case sweet; whether the craving for power be overmastering; whether the natural spirit of opposition which some philosophers have asserted to exist among all men be the motive principle; or whether personal dislikes and prejudices ever enter into the calculations of High Court Judges, we do not stay here to enquire; but certain it is that there is a perpetual cheese-paring of sentences in the ateliers of High Court Judges. A murderer is sentenced to death. His appeal goes before a High Court, and the sentence is commuted to transportation for life. It is still in the recollection of the public that the convict who murdered Lord Mayo at the Andaman Islands had previously been a murderer whom the Sessions Judge of Peshawar sentenced to be hanged. When his case went before the Chief Court of the Punjab, the Judges modified the sentence

to transportation for life. The melancholy result was the assassination of one of the most able and conscientious Governors-General of recent times.

By the same refining process, if a brutal rape is committed on a child and the offender is sentenced to seven years' rigorous imprisonment, the Appellate Court reduces the punishment to four years' rigorous imprisonment. A treble convicted cattle-lifter is sentenced to six years' rigorous imprisonment: an Appellate Court thinks it consistent with its clemency to reduce the sentence to three years' rigorous imprisonment. A common thief is sentenced to suffer one year's rigorous imprisonment: the Appellate Court satisfies its love for power by reducing this punishment to six months. A court sentences a criminal to pay a fine of Rs. 100 for a dastardly assault: an Appellate Court repays the flattery, the mild demeanour, and the suppliant attitude of the offender, by reducing the fine to Rs. 20. In all these cases the Original Courts are apt to receive violent censure for their want of judgment in imposing such severe penalties.

It is refining and cheese-paring of this description which must have led to the mild sentence of Mr. Leeds, and which leads to the totally and ludicrously inadequate sentences which most Indian magistrates and judges are in the habit of passing. We remember, on our first arrival in India, having been struck with this extraordinary forensic peculiarity. Men of whose guilt British juries would entertain no doubts at all, received the benefit of what magistrates responsible to High Court called doubts, and were acquitted. If haply the evidence was so clear that magistrates could not avoid convicting, they took care that criminals who would receive, say, five years' penal servitude in England, only received about one-fifth of that penalty. This is the result of the Indian appellate system with two appeals from the orders of a magistrate even of the first-class, and a birch kept continually suspended over him to be applied to his back by judges jealous of authority in the event of his meting out adequate punishment to the criminals who come before him.

We have of late years noticed that in India there is a very great tendency on the part of some of the very highest officials to work for themselves rather than for the people of the country. Judges of High Courts are no exception to this rule. Especially are they prone to hastily dispose of criminal appeals. If the magistrate's or judge's order is to be reversed, who cares for what the magistrate or judge says, even if he happens to say anything at all, which is very doubtful? The culprit will not tell the world that the High Court has released him unjustly, and to the demoralization of him and his fellows. And the man whom he has wronged, cries that the ways of God are wonderful, and the justice

of the Firingis mysterious; and he continues to bear his ills with the same submission to unalterable destiny that he bears a foreign political domination. Whenever the work of High Courts is to appear before the public, and whenever they enter on a correspondence with the Government, they put forth their strength, and work with the utmost care; but in most ordinary appeals in which they have interfered with the orders of original courts, we have found their judgments of a description which would bear no screening criticism. Even their decisions reported in law journals often disclose to the trained eye readings between the lines, which conclusively prove that the original records were never understood by the Appellate Courts. All the evidence on which the conclusions of High Courts are based is of course generally suppressed in the reported cases. Just as on the occasion of the death of a friend, we know perhaps the disease of which he died, but the mistakes of his medical advisers are all concealed beneath the whitened sepulchre and the greensward above the mouldering corpse.

Having expressed ourselves with, we hope, unmistakable clearness, as we have felt it our duty to do, on the general result of appeals to High Court Judges, it will be perhaps satisfactory to the non-professional public if we descend from general to particular statements. We will, therefore, take up a judgment of what we shall call a Mofussil or up-country High Courts. Many such judgments are accessible to us—and indeed we are making a collection of them for historical purposes—but our space is limited, and we can at present only offer a specimen—a flower gathered by the wayside.

Well we remember once on a morning ride in a certain "up-country" district, having met a dead body mangled with thrusts and wounds, borne slowly along to the police-office. It was the corpse of one of the foremost natives of the district, a man whom we knew and respected for his honesty and intelligence, his marvellous energy and business capacity, and his unflinching loyalty to the British cause during the dark period of the Indian rebellion of 1857. The body was accompanied by the younger wife and the two sons of the deceased, who started with their cries the echoes of the silent wilderness through which they passed. Circumstances occurred which led us to closely follow the trial. The abettor of the foul midnight murder was well-known in the district. He, too, like the deceased, was a man of wealth and position which entitled him to the consideration of the district officers. His tribe had, he conceived, suffered injury from the loyal conduct of the deceased to the state during 1857; there were other more recent causes of irritation or enmity, not the least being the high estima-

tion in which the deceased was held by the district officers. The rival vowed revenge, and his already sable brow darkened with passion into a deeper ebony shade.

The deceased was a devoted admirer of the fair sex, and the weakness to which this passion extended was employed for his ruin. An attractive female was selected to facilitate his murder. She was introduced into his zananah as his paramour, and under the veil of darkness and amid the love-charms of night, she guided the murderers to the bedside of their victim. A man young, and stalwart, and of high promise, was at once reduced to a shapeless mass of bones and lacerated flesh.

The principal assassin confessed to the police. At the investigation before the committing magistrate he charged the abettor with the crime. The latter, deeming that every hope for him had fled, fell off his chair in open court in a swoon of terror. The magistrate committed the abettor and murderer to the Session. The abettor and one of the murderers were acquitted, but two other murderers ordered to be hanged. It was felt in the district that the Sessions Judge ought not to have acquitted any of the men committed to his court in the case. Let us see, however, what was done by the principal Court of the province whose confirmation was necessary for the sentence of death. One of the convicted murderers bore on his hands wounds inflicted by the deceased in his struggle for life—wounds fresh the day after the murder, and which could not be explained in a manner consistent with the prisoner's innocence. An upper garment and other articles of dress stained with blood were found bundled in a cloth of his near his well; and some more of the clothes he wore at the time of the murder were found recently washed. His tracks were discovered on the housetop where the deceased slept on the night of the murder. And, as the committing magistrate stated, the various statements voluntarily made by the prisoner almost amounted to a confession of guilt.

The tracks of the second convicted murderer were also found at the scene of the murder. An axe was discovered in his house, a blow of which, according to the medical evidence, in all probability inflicted one of the wounds on the corpse. The axe when discovered by the police had a new handle made by the prisoner himself though not a carpenter by trade. A broken handle, which exactly fitted the iron of the axe, was found on the roof of the house where the murder had been committed; and the prisoner was unable to account for this awkward fact in evidence. It was further proved, that there had been an old enmity for sundry reasons between this prisoner and the deceased; and finally there was evidence to prove that he had been seen on the night of the murder near the house on which the deceased slept.

In short, so conclusive was the evidence against these two murderers in particular, that the barrister who defended them before the Sessions Judge, confessed to his friends that he had not the slightest hope of being able to get them off on appeal. When the appeal was taken before the principal Court of the province, the usual doubts arose in the minds of weak and irresolute judges; they descended to personal remarks on the Sessions Judge; they criticized his English, and stated he was unable to produce a satisfactory or grammatical judgment; they even laid the grave charge at his door that he himself did not believe the evidence on which he had ordered the prisoners to be hanged; they appeared even to doubt whether the deceased had ever been killed; and they acquitted all his murderers with some strong language to the Sessions Judge for his conduct of the case.

This judgment of the exalted tribunal which acquitted the murderers is the despair of the virtuous and the encouragement of the wicked in a large tract of country with which we are well acquainted. All the perfume of Araby could not wash from that court the stain of the injustice which it perpetrated in acquitting those dastardly and inhuman murderers. The people whose literature formulated the now famous dictum, "*Judex damnatur cum nocens absolvitur*," would have called judges to severe account for such conduct; and an ancient Greek populace would have promptly ostracized them. The murderers would have been stoned amid vivid, poetical portraits of Erinnyes dogging the steps of criminals, and sure, if slow, vengeance from Heaven awaiting deeds of blood!

Φέρει Φέροντ', ἐκτίνει ἰὸ καίρων,
μήναι ἔδ' ἠμυνόντο σ' ἐν χρόνῳ Διὸς
πάθειν τὸν ἔργοντα, θεσμιον ἑάρ,
πῆς ἂν γονὰν ἀράιον ἐκβάλοι ἱέρων,
κεκόμηται χέρος πρὸς ἀτῆ *

But no one in India for a moment supposes that Appellate Judges run any risk in the perpetration of the wildest injustice; and nobody for a moment believes that criminals of any sort are sure to meet punishment, that the houses of murderers are to be even temporarily the sojourn of the brood of curses, or that their race is any way wedded to calamity. The principal murderer in the case we have cited has since been twice in jail on clearly-proved charges of theft or wrongful possession of stolen property; and in both instances he has been released on appeal, once by the same high tribunal that violently dragged him from the noose of the fitting halter. He is again in jail on a charge of stealing a large

quantity of jewels from the orphan child of the man he murdered. There is very little doubt that his old patron, the abettor of the murder, has again instigated him to this deed, will again hire a pleader to defend him, and again have him released to pursue his career of crime. The magistrate of the district apprehends that the man will at last murder the sons of his former victim; and thus cut off the entire family root and branch!

It has been remarked that under our appellate system no native criminal who does not confess his guilt is ever tried at all. He is, it is true, brought before a magistrate, and the form of a trial is gone through; but a conviction is not binding on the accused, unless he acquiesces in it. If he does not, he appeals to a higher court; and the higher court, although it objects in a general way to hearsay evidence and would be horrified if it heard a subordinate court paid attention to it, not only itself decides the appeal on hearsay evidence, (that is, on a record which gives no adequate idea of the case, of the demeanour of the parties, of the hesitation or glibness with which they gave their evidence, of the glances exchanged by the witnesses with the prosecutor or the accused, and a thousand and one other points known to the court of first instance)—but on evidence which is infinitely worse than hearsay evidence, namely, the irresponsible and unsworn statements of a pleader whose fee in case of ill success is perhaps *nil* or at least of a severely circumscribed amount.

Indeed, we do not see why, in the present state of the law of appeal, any native who has not confessed before the original court, should be punished at all. Such is the general looseness of the oriental intellect, that native witnesses, even when the justice of their case is unimpeachable, cannot tell the whole unadulterated truth, but with foolish perverseness have recourse to the invention of impossible details. A skilful pleader has only to show contradictions in the evidence, and most appellate courts, if sufficiently importuned, will give prisoners the benefit of what the presiding judges are pleased to call doubts. The same effect might be produced by summoning witnesses to prove enmity, dislike, previous good character, &c. We are now speaking of cases where all the formalities prescribed in Act X of 1872 have been attended to by the original court. Any neglect of these, such as omitting to get an ignorant and unlettered criminal to sign his name to his deposition, is a priceless advantage to an accused person on appeal.

It is native officials who are as yet best acquainted with the numerous portals by which criminals can legally escape from jail; and the knowledge thus possessed is no doubt tending to their demoralization. True charges against court writers and the lower judicial agency are rarely upheld in appeal; and to bring home

an offence to a member of the police-force is at present next to impossible. It is little wonder that we hear of peculation and bribery on all sides, and that we read in up-country papers of such outrages as the murder of a Punjab Deputy Commissioner in the sight of a police-sentry by an ex-member of the police-force.

Since the appellate system, whose results we thus deprecate, was first instituted, everything has been changed. The subordinate native magistrates are already in most of the Indian provinces well-trained and intelligent; their independence has increased; and the character of their judicial work has perceptibly improved; the necessity of appeal from their decisions has greatly diminished. But it is not alone the native magistrates who are improved. A civil servant now comes out to India older than before, and with a more complete legal and scholastic training. A good despotism is generally admitted to be the best form of Government; and if ever men were fitted to be good despots, it is the India civil servants under the present system of appointment. In recent times, at any rate, they have been middle-aged men, when put in charge of districts. They might be presumed at that period of life to know something about their duties, and the customs and manners of the people of India. To say that such men generally possess as much ability as the present judges of Indian High Courts would be to damn them with faint praise. But whatever their qualifications may be, they are hampered in the discharge of their duties at every point. Their judicial decisions, particularly in criminal cases in which there is no one to take the part of the Crown, are, as we have explained, persistently reversed or modified. The result is that the people are becoming demoralized and losing their respect for law and order; the material and social growth of the country is retarded, jealousies and endless suspicions arise in native society; and officers of the highest worth are losing heart for the earnest and conscientious discharge of their duties.

In writing thus we do not think we are advancing anything original. Our remarks are but echoes of the warnings which have been made at different periods during perhaps the last fifty years of Anglo-Indian administration. General Cunningham wrote in 1849, or eight years before the great Sepoy War—"The police of India is notoriously corrupt and oppressive; and even the useful establishments for tracing Thugs and Dakoits, or banded assassins and confederate robbers, may before long become as great an evil in one way as the gangs of criminals they are breaking up are in another. The British rule is most defective in the prevention and detection of crime; and, while supremely powerful in military means, the government is comparatively valueless as the guardian of the private property of its citizens. Thus a feel-

ing of insecurity arises, which gives birth to a want of confidence, and finally leads to an active desire for a change of masters.* What General Cunningham thus prophetically wrote, has been repeated in different forms up to date both in the public press and, to some extent, in official district reports on criminal administration.

An idea prevails among a large portion of English officials in India that native society is an Augean stable, all but impossible to purify. We do not think so at all. Corruption existed under native rule because native officials were themselves corrupt or supine. The same, if not greater, corruption exists under British rule, mainly because British officials reverse one another's orders. We do not think it can reasonably be said, that there is anything inherently bad in Asiatic any more than there is in European nature, or any cause why the Asiatic should not become as virtuous as the European. Inferior religious systems no doubt influence the morals of a people; but the extent of this influence has been frequently exaggerated. Wherever there is a good Government, the tendency of the people is to rise superior to all religious systems. The gods of ancient Greece and Rome are not represented more moral than the gods of the Hindus; yet the ancient Greeks and Romans attained a higher state of public and private virtue, than has ever been attained by the inhabitants of India, if we except the condition of society at the time of Alexander's expedition, as described by the Greek historians.† The modern Greeks and Romans, under what we must believe to be better forms of religion, have sunk to a lower state of morality than their ancestors of a pagan age; and this appears to be due to imperfect and corrupt civil governments. The Anglo-Indian administration is notoriously the reverse of corrupt; but it is more fertile in expedients to save the wicked from the consequences of their crimes, than perhaps any other administration with which we are acquainted.

In the first place, owing to a generally corrupt police, a vast proportion of offences committed is never reported at all. In the second place, of the offences reported, magistrates, particularly native magistrates, with the terrors of sharp-tongued appellate judges over them, acquit criminals in a far larger proportion of cases than is ever known in Europe. And in the third place, of the convicted criminals a very considerable percentage escape on appeal. Thus there is a gradual process of sifting and refining until at last it is, for the most part, only criminals who confess their crimes, or against whom there is overwhelming direct evidence who suffer punishment.—And even then, as we have above shown, the punishment is in many cases totally inadequate to the

* "History of the Sikhs," page 338. Indian virtue at that period in Strabo.

† See a remarkable testimony to B. XV. C. I., Section 63.

offences. There is a Hindustani proverb which we have often heard, embodying the popular feelings on the subject. It is needless to state that it was made since the introduction of British rule,

جو جھوٹا بولے سو لڈو کھائے
جو سچ بولے سو قید ہو جائے

He who tells the truth, will go to jail, and he who tells untruth will eat *laddu*, a sweetmeat almost equal to *amrit* or ambrosia in the estimation of the natives of Upper India.

We are sorry to have to say that we believe the present appellate system is demoralizing to the native magistrates, to the criminals, and even to the most virtuous classes of the community. In numerous judicial cases the evidence that comes before magistrates is undoubtedly weak. There seems a dread on the part of the best classes of the people to give full or true evidence against criminals. Often where a man has a perfectly genuine charge to make, he tortures it into something altogether different, to which he believes an English judge will more readily listen. We do not think this is due to the inherent badness of Asiatics. The fact is they have no confidence in our law courts. They know very well that criminals in a great majority of instances escape in appeal, and they fear retaliation from the criminals when they regain their liberty. This will cause native society to remain hopelessly corrupt until there are restraints put on the appellate system, until more care is taken to appoint good judges, and, even then, until the wings of all judges are clipped, and a proper restraint put on their power of interfering with the judgments of subordinate courts.

We have seen that the Judges of the Indian High Courts proclaim themselves on a par with English judges, except indeed that they apparently think themselves much superior and more independent persons, inasmuch as they are only subject to Her Majesty's criticism, while the English judges, poor erring and dependent mortals! are subject to the criticism of Parliament composed, it may be, of such persons as Dr. Kinealy, Mr. Whalley, and Mr. Biggar. It would be beneath the dignity of an Indian High Court to be subject to the criticism not only of such men as these, but also of men of the humble position of the Governor General of India and his Councillors.* But in sober earnest it is time that this presumption should be curbed.

* In reality, of course, making judges subject only to Parliament confers on them a far more secure status than making them subject to the Crown. Authority over English judges was transferred from the

Crown to Parliament by the Act of Settlement, and English judges have since held office "during good behaviour," which is deemed to be a more stable tenure of office than during Royal pleasure.

At the outset there can be no comparison at all instituted between English and Indian judges. We have often witnessed trials in the law-courts of England, and have frequently marvelled at the manner in which English judges discharge their duties. They take their seats for the disposal of cases at ten o'clock in the morning, and we have often known them sit until nightfall, during all that time, except the briefest period for refreshment, writing with singular rapidity; adjusting tangled differences between barristers; delivering, the moment they have laid down their pens at the conclusion of the record of the evidence, eloquent, accurate, and exhaustive verbal *precis* of it; and, meantime, drawing from the vast stores of their memories technical illustrations and principles whose correctness and appropriateness even hostile critics in the leisure and retirement of their chambers cannot unfavourably criticize. Other men, reporters, spectators, &c., of ordinary calibre, grow wearied before the long day is at an end, but not so the judge. Like the valiant prizefighter, who after the hundredth round comes up to time smiling and apparently fresh after the combat, the judge continues to write, speak, and expound knotty legal questions to the setting of the sun with apparently the same jaunty vigour, the same matchless endurance with which he addressed himself to his work after his nightly lumber and his morning meal. And the English judge can apparently thus go on day after day with unwearied attention, unblunted intellect, and unexhausted resources.

This happy result for the people of England is due to the unrivalled excellence of the system by which they select their Judges. In England no lawyer can be appointed a judge whose antecedents are not well-known to the public, and whose abilities are not something more than mediocre. The barrister elevated to the Bench must have distinguished himself at the Bar, or in Parliament, or in both these great intellectual arenas. No minister of the Crown dares confer a judgeship on an unworthy candidate or merely from relationship or private interest. The result is, that in all recent times we have reason to be proud of our English Judges. We grant them the highest respect, and accord them absolute independence, because we have selected them for their technical knowledge, their rare good judgment, their untiring industry, and their absolute integrity. And having so selected them, we lodge them in edifices with transparent walls and whispering galleries where every act and word of theirs is seen and heard by a prying populace.

Almost all these conditions are disregarded in the appointment of Indian Judges. Firmness of character, sound judgment, and knowledge of the people often yield to seniority or private interest. Lord Mayo used to tell a story of the manner in which

he appointed one of the civilian judges to the Chief Court of the Punjab. A member of the Bengal Civil Service had attained such seniority, that his appointment to the High Court of the North-Western Provinces began to be considered by the Local Government. About the same time a judge was required for the Chief Court of the Punjab. Lord Mayo consulted the Chief Justice at Allahabad as to the advisability of appointing the gentleman to the Chief Court of the Punjab. The Chief Justice merely replied "I shall be very happy, my Lord, to see him get the Punjab appointment." Accordingly he got it. Sometime afterwards, Lord Mayo on hearing that his late nominee was not quite a success, remonstrated with the Chief Justice for recommending an unsuitable person. The Chief Justice is said to have retorted, "I never said he was fit to be judge of any court. I merely meant that I did not wish him to be a Judge of the High Court at Allahabad; and I feel personally indebted to you for having sent him out of this province."

But to our minds, far and away worse than the worst civilians that could be appointed, are barrister judges without experiences of the working of English law courts. In a few years most of the barristers in India will be men who have failed at the great examination for the East India Civil Service—men who, unable to take in knowledge, vigorously apply themselves to take in beef and mutton at Gray's Inn, and who, directly they are called to the Bar principally for success in this strength-giving feat, take a berth in an India-bound vessel to live on the fat of this unhappy country!

The Indian barrister is an exotic of extraordinary growth. Planted at the outset in no healthy soil, nourished in no pure atmosphere, trained and pruned by no skilful hands, it rapidly develops under a tropical sun into some peculiar botanical product of rank and shapeless luxuriance. To lay aside allegory. Directly the young inexperienced barrister arrives in India, the cases offered him are those from which practitioners of standing keep aloof, and can keep aloof. He is, moreover, in all but the presidency capitals his own attorney. He is thrown among the most unprincipled of the native population, and soon learns to pettifog or perhaps tout for cases. He thus frequently loses amid a corrupt atmosphere a considerable portion of the rectitude parents and guardians are wont to instil into the mind in tender years. To such a degree does this practice warp the character, that we have known a Government Advocate putting himself to auction to litigants at both sides of cases. We may state in passing that this very barrister in a few months after we knew him do this, was deemed fitted by the Government for the Bench of a High Court.

The covenanted civilian in India has given proof of his industry and acquirements. His knowledge on no one subject is taken for granted. He has had to pass departmental examination in law, languages, and administration. He has lived among the people, and learned their feelings and customs. And, more than all this, he has had experience as a magistrate of original jurisdiction, and knows exactly how the appellate courts err in their decisions and their appreciation of the work of lower courts. The barrister, on the other hand, has passed no examination which shows his knowledge of even Indian law; he has not qualified in Indian languages or Indian history; he is unacquainted with the difficulties of administration; he has never decided an original case in his life; he does not know how appellate courts are led into error; he is unacquainted with the customs and feelings of the best classes of the people; and, on the strength of all this negative array of merits and accomplishments, he is made a judge and claims independence of the Executive. Surely India is not the country where such an anomaly should be tolerated; and this is not the age when the miracle of the days of Balaam should be repeated.

We should be sorry to have it understood from our remarks that we wish to speak against the great mass of the barristers of England, or to depreciate their useful calling. We know that in our own country barristers have obtained a deservedly high position. There, however, the condition of things is different. In England it is the jury system and not the Bar that is the palladium of public interests; and the mass of the people have generally attained the highest state of private virtue. With the strong feeling against felonious acts they possess, let a barrister, if he have sufficient skill, occasionally work upon the feelings of a British judge and jury—not always an easy task!—and let a wretched criminal occasionally escape justice. He may repent of his evil deeds; or he may learn wise caution from his hair-breadth escape and arrive at the conclusion that acquiescence in the law may be more profitable in the end. In any case, however, in England the man who is publicly believed to have committed a felonious act, will not find his future life a pleasant one, even though he be declared innocent by a jury. And an educated press and intelligent public opinion may be trusted, to vindicate the true interests of the British people.

In India everything is different; no jury for the trial of natives—no intelligent native press,*—no enlightened public opinion, no high standard of private virtue,—and in the face of all this the pleader is allowed to ply the Appellate Court, with his

* A few able exponents of native opinion published in Calcutta can hardly be deemed exceptions.

eloquent or ingenious assiduities ; and the criminal is released on the perusal of a record *plus* the assertions of his advocate. We repeat that the presence of pleaders for criminal trials in India will not be an unmixed blessing until there are prosecutors for the Crown to oppose them, and until public opinion becomes more enlightened. At present nearly all the forces are in favour of the acquittal of criminals ; and although a criminal's friends are always very glad at his escape, no matter what his offence may have been, there is at the same time a strong general feeling of public dissatisfaction with the existing state of things under which a disproportionate number of malefactors is turned loose on the community. When our able Lieutenant-Governor, the Honorable Mr. Eden, recently censured the tone of the native press towards the members of the ruling power, and complained that the merits of even the most hard-working officials were never acknowledged by native writers, he possibly forgot that there might be hard working in the wrong direction. We are quite sure that the judicial system, however well meant, is the weakest point in our Indian Administration.

If the natives of India could be taught our language ; if trial by jury could be introduced ; if the manners and customs of India were the same as those of England ;—then might the services of English barristers be freely utilized ; but until India is more assimilated to England, we must continue to maintain that the barrister judge and his Cockney court are totally out of place except perhaps at the capital of a presidency. A former barrister judge of the Chief Court of the Punjab in an admirable memorandum on the judicial system of the Punjab said, that for judges the encouragement of the knowledge of the native languages should be the first object. “ I draw the inference also,” he continued, “ that the Government should not be bound to appoint a barrister judge, now that the period of transition is past. Two other reasons point to the same conclusion. There is nothing so much wanted in order to promote the formation of a good judicial branch of the service, as prizes or inducements to the junior members of it. No lawyer, however profound, could have been more useful to the Punjab than its old Judicial Commissioners ; and to reproduce that stamp of men should be the great object in forming the judicial agency. Consulted as I have been, I am bound to point this out ; and it is much mixed up with the preference so often shown for the executive branch by the more promising young officers. Any legitimate preferment should be open to the district judge ; and it is not the highest reward to say that he may rise to be judge junior to a barrister, whom accident may have placed at the head of the Chief Court. The other reason is the necessity of using all the means available for securing

"to the Chief Court officers versed in the criminal administration of this province. I cannot exaggerate the importance of this. Without, at least, two judges in the Chief Court who have been good and firm district magistrates in their day, there would be cause for ceaseless anxiety. A return of the serious criminal cases, and a practical view of the Punjab, would establish this opinion beyond a doubt; and it must be admitted that no where else, and certainly not in the advocate, however accomplished, or the author, however profound, will the necessary qualities so surely be found as in the ranks of district officers trained for years under the eye of the authorities, and disciplined in this country." *Appropos* of this passage, we regret to see that in the Punjab Court's Act passed during the last year, a paragraph provides that one of the judges of the Chief Court shall always be a barrister. The qualification for this high and responsible post is that he shall have only five years' Indian experience, that is, that a young man who failed for the India civil service and came out to India as a barrister at the age of twenty-one or twenty-two, should in five years afterwards have it in his power to reverse the decisions of able men who are double his age, and who have spent the best part of their lives performing judicial duties among the natives of India.

One great obstacle to members of the civil service obtaining high legal appointments is this. From the beginning, they are simply parts of a gigantic administrative machine, and their individuality is repressed. They must implicitly obey orders, often conceal their real sentiments, and curb their zeal. They are obliged to spend too large a period of their service performing the most obscure judicial and administrative duties. They have generally scant leisure for public writing. They are not allowed, like the barrister-adventurer who owes no subordination to the Government, to sound and blow their own trumpets. Then the laws of the Legislative Council are still, in too many respects, so incomplete, that civilian magistrates and judges must frequently strain them in order to do justice and preserve order in their districts. Such of the civilians as have force of character and intelligence to act thus, are dubbed "bad lawyers" in barrister and High Court parlance; while the officials who dread responsibility, who, often to the inconvenience of the people and in disregard of the true interests of the Government, attend to all the formalities and crotchets of a still imperfect legislation, obtain a reputation for true judicial acumen. Barristers in independent practice have no Government interests. They make their livelihood by studying the laws of the Legislative Council and the decisions of High Courts, secretly rejoice at the imperfection or incompleteness of the Indian judicial system, and laugh at the

helplessness or gullibility of appellate tribunals. Such are the men who urge priority of claim to all high judicial appointments. And it is by appointing them that imperfect laws and vicious forms of procedure are allowed to descend, as Goethe says, like an inveterate hereditary disease and to trail from generation to generation.

Es erben sich Gesetz' und Rechte
Wie eine ew'ge Krankheit fort;
Sie schleppen von Geschlecht sich wun Geschlechte,
Und rücken sacht von Outzu Ort.*

Mr. Lowe, in his speech in the House of Commons, stated that though the Australian and almost all the Colonial judges held office during the pleasure of the Crown, yet no effort was ever made to deprive them of independence, as was made in the case of the Judges of Indian High Courts. The reason is this: Colonial Courts are differently constituted from Indian courts; they have generally to deal with Europeans or the descendants of Europeans; they are subject to public and intelligent criticism; and they dare not causelessly reverse or modify the decisions of subordinate tribunals as Indian High Courts are able to do.

The extent to which the decisions of Indian High Courts, or, rather, their revisions of the decisions of subordinate courts, escape adequate public criticism has struck us as one of the most singular of the many anomalies of modern Indian history. Perhaps it is to be attributed to the unwillingness of the magistrates and subordinate judges whose decisions are reversed, to express their opinions in public regarding the injustice committed by their superiors; perhaps it is to be attributed to the ignorance of the natives who suffer and their inability to move intelligent public opinion; or perhaps, it is, to a great extent, to be attributed to the respect traditionally paid by almost all Anglo-Indian newspaper editors to the decisions of High Courts. But the fact remains notwithstanding, that there is hardly a village gathering in India in which stories often ludicrous and sometimes truly pathetic are not told of the injustice committed by High Court Judges, and the manner in which they are bamboozled by professional pleaders. At the height of the Indian Mutiny of 1857, one of the most telling appeals to the rebels is said to have been that of the Queen of Oudh, in which she set forth the court injustice and judicial robbery under British rule. We warn the Government that serious dissatisfaction has already spread, and that the present Indian Appellate system is not for the advantage of the people of India, but on the contrary tends to their demoralization

* "Faust"—scene in Faust's study (Studiizimmer).

and insecurity. It is not the independence of High Court Judges, but that of the judges of districts and divisions, the real judges of India, that must be maintained. At present their independence is almost nil, and the tighter the rein over the High Court Judges or supervisors of their work, the better will it be for the people of India and the stability of Her Imperial Majesty's well-meaning Indian administration.

We may sum up and say that the judgments of original courts are generally correct, and that whenever High Courts interfere with them they usually interfere with them for the worse; in other words, that, generally speaking, justice is administered by full-powered magistrates and district or divisional judges. We believe if it were possible to collect statistics of the just decisions reversed by the former august tribunals, the annals would form a collection as large as the renowned Alexandrian library of the Ptolemies, larger than the Fatimite library at Cairo in the great age of Muhammadan learning and power, and be perhaps one of the most stupendous monuments of the perversion of the intellectual powers of man known to civilization!

One of the remedies for the present deplorable state of public justice would be of course a remodelling of the appellate system; but, to our minds, more important is it that greater care should be bestowed on the appointment of judges. No barrister of under twenty years' Indian or ten years' English experience should in our opinion be deemed eligible for the post of High Court or Chief Court judge; and even then he should not be appointed until his ability, integrity, and impartiality were fully known and recognized. In the same way, we would have no civilian made a judge of a High or Chief Court till after the completion of twenty years' service; and we would have the same tests of general fitness applied as in the case of the barrister. Why we fix the limit of twenty years in both cases is, apart from the question of experience, which is in itself a most momentous one—that the spectacle of a young man reversing the decisions of judges and magistrates, in whose court he has been a humble pleader and perhaps lost his temper as well as his cases, or to whom he has been subordinate in the early years of his service, is not a decent one, and has a demoralizing influence on the judicial officers superseded. Moreover, we think we have noticed in a few cases a strong tendency on the part of young men rapidly promoted, to pay off old scores, to snub the men who have snubbed them in their subordinate capacities, and to allow personal feelings to enter into official relations.

Though we have been led into these remarks by the pretensions of High Court Judges, and by a consideration of the results of

their energies, we have no wish to class Mr. Fuller with the criminals whom High Courts delight to favour. We regret that, instead of this unfortunate case, such an one as any European or native of our acquaintance may be involved in, who cannot restrain his temper under the disobedience, the wilful neglect or, the insolence of native servants, the Government did not take some one of the thousand and one instances which every magistrate or subordinate judge in India could report of the total acquittal of notorious thieves and deliberate murderers by High Court Judges. Any energy in this direction will, we can assure the Government, receive the warmest sympathy not only of the real judges of India and the enlightened portion of its European community, but of all men of whatever race, complexion, or religion, who hate evil and love good, who believe that it is the duty of a Government to exalt its subjects to virtue, and not debase them to crime. Let Lord Lytton pursue the good and judicious course he has begun. He need have no apprehension whatever for his reputation from the purely attacks of those who have a direct personal interest in maintaining the present highly-unsatisfactory appellate system.

It is we suppose a very old-fashioned thing in this age to admit a belief in fate or destiny, but even very sceptical persons will admit with Gibbon that "in this world the natural order of events will sometimes afford the strongest appearances of moral retribution." * If Mr. Fuller had been fined Rs. 200, and this fine had been paid to the family of the deceased syce, probably the matter would never have been known to any one but the presiding magistrate and Mr. Fuller's own personal friends. Perhaps, however, in retribution for the nominal fine of Rs. 30, Mr Fuller has been pilloried in both hemispheres as the murderer of an Indian groom, as the type of the flogging and inhuman Briton in the East, and as the scare crow of baffled justice! But this is not the worst. Some editors of Anglo-Indian newspapers with the playfulness of leisure and genius have derived from his name a word signifying to chastise the Oriental, a word which we regret to say threatens to become a part of the English language. Poor Judge Lynch, when he performed what he deemed an act of Roman virtue, by hanging his son with his own hand for a death-deserving crime from the window of a street in the capital of Connemara, had no idea of the base uses to which his name would at a distant day be applied in the backwoods of America! And Mr. Fuller, when he escaped from Mr. Leeds' court with a fine of Rs. 30 for having killed his syce, could

* Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Volume VIII, page 32.

have had no apprehension of the further consequences which made the European English master who flogged his servant be styled the "*Fullerizing* Saxon!" We think Mr. Fuller at any rate has by this time had ample punishment for the act which resulted in the death of Katwárú.

ART. III.—COMMERCE IN ANCIENT INDIA.

Life in Ancient India. By Mrs Spier, 8vo. 1856.

AGRICULTURE.—Max Müller assumes that “there was a time when the poet was the leader, the king, and priest of his family or tribe.” Wilson thinks that the Rig Vedic hymns do not warrant this inference; as “the people were collected in hamlets and towns, and their leaders were neither poets nor patriarchs but princes whose favor and munificence were sought and bestowed upon priests and poets.” The country of the Aryas originally confined to the Punjab gradually extended itself, the government was monarchical, and the principles of administration were everywhere the same. The village system existed during the Rig Veda period. We find in that work mention of “rulers or governors under the title of *purapati*, lord of a city or fortified place and ruler of a village or tribe or band of men.” This organization was gradually improved in view to the revenue and police administration as detailed in Menu. There were lords of one town with its district, of ten, twenty, a hundred and a thousand towns. From the lowest to the highest town there was correspondence with reference to robberies and tumults, and the minister under whose control the towns were, had always full information before him. The Greeks found every town like a petty republic; and no war could interrupt the labours of a cultivator. Lord Metcalfe says “the village communities are little republics, having nearly everything they can want within themselves. They seem to last when nothing else lasts.” The organization and maintenance of village communities held out great security to the cultivating community; and their undivided attention was thus directed to the development of their agricultural resources. The Vishnu Purana asserts that before Pritha’s reign there was no defined boundary of villages or towns—no cultivation—no pasture—no highway for merchants.* This must have been anterior to the Rig Veda period, as we have already shown that there is distinct mention in that work of the constitution of towns. There are also prayers for articles of food, abundant fodder, pasture lands, for cattle, blessings for agricultural implements, field operations, fertile water-courses and water obtained from channels being dug out. Another song is “never withdraw but practice agriculture.” The articles of food were brought from the field in carts. Deep ploughing was required and, hence the verse—“as a husbandman repeatedly ploughs the earth for barley.” It appears

* Sreemut Bhagbut confirms this statement.

that corn was first grown ; but the articles mentioned in the Atharva Veda are rice, mashar, (beans) tila (sesamum). When the A. Brahmana was written, agriculture had been extended to the southern India, as that work states that the "cereals ripen first in southern countries." According to Sajuna, barley and wheat were chiefly cultivated on the north of the Vindya mountains, and reaped in February and March, and that in the countries north of the Vindya, *viz.*, Deccan, rice was harvested in November and December. In ancient times great stress was laid on general and special education as regards the sacerdotal, military and commercial classes. Every person belonging to the agricultural class was required to be skilled in "the time and manner of sowing seeds, and in the bad and good qualities of the land, the advantages and disadvantages of different regions and the means of breeding with large augmentation." (Menu IX 30). Economy in every department was studied. It had reference to seeds, and sowing. We believe the Hindus were the first who introduced the rotation of crops. They also understood the process of transplantation. About 270 B. C, the Greeks noticed the Indian husbandman as being the "most numerous in the Indian community" and the class "as good farmers." The testimony of Dr. Roxborough is also flattering. "The Indians do not attempt to rear a second crop oftener than every third or fourth year, allowing the land either to rest or employing it for the growth of such plants as are found to improve the soil, of which the Indian farmer is a perfect judge." Menu also legislates as follows:—"If the land be injured by the fault of the farmer himself, or if he fail to sow it in due time, he shall pay ten times as much as the king's share of the crop which might otherwise have been raised."

When Menu wrote, indigo, sugar, cotton and many other articles were grown. Great care was taken of the cattle and the pasture land was kept intact. The Vishnu Purana and Sreemut Bhagbut contain abundant proofs of the tender feeling shown to the cattle. In the former work Krishna says "cows are our divinities." The Sreemut Bhagbut (Book X) contains several passages inculcating great care of the cattle. In Mahabharut we find that the kings had in their employ a class of milkmen to inquire into the age and color of the cattle and periodically to number them by a mark. In commemoration of this usage we have now a festival called Pongal in Southern India, at which cattle are adorned with flowers and allowed to perambulate the streets.

Vishnu Purana speaks of the cultivation of teak, cereals, &c. The Agni and Brahma Puranas contain lists of articles grown which are chiefly, cereals, sugarcane, &c. The Brihat Sanhita mentions safflor, lac, madder, linseed, hemp, which indicate

that the manufacturing period had commenced. The Ramayana alludes to the "fragrant rice," "golden wheat," and "finest cake of the sifted wheat." India was divided into a number of kingdoms, and the kings fought with each other and extended their territories. Dasarath's kingdom consisted of the eastern countries, Sindhu, Sarastra, Savira, southern country, Anga, Banga, Magadha, Matsya, Kosala, Kasi—"rich in golden corn, sheep, and kine."

From Mahabharat we learn that Chedi when governed by Basu possessed fertile soil and abounded in agricultural wealth—the weak cattle were never worked. After the death of Pandu, Kurugangala, Kouraba, KuruKhetra prospered—merchants and artisans crowded in every town. In the Banaparva, Krishna gives a description of Dwarka abounding in wealth. In the Biratparva, Arjuna names the following prosperous countries to enable Yudisthira to determine where the Pandavas should pass one year in disguise—

Panchala, Chedi, Matsya, Sursena, Patchur, Dasarna, Navaraptia, Malva, Shalya Yagundhar, Bishal, Kanti Rashtra, Sarasatra, and Avanti.

The Greeks discovered "a thousand cities in the Panjab alone." "The country beyond the Hyphasis was reported to be highly productive and well cultivated" (Journal of the A. Society, vol. 34) Ma Twa Lin who visited India in B. C. 126, says "the population very numerous, the soil rich and fertile." He adds "that the grain sowed in the marshy soils ripens four times a year. The barley which grows the highest, exceeds the length of a camel." Appolonius of Tyana, who came here about the first half of the Christian era, found the soil of a country fifteen days journey from the Ganges "very productive," wheat stalks like reeds, beans three times as large as Egyptian sesamum, and millet extraordinarily fine." Fa Hian's remarks on the different cities visited by him in A. D. 399 are interesting. Arriving at Khokan he finds it "a happy kingdom, the people living amidst great abundance;" of Central India, Oude and Behar he says the "people live in abundance and happiness;" of Furrackabad "the people numerous and rich and beyond comparison more happy than elsewhere." Of the republic Vaisali the country was "rich and populous and the people happy and contented." Hiouen Tsang was the next Chinese traveller. He found Khandesh full of foreign merchandise and the rich merchandise was brought into Khandesh and Malwa from Surat. He describes Samarkand "as a place of valuable trade and the country rich and productive." Dr. Vincent says that "the upper country near Tatta was fertile in the best rice and other produce of importance while the country had any commerce."

Cotton—has been known to be indigenous in India.

There are several passages in the R. V. as to weaving and threads. "Understand the thread of the woof not that (cloth) which those who assiduous in united exertions weave." It may be said that weaving might refer to wool. This doubt is removed by the following verse: "Cares consume me, Sata Kratu, although thy worshipper, as a rat gnaws a weaver's thread" which was steeped in starch. In Menu cotton is often mentioned—cloth was made of Sona and eshama bark besides cotton, but the Brahmanical thread could be made only of cotton. The R.V. says "like a bride clad in white apparel." The Ramayan mentions Hindu ladies arrayed in linen robes.* The A. Brahmana alludes to an advanced state of weaving—a weaver weaving decorations in the midst of cloth and of gilded cloths on the back of elephants.† Herodotus (445 B. C.) noticed cotton in India. Baines says that when Herodotus wrote, "cotton manufacture existed westward of the Indus." Nearchus (327 B.C.) says he "Indians wore linen garments, the substance of which they were made growing upon trees and this indeed is a flax or something much whiter and finer than flax." The Periplus mentions Masalia (Moscipatam) where finest muslins were manufactured. From Gangetic marts in the vicinity of Sualgong, near Paçca, muslins were exported. Indian calicoes and other cotton goods were exported to Arabia from early times. When Tavernier (1678 A. D.) visited India, Indian calicoes were made in Golariela and Masulipatam. They came also from Agra, Lahore, &c. Cotton was cleaned. Dadu the founder of the Dadu Pantha, a religious sect, was a cotton cleaner.

Silk.—The consumption of silk in ancient time was considerable. The kings, queens, nobility and the fair sex put on silk dresses more specially on occasions of religious performances, and silk formed part of nuptial presents. Silk was no doubt imported from China, but it was also manufactured here. Colebrooke says, "The Pundraca and Paltasatracana, or feeder of silk worms and silk-twister, deserve notice; for it has been said that silk was the produce of China solely until the reign of the Greek Emperor Justinian, and that the laws of China jealously guarded the exclusive production. The frequent mention of silk in the most ancient books would not fully disprove that opinion; but the mention of an Indian class, whose occupation is to attend silk worms may be admitted as proof, if the antiquity of the Tantra be not questioned. I am informed that the Tantras collectively are noticed in very ancient compositions; but as they are very numerous, they must have been composed at different periods; and the Tantra which I quote might

* Robertson says fine linen (Scindhu) was prepared in great perfection near the Indus.

† In Hindu dramas we read of "flowered muslins" and "flowered cloth made of fine thread."

be thought comparatively modern. However it may be presumed that the Rudra Yamalu is among the most authentic and by a natural inference among the most ancient; since it is named in the Durga Mahattwa where the principal Tantras are enumerated." Sir W. Jones confirms the above statement. He says "silk was fabricated immemorially by the Hindûs though commonly ascribed to the people of Serica or Tancut." It was supposed that Thina or Serica was China; but it is now clear that it is Assam* where silk was grown, and Assam supplied Baragaza *via* Bactria, and Bengal and also Limuriki or the Coast of Malabar by sea with raw and manufactured silk. From Baragaza and Patata they were exported to Egypt. In the days of Aristotle, silk was imported from India to Greece and the Grecian women used to unravel the silk stuffs and made what the Roman poets called "coan nests." The Assamese prepared "a strong fabric silk" for tents, which Julius Cæsar is said to have imported. In one of the Hindu dramas there is mention of "Chinese gorgeous silks." Ma Twan Lin says "their king and his ministers have a vast number of silk dresses and fine woollen fabrics." According to Arrian and Charita "silks of various fabrications" were in one of the bazars of Anhtlwara. In Mooltan, Sirhand, Tâgara, &c, there were large markets. It was on account of the silk, says Colonel Tod "that the prince named Porus, sovereign of Ougein, sent an embassy to Augustus and a letter written in Greek." Moorecroft says that "silk was extensively raised in Kotan and that it appears that it extends thence through Yarkand and Balk, to Kashmere." When Tavernier visited India, he found silk coming from Bengal to Guzerat, Ahmedabad and Meerut, where it was manufactured.

Wool.—Menu speaks of "wool and hair," woollen stuffs and blankets of Nepaul. The sheep living in the mountainous countries of Cabul and Candahar were fed with *sulphur* or *prangos*, an excellent fodder. Wool was used in making shawls and other manufactures. In the Sava Parva we meet with cats' wool, shawls of goat's hair and clothes of wool as presents to Yudhisthira. Shawls and brocades were presented to him from the people of Kambaja. Tribes living along the Indus presented to him blankets of various manufactures. The Sacas or Scythians living between the Jaxartes and Oxus presented clothes made of the wool of sheep and goats or thread spun by worms or puttas, vegetable fabrics, also soft sheep skins. Buddhist red covers or sleeping robes were made from sheep and shaggy dogs.

Furriery and leather manufactures.—The number of animals sacrificed and killed, *viz.*, catle, sheep, goats, buffalo, rhinoceros,

* Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. 16, Part I.

porcupine, tortoise, birds of different kinds not only opened a large field of occupation to the fowler but to the butcher, cobbler and other classes.

The hides of the cattle were utilized in different ways. They were not held in low estimation. One of the Vedic rites was that the wife should be placed by the husband on a piece of leather. The R. V. says "thou art girt with cow hides." It also alludes to "birds' feathers" as forming an article of trade. Skins of animals formed a portion of nuptial presents to Sita. Heeren says that furs were held "in great estimation among the Indians from the most ancient times." The Hindu medical students used skins, leather and carcasses. Kambojas brought to Yudhisthira, among other articles, skins of animals living in holes and of wild cats. The skins of deer were used for the garments of the twice-born students. Ptolemy noticed that skins were exported from Serica (Assam) to Chittagong. Assam also supplied rhinoceros and buffalo hides which the Romans bought for shields.

Animals.—Horses were presented to Yudhisthira by the people of Kutch, Scinde, Pragjotish and Camboge. Scinde horses are described in Mahabharat as swift, strong, quiet and not capable of being disturbed; other good horses mentioned in that work are from Kamboga, Panchala, Titur (Tartary), Kalmas (Kalmac). Eastern countries sent Raja Yudhisthira good horses. Large elephants were also presented by the rajahs of Eastern countries—we notice they came from lower Bengal, Midnapoor and Ganjam—These elephants had large tusks. Knowledge and discipline of elephants (*husti shika*) formed a part of military education—Rawlinson states that in the Sassanian or new Persian Empire the elephant corps held the first position. It was recruited from India. The elephant corps was under a special chief known as the *gired kupit*, or "commander of the Indians," either because the beasts come from that country or because they were managed by natives of Hindustan. Goats, sheep, oxen, apes and camels must have been well bred in Guzerat as these came to Yudhisthira from that country. Albania or Libria in Punjab was famous for fighting dogs, which is mentioned in the Ramayana:

"And the dogs within the palace bred,
Of body vast and massive head,
With mighty fangs for battle bred."

Ivory and Horns.—Assam used to export rhinoceros horns to Bengal where the Chinese bought them. The Phœnicians also carried from India ivory, ebony and horn of the unicorn. Ivory horns were also carried to Jerusalem, Greece and Egypt.

Sugar.—We know of no article the consumption of which has been so large from the earliest times as sugar, except perhaps rice and wheat. Morewood says that "although the Arabians culti-

vated the sugar cane and supplied the city of Rome with its produce, yet it is well-known that they were indebted to the Orientals as well as for the knowledge of its manufacture." Our sugar was introduced in Greece and Rome but it was not grown in either of those countries. The Greek physicians called our sugar "Indian salt." Our merchants on taking sugar to Musiris declared that it was grown from a seed but its identification with the "Indian salt" was not removed till Marco Polo threw light on the point. Massie, in the Continental India, says that the Phœnicians used to trade with the Peninsular India and Ceylon for the "sweet cane".

Honey—was of different kinds, fruit-generated honey in Guzerat, rock-honey in the country of the Takas, and honey from the fruits of the Himalayas, *i.e.*, between Himalaya and Tibet. Honey Lotus came to Baragaza as an article of import.

Wines and Spirituous Liquors—were largely consumed not only by the lower classes but by respectable orders and also by the fair sex. Frequent mention has been made of drinks on festive occasions and of respectable females caressing their husbands after indulging in wine.* When a Chandalinī with five sons was with Kunti at Baṇḍībrata, she gave her with food a quantity of arrack for her drink which appears to have been the custom. The fruit and other articles from which wines and liquors were manufactured are honey, jack fruit, raisin, date, palm tree (toddy), sugar cane, plum, wood apple, bee hives, custard apples, and koēbale, seccame matter of fruits, cocoanuts and meal.

Strong liquors were made by distillation from molasses, bruised rice or *Bassialatifolia* called *inowah*. There were also eight other kinds prepared with the flesh of animals. Drinking prevailed from the Vedic times.† The vendors of spirits used to keep leather bottles. As regards the conception of a home, the Aryas approached the English—"a pleasant abode, a well-dressed wife, and a draught of wine"—R.V. When Alexander came to India, he met with a sort of wine which is supposed to have been no other than "the unfermented juice of the cocoanut tree." Morewood says the "Hindus dealt largely in the importation and their acquaintance with a variety of native drinks shows the extent to which they arrived in their manufacture." We observe that either the quantity of wine made in India was not equal to the consumption or there was a growing taste for foreign wines as the Egyptians and Grecians brought their wines to India.

Spices.—India abounded in aromatic substances. Frankincense was grown in India and not in Arabia.† *Malabathrum*, a species of cinnamon *albiflorum* was exported from Assam and Sylhet to

* See Mahābhārat Stribhapa Parva.

† Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Asiatic Society, vol. 11.

Shittagong. Its leaf was called *tej* and bark *patri*. The tree grew also in Rungpore and as far as Munsori. The branches peeled off the cassia tree were called *petros*. From the leaves *malabathrum* was prepared. It was used as an unguent or perfume, and as betel. It was used in the wine by the Greeks and Romans. It is compounded with the spikenard which is the leaf, and costus the root. The nard resembles the ear of wheat.

Malabathrum was sent from Eastern India to the Malabar Coast and Northern India, and thence exported to the Mediterranean. Spikenard was carried over the desert from India, to Aleppo.* Pliny states that Kuth or Costus was collected in the Mountains of *Kashmere* and exported to Amritsur. Herodotus states that the districts bordering on India were in the time of Alexander, fruitful in aromatic trees and shrubs particularly the myrrh and cardus which here flourished in great abundance and perfection."

Lignæloe or aquari or agal or eagle wood was grown between Sylhet and Assam. The atar of this wood was called by Arrian Indian Cinnabar. It was exported to Socotra.

Cinnamon was grown in Indian Peninsula and Ceylon.

Bedelellium, a fragrant gum, was grown in Kattiwar. Myrrh in India is called *bola*.

Sandal wood, agallachum, the fragrant wood Kaleyaka were brought to Yudhisthira from the Eastern portion of the Himalaya.

Sandal ointments, aloe wood, and sandal wood came to him from Mysore and Carnatic.

Cassia and Cinnamon were grown in Sumatra whence the Arabians got them from native merchants and were thus known to the Egyptians, and "the aromatic productions of the Molluccas" were known to Rome.†

Dyes.—Menu mentions indigo. Bancroft expresses wonder that the coloring matter of indigo was known in early times in India. Indigo (nil) was exported to Arabia, Tyre and Egypt. Cochineal was an article of commerce from the mouth of the Indus. Cochineal or rather Indian lac was taken by the Persians and Babylonians. Lower Assam produced lac and munjit. In Upper Assam *masimila* and room (a valuable blue dye) were grown. The Hindus were particularly proficient in the printing and dyeing of cloths. Even Mill has gone the length of saying that "the beauty, brilliancy as well as the durability of the colours they produce are worthy of particular praise." Heyne says that "the method of dyeing cotton red in the Levant is nearly the same as the Indian method." From Toy Cart it appears that marking on linen was done by the Hindus.

* Asiatic Researches, vol. 24.

† History of Maritime and Inland Discovery, vol. I.

Polishing—was known in early times, as the R.V. says, "they add lustre (by polishing) to an axe."

Lacquering and Gilding—were also known; the former was specially cultivated.

Engraving—on gems and hard substances was a branch of industry in India.

Precious Stones—abounded in India. They came from the desert of Cobi, Bactria and Ghat Mountains. Pearls came from the Peninsular India and Ceylon.

Precious stones were presented to Yudhisthira by the Sacas and the Rajas of Carnatic and Mysore. Gem Vaidurja, a coral, also came from them. There were mines of diamonds in Golconda and other places. Tavernier, Hamilton and Heyne have given some information on the subject. Diamonds abounded "on the eastern side of the Deccan and Amarkartaka plateau near Kaddupah, Nandia, Rolkonda, Ellora, Subbulpara, and Paune." From India crystals were exported and the "Rajapeppale mountain range between the lower and Narmada yielded onyx and sardonyx stones in large quantities."

Malte Brun says, "in no part of the world are diamonds so numerous or so bountiful as in India, especially in the provinces of Bengal, Budejkund, Allahabad, Orissa, Berar, Vijapoor, Golconda and the Carnatic."

In the confines of Little Bahuira precious minerals and lapislazuli were found.

Metals.—There were iron mines, and iron was taken away by the Phœnicians. Steel of excellent quality was made in India. Ptolemy gave 36 pounds of steel to Alexander. Dr. Royle is surprised that a primitive people could have overcome the difficulties of melting iron and forging steel. The Arabians used to take away from India iron and steel. The Egyptian obelisks and temples are said to have been made of Indian steel.

Tin (Kastira) occurs in Panini's *sutra* and must have been found in India. It was abundant in Tenasserim, Malacca and Borneo.

Iron vessels and ivory sword hilts were presented to Yudhisthira by the Sovereign of Projyotish (Thibet?); sharp swords, javelins, spears, batthets and battle-axes were presented to Yudhisthira by the Sacas.

There were gold mines as gold was brought to Yudhisthira by certain tribes.

The Eastern Countries sent much gold, curiously wrought seats and litters, beds made of ivory and inlaid with gold and jewels; also coats of armour, weapons of various kinds, war chariots hung with tiger skins and decorated with gold, different sorts of armours,

Pliny notices the gold and silver mines near the Ghat range,

Indus, &c. Herodotus also mentions the Packjica near the sources of the Indus engaged in searching for gold. From the desert of Cobbi, gold and gold-dust were brought. Ptolemy speaks of gold and silver in the lower Ganges. Tod says that the seven metals were found in Anhilwara. The mines of Jewan in Mewar having different metals, were worked from early times.

Branches of Industry.—Menu speaks of oriental metals, gems, coral, shells, pearls, gold, silver, copper, iron, brass, pewter, tin, lead, wooden utensils, leather utensils, silk and wooden stuff, blankets (Nepaul), utensils made of shells, or horn, of boxes of ivory, also of dykes, bridges, or other great mechanical works. He also speaks of joining masonry, painting, writing, tailoring, blacksmith, work in gold, &c.

The Toy Cart contains the following passage on some of the professions which were established as taste for luxuries increased:—“Skilful artists are examining pearls, topazes, sapphires, emeralds, rubies, lapizlazhi, coral, and other jewels; some set rubies in gold, some work gold ornaments on colored thread; some string pearls; some grind the lapiz lazule; some pierce shells and some cut corals. Here we have perfumes, drying the saffron bags, shaking the musk bag, expressing the sandal juice and compounding essences.”

The above passage gives some idea of the branches of industry. The Ramayan speaks of able carpenters, diggers, engineers, &c, and of bridges being built, rocks broken through, canals and well dug. It also mentions “merchants and every class of artisan.” The number of professions mentioned in that work is sixty-four. There are archaeological proofs of the works of industry and utility and for divine worship in the different parts of the country. Crawford says, “There are few pieces of sculpture here in very perfect preservation which with many others scattered over Hindustan prove the great superiority of the ancient Hindoos in this art to their later descendants.”

They had several modes of quarrying and polishing stone and making bridges without arches. Captain Mackintosh speaks highly of an arch in Nagpoor of 22 feet, without any frame for its support, on the rock-cut temples of India. Fergusson says that the Sanchi tope near Bhilsar resembles European art more than any other. It would be well to quote what Sir W. Jones has said. “Though the *salpa sastra* (Sanskrit collection of sciences on arts and manufactures) reduces them to sixty-four, yet Abul Fazel had been assured that the Hindus reckoned three hundred arts and sciences. Now these sciences being comparatively few, we may conclude they anciently practised at least as many useful arts as ourselves.”

Internal Commerce.—We have alluded to the presents to Yudhis-

thiya with the view to show the different articles grown and manufactured in different parts of India. These presents were tokens of allegiance from the Rajahs of the North, East, West, and South of India, where the four Pandavas had gone with military force and fought with them. This expedition presupposes that there were roads from Indraprastha (Delhi) to the countries visited. It appears that the Aryas thought of the means of transit from the earliest times. The R. V. says "there are good roads and easy to be traversed in mountains and inaccessible places;" there are allusions to, "apart from the road on horse back," "resting places on the roads where refreshments were ready," and "great roads and little paths." Menu speaks of "tolls on waggons, water courses, king's highways, footbridges. The Vishnu Purana mentions roads, lanes, paths, and footpaths. The Rāmāyan mentions royal highways studded with trees and watered, also royal streets, squares, roads, lanes, thoroughfares, delightful bowers, crossways, court roof and town, and the class of men "who superintended the different parts of the roads." Mountainous countries were visited by caravans of which we find proof in Naishadha.

The royal road found by the Greeks was from Taxila on the Indus through Lahore to Palibothra on the Ganges. Fa-hien found that the highways of India were measured, and at certain distances columns were erected. There were routes leading to Western and Eastern Asia and also between Persia and Persian India down to the Gangetic provinces and the peninsular India.*

Cunningham (Ancient Geography) says that, the countries from the Sutledge to the Ganges were "the richest and most populous districts."

Colonel Tod observes that "the Northern India was rich from the earliest times." Punjab was densely populated, and contained a number of flourishing states. Pliny says, "The Andaræ kings were very powerful in India having no less than thirty fortified cities, an army of 100,000 men and 1,000 elephants."

Dr. Hunter finds "Kuljuga at one time was an emporium of trade; it boasted of fabrics. The rock inscriptions speak of navigation and ship commerce." Mahabalipura was "a place of considerable commercial resort." Cabul during the Macedonian invasion was inhabited by Hindus who "had a great spice trade." In Samarcand they met annually with foreign traders "to deal in very valuable commodities."

In the Gangetic countries grain and cereals were chiefly grown; they were sent to the Peninsular India and paid by pearls and precious stones; diamond, rubies, precious stones and pearls were

* Heeren's Asiatic Nations, Vol. III. Appendix.

brought to the port of Nelkynda and onyx stone to Barygaza. Periplus noticed an active trade in the Gangetic mart *viz.*, Chittagong where Chinese articles, silk, iron and skins were sent. The Bengal articles were malabathum from Sylhet, and spikenard from Rungpore where it came from Bhutan. The exports from the Gangetic Mart, were malabathum, spikenard, pearls and muslins to the Malabar Coast. The next important mart was Sonargong, south-east of Dacca.

Bengal was then named Rumi which exported Rhinoceros horns, Signaloe, and skins—shells were used as monies. Chowries used as ornaments came from Bhutan and Tibet to Rungpore.

Aromatics and pepper came from the Western India. In the middle of the 8th century, Anhilwara was the capital of the Western India; it possessed 84 bazars, of which Barygaza was one; it was called the Tyre of India, its chief port was Cambay.

Independent of its eighty-four ports it received daily custom duties amounting to one lakh of rupees.

The trade between Eastern and Western India was carried on by country-built crafts. Vincent says there was an intercourse by the Indus from Moeltan, Attock, Cabul, Cashmere, to the Coast of Malabar. Ayeen Akbary mentions that 40,000 vessels were in the commerce of the Indus.

Bactria and Marcunda (Samarcand) were very important places of internal trade between India and other nations interested in the exchange or sale of goods of immense variety. During the Macedonian period "the productions of India and Bactria were carried down the Oxus to the Caspian." Strabo gives the routes by which the wares of India were carried to the chief cities of Persia and Babylon.

Rawlinson states that there was a land traffic between Assyria and Western India "by the way of Cabul, Herat, the Caspian gate and Indus." Elephants' tusks and gold passed by the route. The Babylonians took away from India precious stones, dogs, and dyers. Laird says, "The Babylonians and Assyrians carried on considerable commerce with India, and the costly produce of the Peninsula was conveyed through the Babylonian territories to the distinct regions of Syria." Forster, who wrote in 1753, discovered Hindus travelling to the Caspian Sea by the road from Candahar and Herat.

Macpherson says that, in 14 A. D., Indian goods were sent from Bactria to the river Oxus, across the Caspian Sea, whence to the Bran Cyrus, a river of Colchis, and at last at the end of the Euxine Sea. On the banks of the Ganges there were several flourishing cities. The Magadha Emperors encouraged the merchants who were "bold, enterprising, and at the same time cautious and circumspect." Massie says that "from the modern Oude to the

Panjab a home trade was carried on along the course of the Ganges." In the western India there were several places of importance for internal trade. Ozine the capital of Scindia, Chundravati near Abu, out of whose ruins Ahmedabad was built in the 5th century) and Kaliare Tagura or the modern Deogarh was a city where cotton and muslins were extensively manufactured, where goods from the different parts of Deccan were conveyed and thence forwarded to Barock. Plutannab, not far from Ahmednagore, was the "greatest market for onyx stones." Ptolomy says "The southern part of the Coromandel Coast was thickly studded with commercial towns. The archaeological remains of the Seven Pagodas testify to its having been a commercial place."

In the first or second century, Periplus notices the following ports in Western India: Nelkynd, north of Calicut, Barygaza* (Barock), Musoris (Mangalore), and Pattla (Hydrabad). He also mentions Marsalia (Masulipatam) and Ganges on the mouth of the river Ganges.

In the south of India there was a number of ports, viz., Balita, Comar, Colchi, near which pearl fishery was carried on and Camara, Padme, and Sapata where a coasting trade was prosecuted. Mr. Thomas speaking of the coins submitted for his examination says that they were intended for the "countries down the Doab of the Ganges and Jumna below Haspilapoor and westward beyond the latter river to some extent along the foot of the Himalaya into the Panjab." This is a proof of the extent of trade. Moorcroft bears testimony to the large trade between Cabul and Hindustan* and Khotan and Hindustan.

Huet says that "the great number of trading towns formerly in the Indus was an undoubted proof of its commerce; I speak only of its trading towns. For if we searched after the number of all their towns in general and depended upon Strabo, Pliny and Plutarch, we should find five thousand of them in that port only which Alexander conquered; and even some of the first magnitude according to Solinus. And Arrian says that the number of them was so great that they could not be named."

Dr. Burnes states that when Nadir Shah visited Tatta he found there "no less than 40,000 weavers of calico on loongies or silk embroidered cloths; besides artizans of other descriptions to the number of twenty thousand exclusive of the bankers, grain dealers and shop-keepers who were estimated at 60,000."

The Toy Cart mentions merchants "rich with the wealth of many countries" visited, and the "Exchange" where the principal merchants and bankers lived.

* There were several ports to the southward of Barygaza which were visited by country ships.

External Trade.—The Rig Veda affords abundant proofs of the Aryans having been a maritime nation. "When I (Vansatta) and Varna ascend the ship together, when we send forth in the midst of the ocean, we proceed over the waters with swift (sailing vessels) then may we both undertake happily in the prosperous swing.

"Come as a ship to bear over an ocean of praises. Your vessel vaster than sky stops on the sea shore."

"As those who are desirous of wealth send ships to sea."

"As merchants covetous of gain crowd the ocean on a voyage,

"Do those convey us in a ship across the sea for our welfare."

"You brought Bhiyya in a hundred oared ship to his father's house."

"The son of Tungra brought by you anxious (to his father) glorified when he had crossed the ocean in safety."

The legend of the deluge makes mention of "a strong ship." (Muir's O. S. T. vol. 11. 329-31.)

Mahabharat speaks of merchants trading by sea and the Surya Sudhanta "go therefore to Romaka city."

From Menu (viii. 406) it appears that freight for passengers up and down the rivers was according to distance and time but at "sea" there was "no settled freight." There was price of the risk on insurance or sea voyage "or journeys beyond land."

These quotations clearly show that the Aryas were not content with internal trade but undertook sea voyages. We will endeavour to show that they not only travelled to distant countries and were settled there, but went by sea to foreign countries. Captain Wilford says, "During the first centuries of the Christian era, the Hindus were very fond of travelling. Their kings sent Imperial embassies to the Greek and Roman Emperors, and some of these ambassadors went as far as Spain. Others visited Alexandria and Egypt where Ptolemy in the third century saw and conversed with them. Some of these ambassadors had long conferences in Babylon." He also discovered that many Hindus were servants in Greece, many settled in Colchis, a large detachment followed Alexander to Persia, numbers were to be seen in Arabia. Macpherson (Annals of Commerce) says that in A. D. 161 "the natives of India now extended their voyages beyond their former limits and took an active share in the trade with Egypt, as it appears probable from Agatharidis and certain from Periplus that they traded to Arabia probably from the most remote ages; so we know from Ptolemy that they sailed up the Red Sea as far as Egypt, where he conversed with some of them who were from Timula, an emporium on the west side of India called Syrrylla by the Greeks." The Hindus were found in Astracan, Indian Archipelago, the Interior of Africa, and some

parts of Caspian shore, the Persian Gulf and Syria. Among the ambassadors to the Roman Emperors there were Brahmins. At Alexandria some of them lived with Severus in A. D. 470.

Faffian visited India between the fourth and fifth centuries. From Tamalipta or Tamlook, which was then a place of great commercial importance, he sailed in a large ship to Java, and thence to China, and there were on board Brahmins "merchants trading to China." * According to this Chinese traveller, ships sailed from the Ganges to Ceylon and from Ceylon to China. In Hindu poems and tales, sea voyages are mentioned, but Ceylon was thought to be the *ultima thule*. Later researches show that the Hindus made more distant voyages. Dr. Hunter states that in the 1st Century A. D. Tamalipta now Tumlook formed the starting place for a voyage to the Java Archipelago. MaTwaLin (6th century) in the Chinese account of India says "India carried on a considerable commerce by sea with Tatsen (the Roman Empire) the Auxe (or Asal Syrians); and some of the Indians came as far as Formosa and Keaon Che (Tonquin) to traffic in pearl necklaces and pearls of superior quality." It is also well-known that Hindu physicians lived at the court of Heran Al Rashed. †

The Arabians were the carriers of Indian wares from very early times.

They obtained them by land through Persia and Egypt, and by sea from the mouth of the Indus. The Syrians bought Indian goods from the Arabians. The Arabians got Indian goods from the mouth of the Red Sea until they had direct communication.

From Arabia a number of Indian goods and manufactures was imported, and for this reason commerce with India was continued. Arabia Felix was a great emporium of Indian wares and supplied them to Egypt, Africa, Phœnicia, Carthage and other countries. There was a commercial intercourse between India and Jerusalem in the days of Solomon. Solomon's fleet came to Ophir to take pure gold, agum tree, ivory, apes, peacocks, &c. Ophir, or Sophr of scripture, is Sauvira or south western Rajpootana † The Gulf of Kanbay produced gold and silver. Tadmora was chosen by Solomon to enrich himself by drawing the commerce of India through his dominions. When Homer lived, the goods of India reached Greece. The Phœnicians took from India ivory, ebony, cotton and tusks of the unicorn. They got the goods in Deccan in the Persian Gulf where they were collected. There was exclusive commerce by sea between China and India. There was trade also by land; viz., from Bactria to Barygaza and by a road to Palibothra. An intercourse existed between

* Journal of the R. A. Society No. XI.

† Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India.

Western India and Eastern Africa, the former exported rice, ghee, oil of sesamum, cotton, molasses sashes, and sugar from Pattala, Barygaza, Musiri (on the Malabar Coast) and the Coromandel Coast. Sir W. Jones, from the examination of the remains of architecture and sculpture states that there was connection between India and Africa.

The Egyptians used to send metals, corals, ointments, white glasses, silver vessels, wines of the first quality, *beautiful virgins*, for the seraglio, spices, &c., they took silks, ivory, calicoes, long-pepper, precious stones, indigo, dyeing stuff, spices, &c. Traders from Egypt came as far as the Ganges. The Grecian traders, brought chrysalites, plain clothing, *stimmi*? (black lead), white glass, metals, wine, sandarack, arsenic and spices, and they carried black pepper, pearls, ivory, silk stuffs, spikenard, malibuthrum, diamonds, hyacints, and other pellucid gems, and turtle shell. The Grecian trade was with a town named Ganges at the mouth of the Ganges from which they got muslins, malibuthrum, gangetic pikenard and pearls. The Romans required more goods from India than they consumed *via* Egypt and Syria, and they therefore opened another route *via* Palmyra from the Euphrates, to the Mediterranean. The silks and spices of India were paid by Greece and Rome by silver, and it was so prodigal that Tacitus and Pliny mention it "as a national evil."

The commercial intercourse between Rome and India is said to have been so profitable to the former that a Roman fortune frequently exceeded £200,000 sterling, and "Lallia and Paulina the niece of one of their governors decorated herself on ordinary occasions with jewels valued at more than £300,000."*

Besides the above nations, Indian goods were imported by colonies and tribes or exported by the Indians. Indian vessels called at Dioscorides between Arabia and Africa where Indians had been settled to sell rice, Indian linen and female slaves. Indian vessels also called at Moseha (Muscat) and passed winter there selling calicoes, corn, and oil for frankincense. Vessels from Barygaza also went to Apologus at the mouth of the Euphrates to sell brass and woods and receive frankincense. We notice that Barygaza was the most important port. It was the entrepot of merchandize from China, the southern India and Africa. It possessed a number of pilot vessels by which all foreign ships were conducted to the city. In three days a vessel could discharge her import cargo and be loaded again.

In the trade with Chryse—comprising Ava, Pegu, and Malacca, the Hindus took an active part. The trade of India with Ceylon was also important.

* Taylor's Letters on India.

The most important places in Western India are as follows:—

1. Warbaree emporium (Pattala) vessels from various countries brought drapery, chrysolites, corals, storax, frankincense, glass, vessels (silver plate), money, and wine. The exports from the port were costus, Bdellium, dye stuffs, Cullian stone, sapphires, silk, skins, calicoes, indigo.

2. The next emporium was Barygaga or Barnock. Here the productions of the different countries home and foreign were brought by land over the Balu Ghat Mountains. From Egypt were brought wine, metals, coral, chrysolites, garments, sashes, storax, mehlol, white glass, sandaruk ointment, gold, silver, precious silver vessels, musical instruments, *beautiful virgins* for the seraglio, wine of the first quality and plain dresses. The exports were costus, Bdellium, ivory, onyx, and Murrhine stones, myrrh, Lycium muslins and calicoes, silk stuff and silk thread, mello-chitum (cotton cloth), &c.

3. Musiria was frequented by Grecian vessels.

4. Nelkyndu at the mouth of which was Barake, where vessels used to come for pepper and malabuthrum.

5. Another port which was a great mart, was the Island of Bateon* the opposite side of the Gulf of Cutch. This port which was the depository of excellent shells* and "a great mart of commerce for other nations from the East and South." The Egyptians and Arabs are said to have carried away from this port the learning of India.

The Southern India had a number of ports *viz.*, Bulita, Comer, Colchie, Cumura, Poducke and Sapathma which carried on a coasting trade. From Limyrica they received articles imported from Egypt as well as native wares. Ceylon, immortalized in the Ramayan as great country abounding in gold, silver and pearls, was the seat of extensive commerce. To the different native and foreign races it was known as producing ivory, turtle shell, pearls, mushes, cinnamon, &c. Even so late as A. D. 517-22, the Island was visited by vessels from India, Persia, Ethiopia, South Arabia, and China. From China were received silk, aloes, cloves, the wood of cloves. From Callicene (W. India) copper, wood of sesame like ebony and a variety of stuffs. From Scindia, musk, castoreum, an spikenard. Ceylon exported cinnamon, pearls, gems, turtle shell, ivory, &c. to Mali in Malabar.

The countries adjacent were Angale and Musulia where muslin was manufactured and the latter possessed a pearl fishery. Another country contiguous was Desarene which abounded in elephants. For more than two centuries, Constantinople carried on a trade with India by land and sea "from the banks of the

* Postans' Western India.

Ganges and Indus to the south-east quarter of the Caspian Sea and from thence to Trebesond in the Black Sea and also from, the Persian Gulf, by the deserts of Syria and Arabia assisted by the rivers Euphrates and Tigris." If the Hindus were a maritime nation, navigation must have been the study of certain classes.

Arrian states that some classes of the Hindus were "ship-builders and sailors who navigate the rivers."

Mrs. Postans in her *Western India* says, "The mariners however satisfied with their country are a most fearless and enterprising race, trading as their forefathers for centuries to all parts of the Red Sea and even stretching to the Eastern Coasts of Africa, Ceylon, and China Sea."

Coins.—Colonel Tod says "their (Rama, Krishna and Pandavas) cities and coins still exist."

The R. V. says "who gives one hundred of suvarnas." A suvarna according to Colebrooke, was equal to sixteen nishas. Ramayana, "And let a thousand coins of gold." In Menu the different weights of copper, silver and gold coin are to be met. The Mitaksara contains a law punishing those who counterfeited coin. Huet says "that the Indians having gold and silver of their own produce had learnt among other customs of the Egyptians the art of making money to facilitate their trade." Wilson, in a note to the Toy Cart, clearly bears his testimony to the existence of coins among the Hindus. He shows this by the sense of the Suvarna, Gadhi, Sacti and Namaká. Arrian states that the Hindus had gold money before Alexander as he received it from certain countries. Hindu coins have been found in Nepal, Assam, Rungpoor, Ooch Behar, Tippera, Joyantipoor, Munipoor, Central India, Aindra, Rajpootana, Indraprastha.*

James Prinsep observes:—"The Hindus made considerable progress in coining." Ceylon and Western India had coined gold and silver.

Bills.—The author of "Commerce, Money and Banking," states that "bills of exchange have been known to the Hindus from very remote periods."

Interest.—The Mitaksara states that persons who borrowed for employment in mercantile business had to pay interest at 10 per cent. per month if they had to travel on a dangerous road and 20 per cent. if they made a sea voyage. Bibad Chintamani sanctions the charging of interest on goods sold if not paid for within six months.

Commercial Morality.—Menu legislated for the punishment of

* Marsden's Numismatica Orientalis and Journal of the A. S. of Bengal, Vol. II.

commercial frauds in view to the promotion of commercial morality. The delivery of goods of less value, charging higher prices for goods of ordinary value, selling bad grain for good, or of good seed placed at the top of the bag to conceal the bad, constituted offences and were punishable. Mitakshara notices the following offences which were punishable. Combination on the part of merchants to fix a different value from that fixed by the king. If the merchants wishing to pay the articles of another country at low prices prevent them from being sold in their own with the view to secure high prices for their own goods, they were punishable. If they spoke falsehood as to the weight of any article or passed by stealth the place where custom was payable, they were subject to fine.

Menu inculcates, "Of all pure things, purity in acquiring wealth is pronounced the most excellent; since he who gains wealth with pure hand is truly pure"

Wealth.—The wealth of India has been proverbially great. The description of the opulence of India given in the epic poems and other works is fabulous; but that the statements to a great extent are true is borne out by the buildings, temples, caves and other works, which added to the immense treasure plundered by the Mahomedan conquerors, the fertility of the country, the elasticity of its resources, the industry and intelligence of its agricultural, manufacturing and commercial classes realizes the poetic description that it is the land of "barbaric pearl and gold."

PEARY CHAND MITTRA.

ART. IV.—OUR LAND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION IN UPPER INDIA.*

I FEAR that the spectacle of an officer of four and a half years' service daring to lift up a piping voice in published criticisms on revenue problems has outraged the susceptibilities of some experienced revenue officials. I trust, however, that the book, notwithstanding its many errors and deficiencies, has served some good purpose. It is to be recollected, that young civilians do not in these days, whatever their other defects may be, disembark in ignorance of the main features of our revenue system; to some extent they have penetrated those mysteries before their arrival in India; to its shibboleths and technicalities indeed they may be strangers, and perhaps it would be well for them never to acquire many of its formalities; but its leading characteristics are not unfamiliar, nor are they such sphinx-like riddles, as only an Œdipus can hope to master,

“Die hohe krapf
Der Wissenschaft
Der ganzen Welt verborgen.”.

Common sense, and some careful enquiry can enable even youthful officers to, offer sound and well-considered opinions on these important questions, and I may plead in justification for my “insanabilis scribendi cacoëthes” an uninterrupted study pursued under most favorable circumstances, my work having almost from the first months of residence mainly consisted of revenue business, and since the cold weather of 1873 I have been employed in helping to reconsider the revised assessments in four districts. It would be impossible to provide a more favorable opportunity for arriving at a correct appreciation of the real causes of default and insolvency among the landed classes of Oudh; I have followed in the close wake of the assessors, and have hence been able to trace with considerable accuracy the progress of particular landowners and village communities on the downward path. Employment of this kind enables any officer of ordinary intelligence to detect the precise points in which the shoe of reassessment has most pinched its wearers, and I

* I am indebted to the Editor for his courtesy in allowing me a place in the *Calcutta Review* for the further discussion of this important subject. Space, however, is limited, and I have only been able to treat two questions, those of rent roll assessment and improved district revenue management

with any fullness. Many points in the preceding articles on these revenue problems (those of Mr. Crosthwaite and of Mr. Carnegy, which appeared in the Nos. for October 1876 and January 1877) require more detailed reply or investigation than I am able to give in the following pages.—C. J. C.

may perhaps be allowed to say without conceit that I have not neglected the rare opportunity thus offered. A laborious collection of facts derived from the recent histories of particular villages, has enabled me, for instance, to urge the question of imperfect partitions on the notice of officials with some degree of success and I trust, I shall not be suspected of self-sufficiency, if I venture to assert, that, had my critic, Mr. Carnegy, in addition to the extensive attainments of his long career, possessed one tithe of such experience, he would have been in a better position to conduct the settlement of a district than if he had previously carried out the assessment of a whole province. There can be no better training for the future assessor than to follow for a short while the track of a retired settlement officer. He, poor man, withdraws from the scene of his infinite labour, justly proud of his admirable reports and statistical tables, and proudly deeming that his work will live ~~ever~~ if he pass away: many a settlement, which looked so firm at first, has crumbled to pieces because its house was built on the sand of theoretical data, and their end reminds the constant reader of Government reports that the state of a settlement officer resembles not indistinctly the general state of man:—

“To-day he puts forth
The tender leaves of hope; to-morrow blossoms
And bears his blushing honors thick upon him;
The third day comes a frost, a killing frost,
And when he thinks, good easy man, full surely
His greatness is a ripening, nips his root and then he falls.”

Those who have criticized recent achievements and suggested a change of system have done so solely from a wish to prevent the repetition of similar mistakes; and I had no intention of making out, as Mr. Crothwaite supposes, a grave indictment against Oudh settlement officers in particular, nor would they, I imagine, accept Mr. Carnegy's article as a satisfactory championship. I was careful to point out that many of the district settlements, such as those of Rai Bareilly, Unao, Pratabgarh, Sultanpur proper, parts of Lucknow, &c., had been carried out with admirable skill, and the happiest results, and I took occasion to enumerate the difficulties under which Oudh officers had laboured as compared with their more lightly-worked brethren in the North-West Provinces. Some of them carried on the current duties of district officers in addition to their settlement work; all of them were not only assessors of the land revenue but of civil courts of first instance as well as of appeal; there were no hill-station, in which they could cool their brains heated and worried by cold-weather inspections; a return from camp did not mean temporary rest, but equal drudgery in stifling courts. Mr. Carnegy and his Faizabad staff have no need to be greatly disturbed if their assessment of a most difficult district

has not proved so successful as was hoped, when the returns show that they disposed of some 60,000 lawsuits side by side with assessment operations ; indeed it is a matter for marveling that the Oudh settlement is so near its completion, when it is recollected that a complete record of rights, framed not on the simple basis of possession but in accordance with legal decisions in thousands of fiercely-contested suits, has been or will shortly be secured in addition to the fixation of the Government revenue for thirty years. This has been no light task, and Oudh officers may confidently assert, that, all things considered, their work though in many cases conducted according to principles the wisdom of which has latterly been questioned, is as satisfactory as could be expected under the existing system of assessment. It was the system that I ventured to assail, not the officials, who carried out that system ; and I should be grieved, if any words of mine have wounded the feelings of any fellow-officers, for all of whom I entertain profound respect, and some of whom I am proud to consider my personal friends. Nothing, however, is more calculated to impress the mind of a new arrival, innocent of all taint of "revenue experience" or "practical knowledge", than the ease and equanimity with which some Anglo-Indian officials have contemplated these sudden enhancements of revenue, and these harsh reductions in the material well-being of large sections of the native population.

To officials like Mr. Carnegie, determined to contemplate the world beneath them through the tinted spectacles of statistical tables and symmetrical percentages, there never seem to occur

Those obstinate questionings of sense and outward things.

They move along in complacent contemplation of Deccan riots, Behar disturbances, Talukdars' Relief Acts, Sindh Jagirdars and Zamindars' Relief Acts, Chutia Nagpore, Thakuts of Broach, and Ahmadabad Relief Acts, as if all this insolvency and discontent were the effect of some original sin on the part of the governed race, and in no possible degree attributable to the direct or indirect action of the State. It is fortunate for India that to all her rulers are not equally unknown those .

Blank misgivings of a creature
Moving about in worlds not realized.

which appear to be so foreign to some bureaucrats. A newcomer, who has any desire to understand the problems of Anglo-Indian administration, is not content with my critic's philosophy, but is eager to discover by patient inquiry whether all this indebtedness and misery is incapable of relief or remedy ; and it was the unsatisfactory result of twenty years of English rule in Oudh, that impelled me to attempt a course of investigation, the upshot of

which is embodied in the book, which has recently been subjected to searching criticism in this review.

I do not intend to estimate the comparative merits of the North-West and Oudh settlements; Mr. Crosthwaite endeavours to whitewash the one, while he is content with the blackness of the other. The statements made by me were based on the minutes and speeches of Sir W. Muir, the speech of Mr. Inglis in the Legislative Assembly, the memorandum of Mr. A. Colvin, the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, and that Board's report;* my critic (whom I have to thank for considerate courtesy under some provocation) adduces figures relating to estates in Farrackabad and Etawah in proof of equitable assessment, and I am in no position to question them; in justice to myself I will, however, requote what I printed before in respect to those districts. Sir W. Muir, in his minute of March 1874, records that "some officers, have, as they say, 'discouraged the coming rise of rent' that is, have pitched their standard rates at a level somewhat above the actual rental of the district, in the expectation, that it would rise to the level assumed by them. This has been rightly discouraged by the Board of Revenue. To some extent, indeed, the principle has been admitted; that is to say, settlement officers have been allowed to assume when in any tract they find a prevailing rate, that exceptional cases of a lower rating will rise to such prevailing standard. But the Lieutenant-Governor fears that, in some cases, the action of the settlement officer has gone beyond this principle. For instance, in the reports submitted, Mr. Crosthwaite states that he feels sure his assessments are nearer two-thirds than half the existing assets, *i.e.*, of the rental as they now stand. The same is said by Mr. Buck (though perhaps on insufficient grounds) of the assessments of Farrackabad; so also Mr. Ridsdale admits, that 'his new assumed rental' is at present in excess of the actual by 18 p.c. The rules in regard to gradual enhancement of revenue are of recent origin, and do not therefore whitewash previous practice while the authoritative fixation of rents by assessors only date from the Revenue Act of 1873. Mr. Auckland Colvin's description† of the course of settlement operations in the North-West Provinces may be a sensational pamphlet to Mr. Crosthwaite but its most sensational passage was quoted by Sir W. Muir at sitting of the Legislative Council.

Henceforth indeed it will be difficult to contest the merits of an assessment, for since if the assessors are authorized to fix the rent of the tenantry on the basis of their arbitrary rates the rent-roll will no longer testify to differences between actualities and settle

* And I beg to refer the reader to my book for their perusal.

† Quoted on pages 68-69 of my book.

ment lucubrations, but will merely reflect the leading idiosyncrasy of amateur landsurveyors. Under such circumstances criticism becomes an impossibility, since there are no data to guide the sceptic; the village records prove the satisfactory character of the revised demand, because they themselves have been re-written in accordance with its arbitrary rates, and in the absence of reliable village papers (reliable, *i.e.*, in the sense of representing the spontaneous development of rent) the outsider is unable to secure any evidence in respect to the moderation of the assessor's proposed average rents. I regret that I shall have no space to consider the merits of the new practice of authoritative fixation of rents by the settlement officer; I fear unless carefully watched, it may lead to evil results. I have had some experiences of the results of determining the future payments of under-proprietors, and occupancy tenants* on the basis of the assessor's average rates, and I have found that the application of these arbitrary rates to the various fields of the decree-holders, unaccompanied by a most rigid scrutiny of the native survey, leads to grave miscarriage of justice. At some future time I may perhaps hope to return to this subject, which I am unable to treat fully in this article.

My two critics would not seem to have done me the honor of any lengthened perusal of the method recommended with a view to rent-roll assessments. Contempt for such puny and childlike suggestions has led Mr. Carnegie to sweep them aside from his height of scientific serenity by asseverating "that the proposal in all its simplicity and nakedness means neither more nor less than the assessing officer abnegating his functions to the village patwari, and contenting himself with the undignified and mechanical process of dividing such figures as may be placed before him by two and so fixing the Government demand"; similarly Mr. Crosthwaite considers that "no more utterly unfair and preposterous assessment would be made than one which should be based on the recorded rentals accepting the condition of each village as normal and final, and trusting to the honesty of the zamindars and the fidelity of the village accountants"; and that "if it is the author's intention to contend that each village should be assessed on its own rental without regard to the rents paid elsewhere for similar land, he is altogether wrong and has no conception of the first virtue of a settlement—equality of assessment." The same critic gently snubs the supposed conceit of a youthful enthusiast in assuming the rôle of a reformer, by assuring me that there have been Aganemnon before his appearance on the revenue stage, and that he is "not the first wise man to

* I allude to the small sub-holders in Eastern Oudh, whose case has been a very sad one.

whom so very simple a way of getting through a very difficult business has occurred." Writers, who profess to examine the suggestions of others, should at least do their proposers the justice of a sufficient examination. The most cursory perusal would show Mr. Crosthwaite that one argument in favor of my views was that "the system proposed was *no new one*; it was devised and worked in Unao with excellent result by Mr. Clifford and by his successor Mr. Maconachie"; and elsewhere it was noted that those Oudh assessments which had as in Rai Bareli and Pratabgarh been based mainly on the village rent-rolls had almost alone stood the test of time. Mr. Carnegie *ex cathedra* Commissioner summarily disposes of the method advocated by assuring his readers that "it has in all time been found simply impossible to obtain anything like a reliable rent-roll." It is ingenious but scarcely ingenuous to hazard this courageous dictum, since the writer at the very moment of penmanship was presiding over the destinies of a district (Rai Bareli) in which the plans advocated had been carried out with pre-eminent success by Col. Macandrew (now Commissioner of Sitapur) and are described with admirable clearness and with just confidence in his recently published work.* The most fugitive glance at my appendix would have shewn my opponents that the system suggested involved an immense amount of labor.† The rent-rolls of every village, tested previously by the pargana kánungos, were to be collected and analyzed in the greatest detail; the rents recorded in the different rent-rolls for the different classes of fields in the occupation of ordinary tenants were to be compared with one another, all under proprietary, and favoured holdings having been separately grouped, and similarly analyzed; by this process the rents recorded as being actually paid by the tenants-at-will would be at length secured, and these would form the basis of assessment, and afford data for the proper taxation of the other low-rented holdings. These rent-rates would be framed on the solid stratum of fact, and would be adhered to, unless it should appear on comparing any particular village with its neighbours, that the rents recorded in its papers, were all abnormally high or unduly low; if they exceeded or fell below the average of the neighbourhood, enquiry was to be made to discover, whether in the first case they represented large expenditure of capital, and therefore required allowances, or were the result of a large proportion of unusually industrious tenants, as Muravs or Kurmis holding most of the best land;

* On Some Revenue Matters, chiefly in the Province of Oudh." By Lieutenant Colonel Macandrew, B. S. C., Commissioner of Sitapur. Thacker, Spink & Co., 1876.

† For specimens of jamabandi analysis I refer the reader to his book and my own appendix, too long for insertion here.

or, in the second case, whether they were low because assets had been concealed, or because there was an unusual dearth of low-caste cultivators, or an occupation of the better fields by the proprietors, or their sub-holders; under these latter circumstances the average rates of similar estates would be taken in preference to those recorded in the papers of the property in question. In calculating the rents to be placed on the lands of the high-caste tenantry, or the farms of the owners, their kinsmen, and under-proprietors, due allowances were to be made in consideration of their numbers, or the multiplicity of tenures; * grain-lands were to be separately classified with suitable deductions for the character of the rental.† Instead of futile and insufficient investigations as to the produce of different crops, the outturn of acres or bighas of special soils, the theoretical rent-paying capabilities of numberless classes of land, and laborious arguments as to prices, and possibilities of rent-increase in view of hazy canals or railways, in place of plough jamas, house jamas and mauze jamas, toilful deductions from awe-striking tables of ill-digested and scrappy data, haphazard out-of-door enquiries from boorish peasants, who make the first answer which may come into their heads, and whose random speech may lead to dangerous calculations as to the falsity of the village records, "the thing, (as Col. Macandrew says) to be ascertained is the *rent*; not the true economic rent, but the rent actually paid to the landlord, and by landlord is meant, all who share in the rent"; and he proceeds to note, that "the objection made is that the papers are untrustworthy, but I may be allowed to doubt the fact. I have not found it to be so myself, nor has any other officer whom I know, ‡ and who has taken the trouble to inquire. A jamabandi or fard-bati requires a good deal of sifting and analysis before we can get the true rent of the village out of it, but I firmly believe

* On the subject of grain-assessments, Col. Macandrew's book should be consulted; the grain-rents in Kheri are most curious, and a perusal of his analysis of grain-*Kankuts* will give much valuable information and completely contradict Mr. Crosthwaite's view of the landlord's greater gain from grain-rent-rolls, which has no basis whatever so far as Oudh is concerned.

† Colonel Macandrew says, "I think that 55½ per cent. of the rental is not more than an ordinary talukdar or zemindar can pay to the Government. I am of opinion, however, that where there are large under-proprietary interests in an estate, and

those under-proprietary rights are much sub-divided, and even in the villages held direct from Government by high-caste men forming a numerous community, so large a percentage should not be demanded. I think that discretion should be allowed to officers making a settlement to reduce the percentage of demand in such cases. It is impossible to say to what limit, for it depends on circumstances, and it must be left to the superior revenue officers to check any undue tendency in the direction of making the percentage too low."

‡ Of the opinions of various officers quoted on pp. 135-137 of *Our Land Revenue Policy*.

that when put through this process, it will give a nearer approximation to the truth, than can be reached by any other mode of procedure. Under these circumstances, the dictum of a high revenue authority, that they were, worthless, may merely have been received as an unquestionable article of faith by his disciples, but, until they show me that they have put the jamabandis to the test that I have put them, and found them to fail, I decline to accept the dictum as fact upon their authority. It is not so easy, as some people think, for thousands of men to falsify hundreds of thousands of entries with a common object of deceit, when each false entry puts the landlord at the mercy of his tenant both in the matter of paying only the lower rent entered, and of exposing the fraud.* The only extensive fraud I have found among village papers has been in villages belonging to Government, and the instigators of it were Government servants acting on the principle of the unjust stewards for their dishonest ends.† Now these are the words of an experienced assessor, who has carried out his system in the face of much controversy to a successful issue; there has been no revision of assessments in Rai Bareilly, and the rise obtained was 26 per cent.; there are no allegations of undue lightness, and his work has stood the severe test of a succession of bad seasons accompanied by every species of agricultural disaster. The enquirer, however, will search in vain Mr. Carnegie's published book, and his settlement reports, for any trace of such a detailed examination and analysis of the village rent-rolls; he rejects them for *a priori* reasons, or because their totals give him insufficient rentals; so far as can be judged from his various writings, he passed his unfavourable verdict on all village papers for the very reasons, which prove the absence of any careful examination; he distrusts them for instance, because they contain much *seer* land, but he does not attempt to group together all the fields held by co-sharers of the village, community apart from those in the occupancy of tenants; obviously, until all the tenant-at-will fields are brought together, (and those only,) it is not possible to arrive at the real rentals; if the favoured holdings are not sepa-

* Mr. Carnegie scoffs at the idea of securing entry of the real rents. I would draw his attention to a recent article (*Pioneer Mail* of June 13th 1877), which shows that when the Behar landlords according to the provisions of the Bengal Cess Act filed rentrolls, which showed lower rents than were really paid by their tenants, their cultivators "came trooping into Mozufferpore, or Durbhanga to secure copies," and "on discover-

ing the rates at which they were alleged to hold their lands, they offered those rates to the Zamindar, and on his rejection of the offer promptly paid the amounts into Court as their defence against the impending action." This action of the ryots will, effectually deter Behar landowners from filing incorrect returns in future.

† *Idem*, pp. 109-110.

rated, the average will be far too low; in the same way he condemns them because they contain lands held rent-free by retainers and village servants, but of course Col. Macandrew's system presupposes the careful classification of all such lands. I need not multiply instances; my critic's remarks demonstrate his inability or disinclination to comprehend even the rudiments of the system which he so unsparingly condemns; until he deigns to examine its merits in an impartial spirit, undisturbed by the memories of his own writings and *dicta*, he is not competent to propound a weighty opinion; those who hold Col. Macandrew's views would advise my opponent to take the opportunity of his present residence at Rai Bareilly to acquaint himself with the principles of the method pursued in that district. "As to the alternative," says the same experienced assessor, "what are called test jamas, which are calculations of so much per head of cultivating asamis, or so much per plough, so much per homestead, and so on, I have no faith in them. There is no possible comparison between the outturn of a Kurmi, and a Thakur family off so many acres of similar land, nor of their ploughs either; one officer showed me five such jamas, which he had worked out, for a pargana, which he had assessed at about a lakh, and the difference between the highest and the lowest was Rs. 40,000. In individual villages it would probably be even proportionally greater, and such tests can be of no practical value whatever." In effect all tests that are not based on rent-roll data are liable to similar errors; some may lead to equitable assessments, but there is always a great possibility of lamentable miscarriage of justice, since higher authority has no option but that of affording a doubting sanction to the elaborations of its subordinates, or rejecting them altogether, when offered in the shape of such tests as those described by Mr. Carnegie in his book on assessments.* He details his "*gross rental obtained from ploughs*" in the following language: "From my own preliminary inquiries, confirmed by the report of a committee of experts, it has been fairly established, that eight bighas is the average amount of land that can fairly be tilled during the year by a single plough in this neighbourhood, and the gross rental of such eight bighas contingent on the description of the natural soil, will range from Rs. 18 to 25. From this plough estimate the gross rental of the village according to natural soils is obtained." Again here is his "gross rental calculated on cultivators," and it will be seen that the data are in no way calculated to satisfy the thoughtful critic as to the correctness of his generalizations—"Having satisfied myself by careful inquiry, that a resident cultivator ordinarily tills in a fairly average manner two

* *Notes on the Land Tenures and Revenue Assessments of Upper India.* By P. Carnegie. Triibner and Co., London, 1874. pp. 109-110.

bighas and thirteen biswas of land in the year, I find that the quota of each such cultivator towards the gross rental of a village, situated in the various circles, ranges from eight to nine rupees." His third test is the "gross rental obtained by the application of the average rent rates of experts (?) to the natural soils, as recorded by the native surveyors." In his appendix which gives an example, his plough jama gave him Rs. 385, and his deduced jama Rs. 162, while his cultivators jama gave him only Rs. 136: he takes the first as the appropriate one, and fixes a demand of Rs. 186, adding Re. 1, for the culturable waste; the rent-roll only gave an assessment of Rs. 151. It is incredible, that there should be any hesitation in deciding between the two systems, if critics would only impartially weigh their relative merits as set forth in the books of their respective advocates (Mr. Carnegy's "Notes On Assessments" and Col. Macandrew's "On Some Revenue Matters chiefly in the Province of Oudh"). In the one case there are rent rates derived from actual facts; in the other case there are generalizations from general theories, all leading to conflicting results, and the ideas for which were taken presumably from tests applied by previous assessors in other parts of India. They remind one of Portia's description of Falconbridge: "How oddly he is suited! I think he bought his doublet in Italy, his round hose in France, his bonnet in Germany, and his behaviour everywhere."

Having carried out his assessment by these methods, which as stated by their owner, are scarcely calculated to satisfy the sceptical inquirer, Mr. Carnegy proves satisfactorily the moderation of his proposals by similar processes.* His rates are light, because "the Government demand falls at the rate of Rs. 3-8 per cultivator. It is universally admitted here that the gross produce per ordinary cultivator will be Rs. 20 per annum" and from this he concludes that Rs. 12 will go to the cultivator's share, and Rs. 8 to the proprietor as gross rental, "this being the proportion in which the produce is very generally though by no means invariably (*sic*) divided between landlord and tenant," and as of the Rs. 8, Rs. 4-3 should be paid to the State, while he had only taken Rs. 3-8, his revenue demand was obviously light. Again he asserts that "there are twelve descriptions of produce usually grown in the district, and the average yield of the twelve per acre is eight maunds and four seers. Apply this average yield to the cultivated area under report, and the total produce will be 15,20,985 maunds of grain; convert this into money in accordance with the accepted average price current of given term of years, and the result will be Rs. 19,47,660, of which sum Government according to the proportion of distribution just

* *Idem*, pp. 125-127.

indicated, is entitled to Rs. 3,93,901 against Rs. 3,70,722, the amount assessed on cultivation; "so he *proves* that his assessment is below by Rs. 23,179, the fair half assets." The third *proof* is akin to the two already quoted, and is too long for insertion; these astonishing processes of reasoning on what will appear to most readers data of very insufficient trustworthiness remind me of the logical ability with which my critic in the early pages of his article conclusively establishes the prosperity and happiness of the landed classes in Oudh by estimating the number and value of "parcels containing rupees packed in cloth and tin, that are daily sent through the rural post offices in large numbers." Apparently a batch of these parcels was opened, and they contained an average of Rs. 9; Mr. Carnegie thereupon concludes, that "we may be well within the mark in estimating the receipts in this way at 2 lacs." Criticism is needless.*

The system of assessing on arbitrary rent-rates, besides requiring a far more accurate survey and classification of *soils*, than is usually secured from the work of native surveyors (but I have no space to discuss the question of soils here) is, as remarked by Colonel Macandrew, "not suited to lands, the cultivation of which varies from year to year, especially when the broken-up land pays a lower, but increasing rate: the rates being average are apt to be low on the best and high on the worst lands, and to press hard on the poorer classes of villages. It is true that the settlement officer is not expected to blindly adhere to his rates, but, where they are far out, an unnecessary responsibility is thrown upon him, when he visits the village, and he is set a task very hard to perform with any degree of self-reliance—all the assessments that have had to be revised in Oudh, have been made on this principle, and the general story is the same,—the jama was too heavy on the poor lands." The system of placing villages in arbitrary classes, and of assessing them on arbitrary average rates may lead to a light rating of the average villages,† but it makes no allowances for the innumerable items, in which one village or one property in the same class differs in smaller or greater degree from its fellows; nothing but a careful analysis of the rent-roll will suffice to lay bare the real paying-capabilities of different estates; in other words the system alluded to, while professing to secure absolute equality of assessment (as seems

* Since writing this Mr. Carnegie notice during official work. I have has discovered that the indebtedness seen many cases where villages have, of agriculturists has become a "burning question." as their own rent-rolls show, been

† I could give quantities of instances, were I not precluded from using facts which have come to greatly underrated, solely owing to an omission to take the rent-rolls as the basis, and *vice versa*.

Mr. Crosthwaite's view) by levying identically the same rates from all villages, classified in one group, in fact entails grievous inequality of taxation, since no score of villages so exactly resemble one another as to authorize the imposition of such a rigid rating, and the assessor's hurried visit does not allow a sufficient examination of the points in which they respectively differ. Hence it follows that, while to superior authority, the average rent-rates seem moderate, and the proposals of the assessors, based on them, are sanctioned, the *distribution* of the revenue demand on particular villages or estates may easily involve a grave miscarriage of justice; the sole guide for their due application lies in the accuracy, with which the assessing officer noted the capacities and deficiencies of the hundreds of villages under settlement during the short cold-weather tour.

Both Mr. Carnegie and Mr. Crosthwaite utter some curious exclamations in regard to the system advocated by Col. Macandrew, and myself. Are we, they cry, to take half of rack-rents in villages, where the owners have succeeded in screwing excessive rates from a destitute peasantry. "Take," says the latter, "the case of a notorious rack-renter. Are we to accept his rates, and ruin his tenantry for him?" Are we, I should say, to leave him the whole gain of his nefarious greed? If the landlord succeeds in pillaging his tenants of Rs. 600 per annum, when the moderate rental would be Rs. 500, I cannot conceive on what ground Mr. Crosthwaite would only assess the property at half its normal letting-value; he cannot surely mean that the State, while taking no measures to check extortion, is to leave the proprietor the whole fruits of this coercive intimidation of the cultivators. If he collects his Rs. 600, he should be called on to pay a full half of his collections to the State; otherwise our assessment would act as a premium on such rack-renting, whereas it is the duty of Government to punish spoliation of the tenants, by compelling such landlords to render up every farthing of their ill-gotten receipts which the State can claim for its share. Of course in such exceptional cases (as for instance in regard to Sir Mān Singh's estate mentioned by Mr. Carnegie), I would suggest, that the assessing officer should offer the owner a lower rating than his rent-rolls would justify, on the express condition, that he reduces them to the normal rates of the neighbourhood, and binds himself under covenant not to raise them again for a fixed term of years: under any circumstances his rents would not be accepted as a basis for the assessment of other villages, as Mr. Carnegie imagines, for the principle of assessment on rent-rolls presupposes that, unless there be strong cause for rejecting the papers of a particular estate, it will be based on its own records.

The main defence of rent-roll assessments is this, that they

constitute the surest guarantee for real equality of assessment ; in other words they will not take more than half of the landowner's actual incomings from his estate. The rents, actually paid, as recorded in the village rent-rolls, afford an infinitely better estimate of the exact value of landed properties, than the hasty glance-visit of the assessor, paid once only at one particular time of year, perhaps at the ripening of the rice crop, possibly just after a drought, or, as Colonel Macandrew points out, it unfortunately happened in parts of Oudh, just at a period of exceptional harvests. If an assessor bases his revenue demand mainly on his arbitrary rates, his visit to the villages, hurried as it necessarily must be, where so many have to be inspected in a short time, practically determines the incidence of the revised tax ; it follows that even where the total assessments of a district or pargana is moderate, the fixation of the demand in *particular* instances may err extensively either in its lightness or its severity ; it may and often does wholly overstate, or underestimate the real incomings, whereas the rent-rates offered from the village papers, represent the *normal* condition of the fields, their average marketable values, and not the prosperity or adversity of a particular season, or the idiosyncrasy of this or that officer. True equality of assessment is not secured by uniformity of rating ; it must aim at requiring some equality of sacrifice, and the disclosures of the village rent-roll will best enable the assessor to determine this important question. We cannot accept that equality of assessment, which regards the land to be assessed merely as a tract of so many acres, in which all the fields of particular soils must contribute an equal quota to the estimates of gross rental ; and the process of fixing the revenue demand as a mere arithmetical problem when once the arbitrary rates have been concocted. The settlement of a district does not mean the mere assessment of its component villages on previously fixed percentages of rating, but the taxation of proprietary and under-proprietary communities, of large bodies of petty sub holders, of chiefs of ancient clans, of varying bodies of tenants, from whom one uniform sum cannot be demanded on any principle of equity. Men must live, but the rental is limited ; and if the State shall inexorably exacts the full half of what it considers *should* be the rental instead of accepting half that amount which the owners of particular estates with all honest effort are able to obtain from their peasants—or if it refuses to accept some reduction of its own legitimate share in consideration of the large number of mouths to be fed from the remainder, it sanctions a system, which sooner or later entails as much loss on society at large as it does at once on its immediate victims.

That cannot be considered a fair method of assessment, which taxes the lands tilled by a high-caste community of resident Thakur co-sharers, whose ploughmen receive a share in the outturn,

and the estate of a single owner tilled mainly by Kurmi or Murav tenants-at-will on equal terms, because they are both grouped together in an arbitrary class. The rent-roll shows the fall in rents resulting from exposure to floods; or the raids of wild animals, or from a necessity to allow periodical fallows, as in the case of hard rice-lands, but not so surely will the gallop-over of the inspecting officer detect similar defects; even a leisurely morning's examination, (and notwithstanding Mr. Crosthwaite's picture of a daily eight hours' tramp, how few do thus accurately *walk* their villages) would fail to yield half such an accurate appraisalment even to experienced agriculturists, as few of our settlement staff are. "I can conceive," writes the Unao settlement officer, "no system of arbitrary rates, by which I mean rates not actually deduced from recorded rents, no matter how carefully or scientifically prepared, giving anything like so correct a picture of the village, as average rents obtained from the village rent-roll by detailed analysis; differing as every village will do more or less, it is hardly possible to get one rate which can be applied to all the villages in a circle, though with apparently the same class of soil and amount of irrigation." It is scarcely necessary to discuss at further length this question of rent-roll assessments; the Bombay system (which is the extreme of the other plan) dependent as it is on generalizations from data of insufficient certainty is not one which, in view of recent disclosures, it is desirable to imitate; and the Local Government of the North-West Provinces and Oudh, undeterred by Mr. Carnegie's logic, are apparently resolved to make every effort to secure the accuracy of the village records as the only safe basis for future assessments. Mr. Carnegie has fallen into a complete error in supposing that my writings advocated immoderate reduction of assessment as the panacea for all evils; or that I am influenced by any mere "amiable" desire to improperly diminish the share of land rent due to the State. Those who have urged the defects of the present system, have been compelled to expose existing abuses from no wanton desire to attack particular officials; but solely from an anxiety that the embarrassments of land-owners should not be attributable in any degree to the direct action of Government.

This is a reproach to which a civilized Government cannot fail to be keenly sensitive; however undesirable it may be to bring into prominent notice the errors of any particular official, a bureaucracy of foreigners can only learn by experience, and the expediency of maintaining in full blossom any special reputation must sometimes yield to the greater necessity of securing the happiness of the native population. It cannot be denied that our excessive and sudden enhancements of revenue are in many districts greatly to

blame for the present insolvency of the landowners.* Mr. Crosthwaite admits that the plan of at once demanding payment of the full increase without granting any progressive rise was indefensible, and I gather from his remarks that the North-West Provinces Government has, as in Oudh, sanctioned a change of policy in this respect; but in earlier revisions the principle of a gradual increase was not adopted, and it cannot be doubted that serious distress has been caused in direct neglect of the notable directions of 1822, which cautioned assessors, that "even where the means of raising the revenue are more abundant, where the strict right of Government to demand an increase is undoubted and the ultimate enforcement of such a demand may be of clear expediency, they have urged the necessity of avoiding any sudden enhancement. The existing appropriation of individuals, or classes of the net-rent of the country may be abusive and useless, but it may not be the less inconsistent with humanity and policy for the Government to destroy, by a sudden resumption of its rights, institutions and habits which have grown out of the relinquishment."† In the same strain wrote the Board of Directors, and such eminent authorities as Mr. Holt Mackenzie and Mr. Bird; and Mr. Carnegie would have done well to have introduced their warnings into his code of ethics. Seeing that Government has recognized the injustice of compelling the immediate payment of heavily increased assessments, it is waste of time to seriously argue with my adversary, who is still under the impression, that, "before the Oudh total provincial rise of 46 per cent. can be shewn to be oppressive, it must be proved, that the summary assessments were absolutely correct." He thus fails to comprehend in the slightest degree the argument in favour of gradual enhancement; it is not because the present assessments do not represent more than 50 per cent. of the rental, that it is unwise and indeed inhuman to exact at once the full moiety; the impolicy consists in reducing men as Mr. Bird points out, "at a stroke from great affluence to narrow circumstances," as in the case of the Gahirwar clan mentioned in my book. The question may now be regarded as settled, and even if it were still *sub judice*, it is idle to enter into controversy with a writer, who, however able and experienced he may be in the technicalities of settlement questions, can believe that "in Gorakhpur a rise of 350

* This appears from Mr. Colvin's memorandum on the Deccan riots to be one cause also of the present impoverishment of the cultivators in some of the re-assessed Bombay subdivisions.

† Revenue Records, N.-W. P., 1822-33. Allahabad 1872.

Even in Mr. Carnegie's own ethical

code, I remember the warning, that "it is still more fatal to over-assess, than to under-assess" (I quote memory); and the author (Mr. Thomason) goes on to point out the various evils which are the inevitable consequence of immoderate settlements.

per cent. was obtained, *and that without a murmur.*"* Sir W. Muir and Sir George Couper have both written strongly on the suffering and hardship caused by the adoption of the views still adhered to by Mr. Carnegy; and without wishing to irritate senior officials by any further display of conceit, I may add, that having been, since I first wrote on this question, continuously engaged in revising the recent assessments, I feel convinced that the practice of granting no respite before the levy of the new demand has been more extensively the cause of the failure of recent settlements, especially in districts crammed with small tenure-holders than mere over-estimate of the rentals. Mr. Carnegy points with pride to his enhancement of the Faizabad revenue by only 39½ per cent., but he forgets that this is only the rate *on the whole district*; in many cases the increase has of course been double and treble this figure, and the averages of his parganas even reach so high as 59 per cent. This indifference to the results of re-assessment and other settlement operations seems deeply ingrained in my critic; it is the harshness of the increase in *individual* instances, that has proved so fatal in some Oudh districts. I illustrate this by a quotation from a published report of Mr. Carnegy, to which comment is needless though the writer's equanimity at the result of his work is surprising. "The pargana † (Birhar) is I may say, entirely talukdari, being held by four members of the Palwar class, and it is overrun with intermediate occupants, amongst whom are included several junior branches of the family of the talukdari. To such an extent do these exist, that during the summary settlement, not more than 15 per cent. of the property of the talukdars has been under their direct management; the rest, *viz.*, 85 per cent. being held by the parties, who rightly or wrongly have hitherto been supposed to be sub-proprietors. Of this large percentage of land hitherto managed, as I have said, by intermediate occupants, I estimate that not more than 11 per cent. of the profits has, during the summary settlement, found its way to the talookdars, so that it may be said, that up to the present time, the profits of the pargana has been divided in the proportion of 25 per cent. to the proprietor, and 75 per cent. to the inferior holders. *The result of the revised settlement will be, I believe, to invert these profits as nearly as possible, leaving to the former 75 per cent. and to the latter, 25 per cent.*" ‡ Now when, as the writer points out, the assessments were at the same time raised 59 per cent. it is manifest that the result of settlement operations would be something like social revolution, even if the revised

* The italics are mine. Colonel Macandrew's remarks on this point are worth perusal. ment, Tahsil Alebarpur, para. 33. Oudh Government Press.

† Fiscal Report, Faizabad Settlement.

‡ The italics are mine.

demand in itself represented, as doubtless it may have done, no more than a fair half of the assets.

I have no intention of straying into any controversy in regard to the merits of the Faizabad settlement; nor indeed could I undertake such a course without impropriety. So far as Mr. Carnegie's article constitutes a championship of his special procedure in that district, so far it forms an attack on the policy of the Oudh Government whose deliberate verdict, as published in its annual reports, has been the sole basis for recent discussions; into the contests between a settlement officer and his Local Administration, I, "youthful Agamemnon" though I be, fear to enter, and Sir George Couper's Government may be safely left to its own weapons of defence. The quotations, which I have considered myself at liberty to make from Mr. Carnegie's published work, I have used merely to illustrate the fallacies and dangers of the methods of assessment advocated by my critic. It would be idle moreover to argue, with men, who, in defiance of the stern teachings of experience, staunchly pin their faith to fossils; and it is no disrespect to the memory of an eminent name to assert that Mr. Thomason's celebrated rules, (elevated unfortunately by Mr. Carnegie into a rigid code of settlement ethics under the title of the Thomasonian philosophy,) are neither calculated, nor were they intended, to serve as a model for servile imitation in all provinces, and in all ages. Mr. Thomason, were he still alive, would probably be the first to recognise the inapplicability of all his principles to a newly annexed province like Oudh, crowded with intricate and little-known tenures, the victim of years of anarchy and misrule. Moreover, in refusing to admit the justice of the strictures passed on certain portions of the Faizabad procedure, Mr. Carnegie runs counter to the decision of a conference of experienced Oudh revenue officers, presided over by Lord Northbrook himself in November 1873, and there is no necessity for further thrashing; the principles, whose champion he is, are condemned by common sense as strongly as they are opposed to the first elements of equity. It is sufficient, to point out, that common justice, and fair play demand, that the State should not exact its augmented assessments from the proprietors of land until it has recorded the rights, and proportionally raised the rents of the subordinate holders, or, in the case of proprietary and under-proprietary communities of a newly occupied province, authoritatively registered the shares of and the quota of land revenue henceforth payable by each member of the co-parcenary body. It is not creditable to my critic's candour, that he should instance Talukdari estates as forming the majority of landed properties, and assure his readers, that it would be inexpedient to delay the levy of the revised assessments merely in the interests

of "the few" other estates, not similarly held by single owners; obviously, if those estates were few in number, it would be no great matter to complete their share-registers expeditiously, but my opponent knows as well as I do, that it is precisely in these Talukdari estates that the proprietary communities are most numerous, though they now occupy the position of sub-holders. It is notorious, that it is just in these estates, that the failure to complete the record of rights has been most fatal; the annual reports have again and again noticed the inability of the Faizabad Talukdars, and of the Superintendent of Encumbered Talukdari estates to secure payment of rent from these under-proprietary communities, and it was to settle their rights that the Sub-settlement Act of 1866, which provoked such lengthy discussions, was passed at the instance of Sir John Strachey, then Chief Commissioner of Oudh. Again my critic knows, or should know, that there was no law in Oudh authorizing the assessors to fix authoritatively the rents of the tenants, at-will; these are questions of pure voluntary contracts, and the settlement circulars could only encourage officers to register in revised rent-rolls the mutual agreements of landlords and tenants; the mere record of leases filed by landowners unsupported by the intelligent consent of cultivators is not such evidence as a law-court could accept in legal proof of rent-enhancement; and Mr. Carnegie is less intimately acquainted with the characters of the Brahman, and Thākūr as well as of the low caste peasantry, than I should have supposed, if he believes that the soothing advice of subordinates of the settlement establishments, followed up by elaborate rent-schedules, fixes increased rents, of which the landlords can obtain regular receipt. It may be quite possible even to obtain the signatures of large bodies of illiterate peasants to augmentations of rent (and here I would draw his attention to the revenue report of 1875, which gives the reasons for failure to realize rents in the estates managed by the Faizabad Superintendent) but this does not secure payment of those rents. That report shows that in all but the Faizabad circle the annual rentals were realized up to 95 per cent.; but in that circle the collections were equal to little more than 73 per cent. of a year's rental, and I find a detailed table of rents due in the Faizabad estates, which shows that ordinary tenants at present owe 83-69 per cent. of a year's rental, while the various classes of under-proprietary are indebted to the large extent of 133-13 per cent.* Again part of these balances is explained to be "items entered in the books but disallowed by the Courts," as well as "arrears due by tenants, who have broken down, absconded, or died." It was also in regard to sudden and wholesale augmentations of rents

* Page 20, Oudh Revenue Report, 1875.

that I instanced the result of settlement operations in the Meerut District, and not, as Mr. Crosthwaite imagined, as an example of severe assessment *per se*. Neither Oudh, I imagine, nor any other tenants are likely to agree to indiscriminate rent-augmentations on the basis of the assessor's arbitrary rates; threats of wholesale eviction could alone secure assent, but even consent does not imply payment,—and recent Oudh reports relate, how the attempts of the landlords to secure larger rents after the introduction of the revised assessments multiplied notices of ejectment to an extent, which attracted the notice of the Government of India, while the necessity for the repeal of the stamp fee on under-proprietary claims is absolute proof that until such suits had been heard, and the future rents fixed by due legal authority, Mr. Carnegie's assessments could not obtain realization. I know tracts, where almost the whole peasantry are Brahman tenants; it is an easy process to augment their rents all round *on paper* by applying the settlement rent rates to their fields, but I defy Mr. Carnegie or any one else to force the cultivators to pay them. I have no leisure however to discuss this question of high-caste rents; it is manifest that these high-caste peasants do not and cannot pay the same rates as those offered by Koris and Pasis, who live in hovels, and feed on the village pig.

The under-proprietary difficulties in Oudh are far from settlement, but this article has already reached its proper limit, and I must not trespass further; suffice it to say, that an amendment of the Oudh Rent Act is a matter of great urgency, with a view to restore to the landowners their former power of distraining the crops of defaulting sub-holders; at present they have no remedy save in a lawsuit, but that is too costly to be a favorite, even if it were a successful process; the crop is the security for the rent, and if the under-proprietor can legally cut and carry off his whole crop, before the landlord can secure a decree, there is small chance of recovering the money-value of the grain. I have no wish to revive the *illegal* measures of coercion employed by tyrannical over-lords during the Nawabi, which I only described to illustrate their powers of intimidation; but, the Oudh Government has again and again pointed out the need for a cheaper and prompter remedy against defaulting under-proprietors, and the advisability of altering the law of distraint is no nostrum of my invention. "The remedy for this state of things," writes Sir George Couper "was suggested nearly three years ago," when he proposed, "to cheapen the cost of suits for arrears of rent, to simplify and extend the law of distraint, and to provide, that the superior proprietor might, under certain circumstances, apply to the Deputy Commissioner to realize, as arrears of revenue, the balances of rent due to him by his under-proprietors. These proposals were

endorsed by Mr. Inglis when he was in charge of the province.* The Supreme Government has not however, in spite of the urgent remonstrances of both Sir George Couper and Mr. Inglis, thought fit to sanction the proposal for cheapening the cost of rent-suits, while apparently no steps have been taken to hurry on an amendment of the law of distraint; and the third proposal, which is embodied in the Oudh Revenue Act of 1876, only applies to sub-settled or permanently leased *Talukdari* villages, and not to the immense number of subordinate tenure-holders in *mufrid* estates, or to the petty *birtias*, *Sankallap-dars*, &c., in *Talukdari* ones. The result is, that, while the superior owner is forced to pay in his revenue by fixed dates, he cannot realize the rent from his under-holders, till he has obtained a decree, but that decree entails payment of heavy initial expenses, one large item of which consists in the stamp-fee for the recovery of a sum, half of which, when realized, replenishes not his money-bags, but the coffers of the State in the shape of land revenue; it would seem only reasonable to remit the Government fee on that proportion of rent, which is due to the landlord's co-sharer as revenue, at least until such time as the law of distraint is amended.

Mr. Crosthwaite has, I need hardly observe, misunderstood my argument in favour of the appointment in some districts of earlier dates for the payment of some of the revenue instalments. Earlier dates were advocated only for those districts, or parts of districts, where, as in Gondah-Bharaich, the early rice is cut about the middle of September, while the revenue does not fall due till the 15th November;† and I urged, that, in all such cases as again with the sugarcane crop, (for which there is no revenue instalment till the 1st May) it is suicidal policy to allow the rent-receipts to lie in the landowner's hands, tempting them to expenditure of the Government share of their collections, and not to advance the dates so as to intercept the money, before it has been squandered in extravagant entertainments, or disappeared into the money-lenders' maw. In no way whatever do I advocate earlier dates with a view of harassing the tenantry; if it were the practice of the country to pay rents late, by all means let the revenue dates be later still, but while, as at present, the landlords realize part of their rents according to old custom at such an early time, it is unwise to leave the Government share of these collections so long in the power of the revenue payers. From these considerations the revenue dates in Gondah were advanced with most salutary effect. The alteration in no degree affected the relations between landowners and their peasantry; it merely checked any

* Annual Report, p. 23. 1875.

† Early kists have been introduced in the Gondah district for some

little while, as a tentative measure, with great success.

tendency to undue expenditure of collected rents on the part of the former. Sir George Couper notes in the Oudh Revenue Report for 1875 * that, when Mr. Inglis asked the opinions of Oudh officers in regard to the present rates, "those who were not in favour of the rates at present in force recommended that they should be fixed *earlier* instead of later on the express ground, that we should apply to the landlord, when in funds, and not let them devote them to other objects than the payment of the revenue, which they would do if left to themselves too long." It is because the landlords require the tenants to pay an instalment of rent, before they remove the crop, that the tenant is driven to the money-lender, and this practice, however, injurious to the interests of the peasantry is, as he remarks, "no novelty induced by our system of collecting the revenue; it is the old custom of generations, and has its origin in the inability of the tenants to give any security for the payment of his rent, the consequence being that the landlord will not abandon his lien on the crop before he has received a substantial payment towards the rent," and he adds, that in his opinion "we should pause before we interfere with the present relations of landlord and tenant; for if we deprive the landlord of his lien on the crop, on which he depends for the realization of his rent, we can hardly, in the event of the tenant embezzling the proceeds, expect the landlord to pay the revenue." If Mr. Crosthwaite could only for a few months undertake the charge of one of the Faizabad, Gondah, or Sultanpur encumbered estates, his views on this and other points connected with the realization of rents might undergo a considerable change; but I may not longer discuss this grave question. It was from no disregard to the peasantry that I made so few direct allusions to their unhappy situation, but because, as I expressly noted,† the subject was too large to be adequately considered in my book, and I hope to be able to consider it at some future date; in more than one passage, however, I pointed out the increased poverty of the peasantry owing to arbitrary enhancements of revenue followed by similarly harsh augmentations of rent, a point upon which writers who admire the system pursued in the North-West Provinces as described by Mr. Inglis, would do well to reflect.‡ In regard to the assessment of fallows I need hardly remark, that I am no "admirer of, nor would I carry out" Akbar's system further than to make allowances in calculating the rental of land which requires fallows, as some classes of, rice lands do, and which under his method were only assessed when they were under cultivation; in regard to the assessment of waste, it is obvious that Mr. Carnegie's "proofs" are no evidence whatever of moderation in individual instances,

* Pp. 59-61.

‡ Described on p. 50 *idem*.

† Note to p. 125.

and prudent agricultural operations will not admit the cultivation of the "many productive spots" observable in barren *usar* plains; the argument in favor of an *immediate* assessment of waste in view of future tillage is manifestly quite untenable and the practice has now been definitely abandoned, as may, therefore be any further discussion respecting its impropriety.

II.

Few officials would probably be found to deny the existence of grave defects in our general system of land-revenue administration however strongly they may controvert allegations of undue severity or inequality in particular assessments. "An easy assessment with a strict collection" in Mr. Crosthwaite's language is the only policy which has any chance of success, if by success is meant, as should be meant, the maintenance of the landed classes and peasantry in some decent well-being, and their gradual instruction in habits of thrift without an immoderate sacrifice of the just rights of the State. Some few officials, of whom, I fear Mr. Carnegie is one, labour under the impression, that the interests of the State, and of the people are as wholly unconnected and dissimilar, as are those for example of creditor and debtor; that that fixed proportion of rent, which limits the demand of Government, constitutes a standard, rigid and unalterable, like the laws of the Medes and Persians, to depart from which in the minutest particular is to be guilty of treachery to the State, and that the poverty and decay of large sections of the community is of no import compared with the exaction to the uttermost farthing of the maximum revenue realizable from the land. These, however, are not the guiding principles of the Supreme Government, or of any Local Administration. It is generally accepted as a maxim of policy that gains to the imperial exchequer, which can be secured only by a disregard to the material welfare of large portions of the native population, do not afford adequate compensation for the suffering and destitution thereby inflicted on special classes of society. It may be wise to delay for a while the construction of palatial offices like those which decorate the Bombay sea-board and to retard for a generation even the erection of law-colleges, of stone-bridges, of substantial schools, and of metalled roads, if their cost would entail the collection of largely enhanced revenues from an impoverished yeomanry. I do not suppose that many officials desire the total extinction, for instance, of the Jhansi landowners, or would refuse to grant a progressive enhancement of assessment cases where as, in Kheri, Gondah and Bharaiich the increase originally fixed, amounted to 133 $\frac{1}{2}$, 65 $\frac{1}{2}$ and 88 $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.

In a non-regulation province like Oudh, which has been somewhat unsuccessful in its revenue policy, it is idle to assert that efficient

revenue administration can be secured, unless some adequate establishments are afforded to the local officials. The *Pioneer* (of the 27th September 1876) remarked that "while its savings swell the budget of the Supreme Government, its establishments have been starved to the lowest minimum compatible with the barest execution of the most ordinary functions of an Administration." The Supreme Government in its despatch to the Secretary of State, regarding the amalgamation of Oudh with the North-West Provinces, made pointed reference to the needs of the Province in this respect. In the Revenue Report for 1875, the Chief Commissioner represented, that the "realization of the revenue and indeed the whole revenue administration is becoming more difficult and uncertain every year, owing to the inadequacy of the official establishments. In Oudh, revenue and judicial functions are vested in the same class of officer; and the present establishments were fixed in 1868, when the land revenue demand was Rs. 1,24,32,564, or Rs. 17,31,817 less than it is now, while the judicial work has nearly doubled. The Tahsildars, who are the officers primarily responsible for the collection of the revenue prefer judicial work, partly because it is more attractive and vested with more dignity in the ordinary native mind, and partly because it affords a better opportunity of attracting attention and thereby obtaining promotion. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that these officers do not find time to move about in their circles, and acquire that knowledge of the character and condition of the people, which alone can give them the means of forming an opinion how best to collect their revenue, and how to act on an occasion of default. Similarly, the Deputy Commissioners, whose duty it is to supervise the work of the tahsildars, and also to acquire a knowledge of the people on their own account, must remain in their courts for the trial of judicial cases. (appeals to this class of officers have more than doubled since 1868) far longer than they should do, if their duties of collectors of the land revenue had not to be subordinated to those which devolve on them as judges. The judicial work, moreover, is much more tedious, if not more difficult, than it was eight years ago; for since the enforcement of a more elaborate system of procedure, and the arrival of barristers and pleaders, which class is now very numerous, a case, which formerly might have been disposed of to the satisfaction of the parties in two or three hours, requires as many if not more days for its disposal. This is a standing difficulty against which we have to contend in our efforts to fulfil the wishes of the Government of India and show a clear balance-sheet; and it will be enormously increased by the additional burden which has been cast on the district officers by the abolition of the Superintendents of encumbered estates.

But this year there was another difficulty, which the Chief Commissioner, nevertheless, trusts will recur more frequently in the future than it has in the last lustrum. The year was a prosperous one, that is, there were abundant harvests, and the consequence has been that the officers of Government have had till now more trouble than ever in realizing the revenue, and the land-owners in realizing their rents. This state of things is due to the fact that grain was so abundant that it could not find a market, and consequently, the rent and the revenue, which is a portion of it, lay unrealized upon the threshing-floors. Of course, if the people were less poor or less apathetic, they might do something towards finding a market for themselves, but the great difficulty to be contended against is the want of communications to the more distant markets in which grain would find a ready sale. This is not the first time that the necessity of extending our present communications has been brought to notice. The Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India has inculcated the duty of providing these, year after year, upon the Chief Commissioner, but it is the old story of being required to make bricks without straw."

An article in the same newspaper (*Pioneer*, September 1876) described with sufficient accuracy the main characteristics of our attempts to administer public business with starved establishments. "Oudh revenue management," we read, "means a haphazard collection of the land-tax, whenever and wherever its instalments can be realized, and the result is left to the beneficence of Providence. But such a plan, or rather the absence of any plan, does not meet the requirements of justice; our system in its most favourable dress is at best a rough device; it is foreign to the traditions and habits of our subjects, and its results are as antagonistic to their prosperity as they are opposed to the wishes of their rulers. We fix the land-tax for 30 years, and each year we compel the landowners to pay up their full tale; it is trusted that in the long course of three decades the shares received by the State and the proprietors will be about equal, and it is reckoned of small consequence, whether at first the portion required by the Government is excessive or not. It is considered that on the average good and bad years, counterbalance one another, and that the tax-payers should be compelled to pay as much after a flood or a drought, as they do after a season of abundant harvests. The exercise of direct coercive processes is discouraged; the native plans of requiring security from regular or embarrassed defaulters, of cancelling the revenue engagement for any term of years on the slightest symptom of wilful recusancy, or incurable incompetency, or of securing the regular payment of the assessments by a systematic transfer of estates from the indigent, or

incapable owners to others who could be trusted to liquidate the Government demand with punctuality, while always reserving to the temporarily dispossessed proprietors the privilege of resuming their seer cultivation at fixed favourable rents, would be regarded as heterodox, and contrary to a policy of civilization. The dates appointed for the payment of the revenue instalments have been fixed as a rule, so as to give the landowners the amplest opportunity for speculation or extravagance; and a private threat of sale on the part of the tahsildar, or some indignity privily offered to a defaulter, constitute the chief means of realizing arrears. There is no register of transfers to enable the collector to discover the true circumstances of the various estates, and there are no village records save a rough and irregularly written rent-roll for his illumination; there is no sufficient subordinate staff to aid him to distinguish between honest and dishonest claimants for consideration, and he is powerless, therefore, to perform his most important duty, namely, to do justice between the State and its subject taxpayer. Hence it was that shortly before Lord Northbrook's visit to Lucknow in 1873, the revenue administration of the province had come to a deadlock. Since the terrible flood of 1871, the arrears of revenue had been steadily accumulating, yet the collectors felt that they possessed no sufficient knowledge of the villages to propose any measures of final relief; they collected what they could, and let the balances stand over. Although the incalculable damage caused by the flood was graphically described in the revenue report, no less a sum than Rs. 1,35,11,154 was collected in 1871-72, the measures of relief granted within the year being confined to a reduction of Rs. 18,313 in Sultanpore on account of floods, and a remission of Rs. 10,103 in Hardui on account of losses from hail. The report notes that only one estate was made *khum*, two *pattis* were transferred, and one estate was farmed out; yet it is inconceivable that this enormous revenue should have been secured from the landowners without a vast augmentation of their debts and mortgages; and the declaration by the Hardui collector, that in those twelve months mortgages were registered to the extent of Rs. 3,94,782, and sales of land to the extent of Rs. 88,511, money raised solely to pay the revenue, may be regarded as giving a fair picture of the embarrassments of the proprietors arising from the relentless exactions of the State."

What is here alleged of Oudh revenue administration applies in less degree perhaps, but still with some correctness to the management of revenue business in other provinces; but little persistent effort is made to place matters on a more satisfactory footing. Sir H. Davies has more than once complained of the inability or omission of revenue officials under existing arrangements to afford prompt relief on account of agricultural disasters. In

Jhansi the neglect to make early provision for the landowners whose estates have been eaten up by *kans* grass, or deteriorated by successions of bad seasons and murrain, appears to have reduced both landlords and tenantry to insolvency. "There is in fact," as I ventured to point out, "no real revenue administration; the collector is a taxgatherer, and nothing more, he is a compulsory jack-of-all-trades, whose days are spent in inditing countless reports on all miscellaneous matters of great or small importance, upon which the local government of the day sets, or is forced to set great store; he has to draw up portentous memos on conservancy, municipalities, drains, and self-government all the morning, his afternoons are occupied with his appellate work, and an odd half-hour, as leisure permits, is with difficulty snatched for the real work of a Collector, namely the disposal of the revenue arrears; these papers, which have to do with the future prosperity or ruin of villages must be perfunctorily rushed through, while a proposal for a new latrine has taken up hours of valuable time. The English correspondence, and the judicial work *must* be got through for obvious reasons, but few know or care about the internal state of a district, so long as the revenue balance sheet is clear; the revenue has all been realized without much resort to coercive processes, for the mere threat of a Tahsildar suffices in most cases to drive the landowners to the money-lender, and the local government congratulates itself, that the largest revenue ever known has been realized in a year of great agricultural distress without any noticeable resort to the sterner coercive processes."

As Mr. Crosthwaite urges, the business of collection should be far more closely supervised by English officials. Three causes prevent the detailed examination of the work of native subordinates, *viz*:

1st.—The Collector has not sufficient leisure himself.

2nd.—He is too jealous to make due use of his present staff of European assistants.

3rd.—His native establishments are inadequate, and overburdened with other work, and in some provinces the village records are in a very backward condition.

Mr. Crosthwaite declares that in the North-West Provinces "notwithstanding the wishes of Government repeatedly declared, it has been and still is the usual practice of Collectors of districts to keep all the work of collection in their own hands, or more correctly speaking, they habitually exclude their covenanted assistants from any share in this work. Do it themselves they cannot. It is common to hear Collectors bewailing their inability to control six or seven Tahsildars, and offering this as an apology for their failure to administer this part of their duties. It never seems to

strike them, that their senior assistant at any rate—usually in these days a bald or greyheaded man of middle age—might be employed with some profit on the work.” If the Collector is hard-pressed in regulation provinces, where there are sessions judges and munsifs, it is obvious that in non-regulation provinces the due discharge of his multifarious public duties leaves him absolutely no time for the proper performance of his revenue work; and suits, criminal cases, the English correspondence and the general administrative business of his district cannot be rushed through. A perfunctory hearing in a criminal trial may develop into a Fuller case; a hasty order in a drainage question may involve him in a Weld difficulty; a superficial examination of a bridge-plan may result in local Saugor-barracks’ scandal. The misfortune about revenue work is that it alone can be scamped without risk, and English officials, over-burdened with their endless round of public business in an exhausting climate, cannot be severely censured, if they are unable to increase the number of hours in a day, and if they are human enough to shelve or dash through piles of vernacular reports, sung out in unceasing monotone by the sleep-inspiring voice of a swaying native clerk at the last half-hour of office-labour. While the hasty execution of revenue work entails no hazard, the accurate and painstaking discharge of his duties as a Collector obtains no special commendation; it is work to which future years will alone bear witness, but its results are in no way apparent at first, and, indeed, if it entails some temporary loss of revenue or exhibits a liberal use of *recorded* coercive processes, it may be condemned as slovenly and as demoralizing to the revenue payers. The Collector has further during eight months of the year to dispose of this work unaided by any eyesight of the locality; he is probably quite unacquainted with the defaulters, or their villages and is dependent on the incomplete reports of a still-more-hard-worked official, the Tahsildar. Can it be wondered, that there should occur much injustice, that our schemes of relief come too late, that our administration of the land is a failure. There is as a rule, insufficient knowledge to justify prompt action, or elaborate reports, and by the balance sheets, unless explained by adequate exculpations, will both Tahsildar and Collector be judged; there is a concealed use of what are supposed to be the milder coercive processes, arrest, attachment of moveables and crops, the quartering of tahsil underlings on defaulting villages; the revenue is collected somehow or other—*vi et armis*—and the consequences do not appear till the Tahsildar has been transferred elsewhere, and the Collector has departed on furlough to Europe, both perhaps thanked by their superiors for their successful endeavours to clear off arrears.

We are governing the country far too expensively in one sense,

and far too cheaply in another sense; we have too many highly-salaried European officers to perform petty duties, and we have too few lowly-paid native assistants. The native revenue staff in Oudh would scarcely be adequate even if it were solely occupied with the realization of the land-tax, whereas in fact this only forms a small portion of its current duties. The strengthening of these establishments is a matter of great urgency. Till this is done, it is impossible for Collectors to depart in any perceptible degree from the present system; the just disposal of revenue business demands a minute knowledge of the landowners and peasantry, and entails extensive local inquiries: the arm of the district officer should be prompt to succour those deserving of relief, but stern to check any demoralization or punish attempts to deceive. The necessity of increasing the subordinate agency is referred to by the Supreme Government in their despatch to the Secretary of State relative to the Oudh amalgamation scheme; and it may be hoped that some of the savings obtained by the disappearance of a separate Oudh Administration may be promptly devoted to this object.

The questions for consideration are, how, economically, to secure a more efficient staff, and how to employ that staff when it is provided. Before we can afford relief to sufferers, we must know (and that without delay) who are deserving claimants; the Administration must be strong enough to summarily and finally reject all undeserving claimants, or the whole body of revenue payers will become unsettled and prone to default; the Sindh landowners, the Jhansi yeomanry, and the Hardui clansmen, were not assisted till too late to make assistance easy, because their real circumstances were not fully brought to light in time. The Collector then must have more leisure for the prompt disposal of revenue work, and in the cold weather, especially, should devote himself more attentively than at present is possible, to investigating quietly but methodically the circumstances of his landowners; until he can secure a larger subordinate staff he could at any rate employ his European assistants in making inquiries, and in supervising the proceedings of the Tahsil staff even if he deems it necessary to keep the direct realization of the revenue in his own hands. But it seems now admitted on all hands, and, I believe, has been specially pointed out by the late Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, that our whole administrative agency, particularly in non-regulation provinces, requires remodelling with a view as well to greater economy of strength and in some degree perhaps of money as to greater efficiency. There are, in Oudh for instance, a very large number of European assistants, whose present salaries constitute a very costly item in the imperial budget, and whose future pensions will prove a heavy drain on the

exchequer; they are civilian and military officers of considerable standing and experience, whose time, however, is mainly occupied with hearing unimportant police charges, or petty rent and civil suits, and other routine work, which could just as satisfactorily be disposed of by native extra assistants* who, as residents in their own country, can neither expect nor claim even half the salaries and pensions required by their European brethren, nor do their constitutions demand lengthy absences from duty on handsome furlough allowances. It is a great waste of public money to import so many expensively-educated and ambitious young civilians to carry on the ordinary routine of a Collector's office; last year about half the Oudh local treasuries were in the charge of junior civilians, and it is unwise of Government to attract this class of public servants to India only to discourage them during the first portion of their career with work, which in England is discharged by grocers' assistants; counting of Gorakhpur pice, the distribution of process-stamps and receipt-stamps, the signing of money-orders, and inspection of currency-note issues, are not matters, which require a high order of intellect; and they chain to uncongenial desk-work young officers, who should be in training for higher administrative posts than those of money-order agents. By the more limited employment of Europeans in the petty business of district offices a far larger number of natives could enter the public service; and this would seem to be the intended policy of the present Viceroy, if we may judge from the remarks which he made on this important question, in his speech at the Convocation of the Calcutta University.

The reorganization of the civil administrative staff on a more economical basis is indeed a necessity which cannot be much longer delayed. A district-head should be relieved of his civil judicial business by the appointment either of divisional appellate judges, or district judicial assistants; the original civil judicial work should be conducted by the native extra assistants, or by the special civil courts as in the North-West Provinces; the treasuries should be placed in charge of Deputy-Collectors of the same position as the native E. A. Cs., or in case of petty treasuries, perhaps of Bengalce head-clerks, all closely supervised by travelling divisional inspectors, Assistants in the Account Department under the control of the Accountants-General. In large

* At Rai Bareilly, when I left India last April, there were, for instance, three senior Assistant Commissioners, drawing Rs. 800, and Rs. 700 per mensem, besides the Deputy Commissioner, and a Deputy Collector, and Extra Assistant Commissioners.

This article, I should mention, was written last July in England, since which time two schemes for the improvement of the Oudh Administrative Agency have, I believe, been submitted to the Supreme Government.

districts the Collector should have the assistance of one European officer of some standing, who would help him in the revenue-work, and also in hearing any important or delicate criminal cases, which could not conveniently be disposed of by the native magistrates; in the smaller districts the European assistant might be dispensed with, or merged in the post of judicial assistant, and in all probably he could sit twice or three times a week as a Small Cause Court for the summary hearing of petty civil suits within the limits of the civil station; at each divisional headquarters there should be stationed one or more junior civilians, learning their duties, and qualifying themselves to take the places of the senior assistants, as occasion calls. The staff of native extra assistants could then be largely increased, and these officers would undertake all original civil and rent-suits, the hearing of all police-cases except those which the district magistrate should consider it advisable to hear himself, and the general supervision of the Tahsildars. It should be announced, that thorough knowledge of English will in future be a *sine quâ non* for the post, as it is obviously impossible for the district-officer to closely supervise the proceedings of his native subordinates if all their cases and reports are written in the vernacular character; if their judicial work is subjected to watchful scrutiny, they are quite capable of satisfactorily conducting the bulk of the original judicial business of the country; if their tendency to procrastination and hair-splitting were properly checked, their tribunals would be more popular than they are at present, for they are better acquainted with native character and customs than European judges. The lower executive staff must be strengthened by the appointment of Naib Tahsildars to help that over-worked officer; the Tahsildar should be relieved of all civil and rent-suits, and should only hear that proportion of criminal cases, which would suffice to maintain his dignity as a magistrate for the intimidation of bad characters and wilful revenue defaulters; aided by his Naib, he would then become in truth, as now in name, the local executive authority for the realization of the land-revenue, and kindred business—instead of being, as at present, civil judge, rent-court treasurer, magistrate, conductor of petty public works, bailiff of all encumbered estates, and purveyor-in-chief to travelling dignitaries. Were he relieved of his two first duties, which now occupy most of his time, he would with the assistance of his deputy be able to efficiently dispose of his other multifarious duties, which he can only now perfunctorily discharge, or commit to the care of expectant hangers-on or relatives. The Tahsildar should in future receive further aid by the restoration of the district Kanungos to their old position; we have degraded them into hack-clerks at the tahsil offices; under the native government they were the mainstay of the revenue officials

owing to their extensive knowledge of the landowners, the district tenures, and the agricultural features of the various villages and estates. Their routine work should be discharged by regular clerks, and they should once more become the revenue assistants of the Tahsildars, and their main occupation should be the correct compilation of the annual village records. The Sadr Kanungo should be made the Collector's head clerk for the disposal of all revenue papers instead of having these muddled up with reports relating to miscellaneous business, and it should be his duty to lay before the Collector all papers and previous reports bearing on the history of particular defaulters; that procedure would obviate the present practice of calling for incessant reports from the Tahsildars, and would save hours of invaluable time.

It may be questioned whether the practice of periodically changing the native subordinate agency by transfers should not be discontinued; the district heads are being perpetually changed to the great detriment of public business, and it is essential to have some permanent staff. At present both the Collector and his Tahsildar may be new appointments at some critical stage, as during the floods of 1871, with disastrous result. There can be no question that revenue disorganization would not have reached such a climax in Oudh, had it not been for the unavoidable ignorance of the district staff. It is questionable, whether it would not be wiser to leave the Tahsildars *en permanence*, at least during good behaviour. The evil effects of perpetual shiftings are greater than those which now and then arise from the prolonged residence of any officer at particular head-quarters; they can always be transferred without delay, when need calls for a change; intimate knowledge of the people and their villages is the *sine quâ non* of an efficient revenue administration. These changes in the *personnel* of Government cannot be effected at once but much may be done at little expense in the way of appointing Naib Tahsildars, and extra tahsil clerks to lighten the labours of the Tahsildars; and, although European assistants cannot, like native officers, be sent out to make local inquiries at certain times of the year, they can be far more extensively employed than they are at present during the cold weather.

Aided by this reorganization of his administrative agency the Collector would secure adequate leisure for the efficient discharge of his revenue duties; these entail a systematic and careful preparation of village records, the careful consideration of all claims to relief, the regular hearing of the Tahsildar's reports relative to the default, recusancy or misfortunes of revenue payers, and the equitable application of the coercive powers entrusted to him for the punctual realization of the land revenue. His object should be

to secure regular payment of the revenue instalments without effecting a continual impoverishment of the landowners.

It is this phase of our revenue administration in condemning which most writers concur—its rigidity, its complete failure to relieve when relief *promptly rendered* can alone preserve landowners from ruinous borrowings. India is a country peculiarly exposed to sudden agricultural disasters. The cultivator can never feel sure of his crop, until it is strewn on the threshing floor! It is the declared policy of the Government to afford assistance to the victims of flood, frost, and drought; public benefits obtained from rigid exactions of revenue, which involve the transfer of ancestral estates, do not compensate society at large for the suffering and ruin of many individuals, and successful revenue administration does not necessarily imply the collection of every rupee of the assessments; its aim should be to secure a maximum of well-being for the landed classes and peasantry at the cost of a minimum of loss to the State. I am very glad that my views on the subject of coercive processes meet with the approval of such a distinguished authority as Mr. Crosthwaite. I venture to reassert, that there cannot be a graver mistake than for the Government to set its face against any avowed employment of these direct measures in the fallacious belief, that the collection of the revenue requires only the gentle persuasiveness of courtesy, or that the absence of returns of arrest, distraint, transfer, farm or sale, indicates the prosperity of the revenue-payers. The difference between the suppositions of Government, and the actual facts is strikingly illustrated in the quoted passages of the *Pioneer** which show that while the Local Administration might fancy that the largest revenue ever realized in Oudh was collected in a year of extreme popular distress without any noticeable increase in measures of coercion, the Hardui Collector produced returns, which disclosed the real methods—ruinous mortgagings and borrowings—by which that success, if success it can be called, was gained. Transfers of property are known to be proceeding, with alarming rapidity, as a direct consequence of our system of rigid collection of the land-revenue, and yet the Government will not face the situation with candour nor will it allow its officers to exercise freely those coercive powers, entrusted to them by law, and sanctioned by the immemorial usage of the country, by which alone the landed classes can be rescued from a reliance on the money-lender; it is this reliance which in these days of civil courts, civil decrees, and usurious rates of interest, necessarily involves their speedy destruction. Until it changes its policy, little can be done; so long (and I say this with all respect) as “Government dislikes to openly sanction-compulsory

* *Pioneer*, 14th September, 1876.

transfers (but temporary) of property, loves to show a fair statement, containing no notice of coercive processes, and delights to plume itself on the absence of any harshness on the part of its revenue subordinates," so long will the ruin of the landowners be proportionally accelerated; what it should do, is to take the measures of coercion into its own hands, and so regulate transfers, as to render them temporary courses of discipline, instead of, as now, permanent measures of complete humiliation at the hands of private individuals.

Those who have studied the native revenue system, and our own method of collection, and compared the results of the two plans, cannot but consider that many portions of our code are as yet unsuited to the character of the native landowners and tenantry; we have pitchforked them from the reign of *Corur de Lion* to that of Queen Victoria; we govern them on principles, which are excellently adapted to an educated European squirearchy and nobility, trained in business habits and supplied with banks and commercial enterprise, but are unsuited to an illiterate and improvident native gentry and yeomanry, who should be treated like children still in their nonage. The main characteristics of the native system have been set forth in some detail both in my *brochure*, and also in a series of articles which appeared in the *Pioneer* newspaper during August and September of last year; and repetition is not necessary. Annexation did not transform, like a pantomimic scene, the habits of the people. The landowners had been accustomed to a continuous course of coercion, and to a constant temporary transfer of estates; they could not, and did not claim of right the revenue engagement for their villages and estates; "their rights were restricted to the enjoyment of their *scer*, *nankar* and other manorial privileges;" the State constituted itself the sole judge of the propriety of granting them the *kabuliat*, for it claimed the whole rental with the exception of these landsowners' allowances, though as a matter of fact it rarely secured what it claimed. Now, we fix a thirty years' assessment, we grant the landowners a thirty years' lease, we preach to them that the good and bad years in that course of time will be about equal (quite forgetting that the assessments are based on full rentals), that in the three decades their own receipts, and their payments to the State will therefore amount to identical sums, and we abandon them to their own resources. It results that at certain intervals the Government is aroused by some startling report, that 30, 40 or 50 per cent. of the land has changed hands, and then there is a display of costly liberality, which benefits few save the creditors. The state of Jhansi and of Sindh are instances; no one who reads Mr. Hope's description of the present circumstances of Sindh landowners, can doubt the complete and disastrous failure of this system. Similarly had

relief itself been promptly rendered to Oudh landowners and under-proprietors in 1871, the cost of assistance would have been far less, and far more effective than it has been. It cannot be questioned, that in many cases the liberal aid, at length granted, has arrived too late, and it came too late because our revenue establishments were too weak, and the rigid principles of our administration too clogging to allow of prompt measures. Relief is useless, if it is not speedy; if there is delay as in Jhansi, Sindh, and Oudh, those whom we desire to save, are lost beyond recovery in the money-lender's clutches, and then salvation would entail the expenditure of larger sums than the Government is at liberty to employ. The state of Jhansi indeed has been described by the Board of Revenue as "alarming"; landowners are hopelessly involved, population is diminishing, land is falling out of cultivation, and does not fetch two years' purchase; cattle and farming stock are deteriorating, and the revenue has been paid by the money-lenders. By increasing the revenue establishments, by requiring correct compilation of the village records, by forcing Collectors to spend more time on the disposal of revenue business, and by a complete change of policy in regard to measures of relief and measures of coercion, can the Government alone hope to avoid the recurrence of such pitiable spectacles. So far as a more expeditious grant of relief is concerned, it would be possible to offer liberal aid on all such occasions, without any even temporary inconvenience, if the Government would only require a moderate rate of interest on all arrears suspended by authority; if it required that amount of interest (say 5 p. c.) which would equal the market rate of its own borrowing, it would be able to grant liberal succour to all victims of agricultural disasters without suffering any loss itself; it could replenish its own exchequer by borrowings in the open market; a small percentage on arrears is not a large sum to pay in consideration of timely assistance, which saves defaulters from raising loans at 24, 33, and even 50 per cent.; it is very right that those, who receive consideration at the hands of the State, which holds the receipts of land revenue in trust for the benefit of the whole community, should pay a reasonable sum for this convenient assistance; without this return Government cannot afford to sanction any considerable policy of suspensions, and this it is that is urgently required in a country like India, where agricultural vicissitudes are so numerous, so fatal, and so sudden. We should not demoralize the revenue payers by the offer of too liberal terms; it is fitting that there should be a slight cost; we thus teach them to be thrifty, and prudent in their applications for assistance, and eager to clear off arrears at early dates; interest at 5 per cent. would not cripple any defaulter, but would discourage undeserving applications, and at the same

time save deserving landowners from ruinous mortgages. An examination of Harrington's analysis, if I recollect right, would show that interest used to be demanded on all arrears, whether authorized or not, and if the advantage of such a plan as is here recommended be fully considered, I feel sure a change in this respect would be beneficial. It is understood of course that interest is only to be charged on arrears suspended by authority, to be repaid in fixed instalments, during a term of years, and not on temporary balances. If this scheme were adopted, no other measures to make due allowances at assessment or any other time for the vicissitudes of seasons need be undertaken; the native landowner would in no degree be helped by a reduction of a certain annual sum in his assessment with the warning that he is to save this allowance as a fund for help in bad harvests; he has no place of deposit for savings, and his nature does not incline him to this kind of providence. If allowance for bad seasons is made in the assessments, he will not be really helped at all, to save him he must have assistance when he wants it, and not before he wants it; to refuse him a suspension of Rs. 100 after a devastating flood, because his assessment has been reduced Rs. 5 per annum for twenty years in consideration of the liability of his lands to flood is to initiate a system which has no chance of success, and which evinces an absolute ignorance of native character.

The official dislike to coercive processes is more astonishing, when every public officer would freely admit the continuous application in practise of similar secret measures by the subordinate collecting agency; no one acquainted with the routine of a Tahsil supposes that all the detentions of defaulters are entered as arrests or that the quarterings of *sipahis, chaprasis et hoc genus omne* on defaulting landowners are shown in any official statements, or that long standing revenue balances are cleared off in prompt obedience to a Collector's order by the sweet entreaty of a polite Tahsildar. It is only officials who have passed their careers far away from the real business of administration and in ignorance of native customs and feelings, who would consider present methods of collection preferable to the direct employment of legal measures, although the former involve the final ruin of landowners while the latter merely subject them to temporary loss of their estates. Their admonitions resemble the utterances of the old Company Directors, whose lengthy despatches preached the necessity of kindness and mildness, while incessantly demanding augmented remittances. What is really required is a far more extensive and far more immediate employment of what are deemed the severer measures of coercion—temporary attachment of the defaulter's land, its farm to neighbours, its transfer

for a term to solvent sharers, or its direct management by Government officials with an annulment of the revenue engagement.

Those to whom it appears far more humane and agreeable a course to allow the landowners to tread their own path to ruin, than to rescue their estates from forcible transfer by the exercise of some direct temporary discipline would urge, presumably, that any such continual interference by district officials would raise up feelings of hostility to Government. It is to be considered, however, that we are bound; even at the risk of exciting some transient feelings of discontent, to make persistent efforts to save incompetent and improvident proprietors from final destruction. We have introduced in far-too-sudden and reckless a fashion (as demonstrated in the Bombay Commission's Report, and the history of the North-West Provinces during the first-half of this century) the complicated and tight machinery of a civilized administration, whose technicalities, legal quibbles, regulations, and civil courts are unintelligible to the great bulk of the subject population. There can be little doubt that we owe reparation to the impoverished landowners of the North-West Provinces, the Sindh zamindars and jagirdars, as well as to Oudh yeomanry and Bombay peasants; we are constrained at any rate to use every legitimate means of preserving the remainder from beggary. However weighty the task may be, we have no choice but to make the attempt; and there can be no doubt that by introducing a system of disciplinary guardianship coupled with equitable assessments, gradual enhancements of revenue, and prompt grant of relief to victims of bad seasons, this continued impoverishment of the landed classes and tenantry could be materially lessened. Native landowners, moreover, (as those who will study the native revenue system must admit), are familiar with the measures of discipline, the adoption of which I urge; they feel it no great hardship to be temporarily deprived of the management of their estates, so long as their proprietary allowances and privileges are secured to them. They have been accustomed to such deprivation of the direct superintendence of their properties from time immemorial; and, though this dispossession is somewhat distasteful to the larger proprietors, such as the chiefs of great clans, it entails very little discontent among the poorer proprietors, so long as they return their seer and manorial dues. It is within the power of the State to consider with whom it will settle for the collection of the rental, which is to be divided between the imperial exchequer and the landowner, its co-sharer; under the native government it frequently happened, that particular landowners did not receive the revenue engagement for a generation, but they were always recognized as the proprietors, and on giving due security for honest managements would generally secure immediate recovery.

What is wanted is that the English officials should have a certain discretionary power in excluding from the direct management landowners, whose characters unfit them for the discharge of their duties to their properties and to the State. In the case of clans like those in part of Gondah, Faizabad, Sultanpur, &c., it would frequently be a wiser course to make arrangements for holding the whole clan property *kham*, than to give the engagement to its heads, and leave the whole proprietary body to fight, wrangle and peculate, till they have reduced every member of the community to destitution; their descendants may be educated to more provident and more peaceable habits, but the generation, which has had to fight for bare subsistence with warlike neighbours and despotic officials in the Nawabi is incapable of redemption.

Similarly, even after they have received the revenue engagement, there should be no hesitation in dispossessing any proprietors who are obviously unfit trustees of the Government share of the rental; we allow these men to go on adding loan to loan, and mortgage to mortgage, without any effort to rescue them, till their salvation is hopeless. District officers should be so intimately acquainted with the circumstances of the revenue-payers as to be able at once, on hearing of extravagance, imprudence, or agricultural disasters, to step in and afford prompt assistance, or deal out adequate punishment. By dispossessing defaulters of their responsibility to Government, and their control over their lands, while leaving to them the fields in their own cultivating occupancy at low rents or rent-free, and by a farm, or transfer of the remainder for terms of years, many estates might be preserved from the hands of money-lenders; at present Government rarely intervenes till too late.

Nothing however can be done, until the Collector is enabled to devote more time to this portion of his duties, until the village records are placed on a more satisfactory condition, and until his subordinate native establishments are considerably strengthened, for without these changes accurate knowledge of the landed classes and under-proprietors is impossible; and unless there be this intimate knowledge, there would be endless bunglings, delays, and discontents. There are some, as Mr. Crosthwaite notices, who are of opinion that it is not the business, nor should it be the desire of the Government to check the transfer of estates; to such I would only reply, that if we have placed these men in a false position, if we have suddenly pitchforked them without previous training into a strange maze of law, we are bound to help them to avoid its snares. We have revolutionized, by the introduction of law courts and civil decrees, the relations which previously existed between borrowers and lenders, to the inevitable ruin of the former class; and none who reads the disclosures contained in the Deccan Commission's Report will question the responsibility of

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the English Government for no small portion of the present disastrous results of foreign rule. Similar confession was made by Mr. T. C. Hope, C. S. I., in his speech respecting the jagirdars and zamindars of Sindh last year. Mr. Crosthwaite is of opinion, that the Collectors are provided with sufficient authority for the efficient revenue administration of their districts. I do not think so. If they are capable of having control over districts at all, they are competent to decide the fate of defaulters; they are allowed to pass final orders in civil suits and criminal trials, and they may be trusted to deal suitably with cases of revenue default. There seems no sufficient reason why they should not be allowed to transfer or farm shares, or temporarily cancel revenue engagements; of course there would be allowed the option of appeal to higher authority, as in the case of civil suits and criminal punishments. Mr. Crosthwaite urges that if the Collector has properly mastered his facts, there is no difficulty in furnishing them up into a formal English report, but not only is much unnecessary correspondence thus required, but incessant *delays* are the inevitable result of such references to superior officers, and *delays* are every day the ruin of many liberal schemes of relief; they are the curse of our revenue administration, as the recent history of Sindh and Jhansi difficulties testifies. If a Collector cannot act till he has written out reports, he will not write them at all, or he will put off the matter till it is too late; it is obvious that if my view of the need for a more extensive and continuous employment of direct disciplinary measures, and a far prompter dispensation of relief, is correct, the number of required reports will be multiplied *ad infinitum*. A policy of petty reports and references kills all administrative ability; if certain well-considered general rules are provided for the guidance of Collectors, there is no reason why they cannot be trusted to obey them, as Judges and Magistrates are trusted to abide by Rent Acts and Penal Codes. The same official who is deemed competent to imprison an offender or sentence him to whipping in belief of his guilt under a section of the criminal law, is at present considered incapable of dealing out equitable punishment to a revenue defaulter. He can send one culprit to prison for years, but cannot farm out an inch of the other's land. If the plan of requiring a reasonable interest on suspensions were sanctioned, the Collector could be trusted to deal with all such cases on his own responsibility, subject to the general control of Commissioners, whose knowledge of the Collector's actions would be sufficient (owing to the monthly reports of collections and balances) to enable him to check undue liberality; only in cases of large sums exceeding a fixed maximum need sanction be required, though it should be made a necessary condition to remissions of arrears.

C. J. CONNELL.

ART. V.—*The Cycle of Drought and Famine in Southern India.*
BY W. W. HUNTER, B. A., L. L. D., 1877.

FROM the earliest times a popular tendency to expect the weather to recur in regular cycles appears to have existed. Mr. Sayce in a recent article in *Nature*, entitled "the Astronomy of the Babylonians" remarks that they used cycles of 12 years during which they expected the same weather to recur; a period, curiously enough, corresponding very closely with the sunspot period of 11·07 years employed by Dr. Hunter in the above pamphlet, especially if it is remembered that as the Babylonian year only contained 360 days, twelve of their years would correspond to about 11·80 of ours. In fact the fascinating idea of a regularly recurring weather-cycle appears to have pervaded every age of the world's history, and no doubt accounts in some measure for the numerous endeavours that were formerly made to correlate atmospheric changes with periodic variations in planetary and lunar motion. Latterly, however, owing to our more extensive knowledge of the very limited atmospheric perturbations likely to be wrought by variations in lunar and planetary attraction (the only force these bodies can be supposed capable of exerting), compared with possible fluctuations in that immediate source of all terrestrial weather, *viz.*, solar radiated heat, the attempts to discover physical cycles in the various elements of terrestrial meteorology have almost exclusively referred them to the action of our great luminary himself. Granting the possibility of certain changes in the degree of solar radiant heat coincident with periods of solar activity and quiescence, as indicated by the presence and absence of the sunspots, the regular recurrence of the critical periods of maximum and minimum solar maculation approximately every eleven years furnishes us at once with a convenient cycle within the limits of which to compare periodical variations of the numerous elements of terrestrial weather. The results of such comparisons if consistent with each other, may become indirectly additionally valuable to us by inductively demonstrating the probable nature and extent of the changes in solar radiation respectively coincident with the critical periods of solar maculation, which knowledge can then be subsequently re-applied to determine the probable limits within which such periodical variations in the weather hold good, and thus to prewise them both quantitatively as well as qualitatively in the future. It cannot however be too strongly insisted upon, that any effective change in solar radiated heat (like that assumed to occur at the critical periods of solar maculation) must be felt throughout the entire

globe (though as Dr. Köppen of St. Petersburg has shewn, its effects may not be felt simultaneously in every region), and that the accompanying variations in terrestrial weather cannot possibly be local in extent, though, as will be seen in the sequel, they may vary in kind according to geographical position. Hence, if any particular spot on the earth's surface exhibits abnormally large periodic variations in some meteorological element coinciding in length with the sunspot period, we must either assume that the variations in question are partly due to some accidentally coinciding local influences of an exceptional character, or else that certain local influences of soil and aspect combine to favour the maximum development of those effects which are generally coincident to some extent with the different phases of solar maculation. In the pamphlet under review the aridity of Madras in common with other parts of Southern India is suggested as a local condition which may possibly render it abnormally sensitive to sunspot influences, and this is very probably true to some considerable extent, though, as the amplitude of the variation sensibly diminishes as we proceed westwards from Madras, it seems likely that the variation is further augmented at Madras by the peculiar geographical conditions that regulate the seasonal distribution of rainfall on the Coromandel Coast.

However this may be, and apart from its somewhat questionable practical application to prewise the recurrence of famines, the comparison of the rainfall at Madras with the sunspot period which forms the substance of Dr. Hunter's pamphlet, demands the attention of scientific men as constituting one of the latest contributions to the already vast accumulation of similar comparisons made during the past few years in various parts of the world. Dr. Hunter, however, is not content merely with the undoubtedly significant results of the comparison between the rainfall at Madras and the sunspot period, but attempts to induce therefrom a law of famine recurrence for the whole of Southern India. In this he has been only partially successful and for two very obvious reasons, (1), the total absence (in the pamphlet) of any further data tending to shew that the variation in the rainfall at Madras is common to any considerable area of Southern India, and (2), the very scanty information afforded concerning the past famines of Southern India both with respect to the causes that directly or indirectly tended to mitigate or exaggerate their severity, as well as the precise duration, extent, and locality of each individual catastrophe. There is however so much worthy of commendation in the pamphlet both as regards the previous conception, and subsequent working out, of the comparison between the rainfall at Madras and the sunspot period, that it is much to be regretted in adopting the expression "in Southern India" so extensively through-

out* the author somewhat incautiously allowed it to be inferred that results only absolutely proved 'to hold for the presidency town of Madras, apply equally well, not merely to the Carnatic and Northern Sircars (the rainfall of which as Mr. Blanford has shown in his late report may be expected to vary more or less *puri passu* with that of Madras) but to the whole of Southern India, including therein we must presume, the central table-land together with the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel; regions possessing widely distinct features of soil, aspect, relief, and rainfall distribution. To emphasize the preceding remarks it may be as well to notice, as Arnold Guyot says in "Earth and Man" "that while the S.-W. monsoon is spending its fury in violent storms and abundant rains on the Malabar Coast, the Coromandel Coast is often quite dry and cloudless, and *vice versa* when the latter is receiving its principal rain from the N.-E. monsoon in the months of October, November and December, the Malabar Coast is dry. In fact the two Coasts have their seasons reversed. One has the dry weather when the other has rain and reciprocally. The table-land of the Deccan midway between the two coasts partakes of the two characters, the fall of water is more variable, and there are often two periods of abundant rains."†

If instead of the one above the title of the pamphlet had been "The cycle of drought and rainfall at Madras" and the conclusions in every case limited solely to the Presidency town and the area immediately adjacent, a great deal of possible error as well as hostile criticism would doubtless have been avoided. As it is, however, Dr. Hunter, has laid himself open at once to the adverse criticisms of practical meteorologists like Mr. Blanford who, thoroughly acquainted with the varying conditions of rainfall existing in different parts of the peninsula both as regards quantity and seasonal distribution, and moreover possessed of tolerably complete data with reference to other regions of Southern India, perceive at once that results which may hold good at Madras and adjacent districts *may* fail altogether for that portion of the country comprising the central table-land and the west coast, which receives its rain in an entirely different part of the year, and under possibly inverse conditions of variation.

Had it not been for this somewhat too extensive generalisation on the part of Dr. Hunter, we might possibly never have had the privilege of reading such an exhaustive report as that submitted by Mr. Blanford to the Government regarding the approximate limits within which the rainfall of tropical India as a whole may

* In the first edition of the pamphlet.

† "Earth and Man" by Guyot, p. 106.

be said to be in a well-established relation with the sunspot period. As the opinion of Government with respect to the practical value of Dr. Hunter's conclusions is likely to be strongly influenced by the opinions of Mr. Blanford, we can hardly commence a criticism of Dr. Hunter's pamphlet without first alluding to the conclusions arrived at by Mr. Blanford, regarding the extent to which the rainfall of other districts of tropical India appears to be subject to a periodical variation, similar to that which takes place at Madras. In the first place Mr. Blanford makes no attempt to deny the apparent existence of a distinct cyclical variation in the rainfall at Madras, coinciding in length with the sunspot cycle, but he evidently does not think that a deficiency of rainfall at the Presidency town has any other than a hypothetical connection with the periodical recurrence of famines in Southern India, unless it can be shown that a deficiency in the rainfall of the Presidency town indicates a deficiency productive of famine over some considerable area of Southern India. He then argues that if the fluctuations which occur from year to year are due to some one cause of general incidence over the whole of tropical or Southern India, we may expect to find on taking the rainfalls of several stations situated in various parts of tropical India that in a large majority of cases the deviations from the local averages will be in the same direction. To confine our attention to Southern India alone. Mr. Blanford tells us that on taking the rainfalls of Bangalore and Mysore, and comparing the number of years in which their fluctuations above, or below their respective average annual falls coincide with those of Madras, he finds the following result:—

Pairs of Stations compared	Total years compared.	Years of similar variation.	Years of opposite variation
Madras and Bangalore	40	22	18
Ditto ditto Mysore	39	15	24

From which it is plain (1), that the fluctuations in the rainfall at Madras do not by any means necessarily synchronise with those of other places in Southern India, and (2), that as in the case of Mysore which is nearer the western coast than Bangalore, the years of opposite variation exceed those of similar variation, it is quite possible that on the Malabar Coast itself the relation may be completely reversed. Mr. Blanford then proceeds to compare the rainfalls of six stations situated in tropical and Southern India with that of Madras, in order to discover whether any cyclical variation can be traced similar to that which Dr. Hunter finds so distinctly exhibited in the case of Madras itself. On making the necessary comparison he finds that Nagpore in Central India

alone shews any approach to the same cyclical variation. In some stations indeed the hypothetical variation is reversed. On the whole, however, the group containing the years of maximum sunspot is that of *heaviest* rain-fall, and the group containing the years of minimum sunspot that of *lightest* rain-fall.

Finally in view of a possible cyclical variation underlying all the above individual irregularities, which is certainly necessary, in order that Dr. Hunter's results should admit of any useful generalisation beyond the limits of the town of Madras, Mr. Blanford subjects the fluctuations in the rain-falls of the six stations arranged in the form of percentages of their respective local averages, and in a series of years occupying the same position in the cycle of sunspots, to a method calculated to bring out any cyclical variation that may exist. On inspection, and taking certain irregularities into consideration, the result is found to be as follows, *viz.*, that taking tropical India as a whole the rain-fall is subject to a certain cyclical variation coinciding in length of period with that of the sunspot frequency, but that this variation has a range of less than five per cent. above or below the averages, and to no greater extent can the probability of dearth be regarded as subject to a regular periodical increase or decrease. Mr. Blanford's conclusions are arrived at after an exceedingly careful and impartial investigation; and the result shews, that while Dr. Hunter's figures indicate the existence of a periodic fluctuation in the rain-fall of the town of Madras, similar to that which is partially felt throughout the country, they do not necessarily imply the presence of a variation of like amplitude in other parts of tropical India. It is plain, however, from what Mr. Blanford says, that a certain cyclical variation coinciding in length with the sunspot period, *does* exist throughout the *whole* of tropical India. It is quite possible, therefore, as has already been observed, that in Madras and the adjacent districts, certain local conditions may cause this cyclical variation to become a maximum. The effect, then of Mr. Blanford's report, is not by any means to detract from the value of Dr. Hunter's investigations; but rather to localise them within their proper limit; and thus dispense with the necessity for the use of the words "in Southern India" which, as far as I can see, is the only serious defect in this otherwise valuable monograph.

To proceed to the pamphlet itself.

In its opening pages, Dr. Hunter informs us, that the idea of a recurring period of deficient rain-fall was first suggested to him by Mr. Pogson, the Government Astronomer at Madras, who founded it upon the assumption that the solar heat in the tropics undergoes a decided increase at the period of minimum sunspot, thence arguing that in an arid district like Southern India, an excess of heat

being radiated from the soil would materially tend to retard the normal condensation of vapour, and thereby effectually diminish the amount precipitated in the form of rain. Dr. Hunter wisely refrains from discussing the merits of this theory; and in examining the rain-fall at Madras, restricts himself solely to discovering whether the facts deduced therefrom accord with the views theoretically advanced by Mr. Pogson. It may, however, tend considerably to strengthen our faith in the value of Dr. Hunter's results to notice *en passant* that the theory of the connection between terrestrial temperature and solar spots put forward by Mr. Pogson is one which the recent researches of several eminent European meteorologists are daily tending to confirm.

Dr. Köppen of St. Petersburg, Dr. F. G. Hahn of Austria and Herr Von Rezold of Munich, after most refined and extensive comparisons of the temperatures recorded in various parts of the world, have independently arrived at conclusions which appear to be the natural sequel to those arrived at by Mr. Pogson regarding the variations of solar radiation, *viz.*, that the temperature of the air is decidedly *highest* about the period of *minimum* sunspot and *lowest* about the period of *maximum* sunspot. Dr. Köppen estimates the maximum temperature of the air (in the tropics) to precede the minimum of sunspot by 0.9 of a year, and the minimum of the former the maximum of the latter by 0.1 of a year. In the temperate zone the dates are considerably later; as, according to Köppen, the variations of solar insolation are not felt simultaneously over the whole globe, but are propagated gradually from the Equator to the Poles. The retardation thus produced occasionally amounts to as much as three years. This gradual creeping of the critical temperatures from the Equator to the Poles is probably due to the fact, that the temperature in the temperate regions depends not so much upon the immediate effects of solar insolation as upon the heat conveyed thither by the equatorial convection currents of the atmosphere. Apart from this question, however, the fact that Mr. Pogson's theory has been confirmed by the researches of so many able physicists, and Dr. Köppen's dates for the approximate maximum and minimum air-temperatures in the tropics add greatly to the general strength of Dr. Hunter's results. Until quite recently most meteorologists inclined to believe that the connection between solar maculation and terrestrial temperatures was exactly the reverse of that assumed in the above theory, and even now some of the leading meteorologists hold that solar temperature, and, therefore, solar radiation, is in excess at the epoch of sunspot maximum and in defect at the epoch of sunspot minimum. Messrs. Baxendell and Blanford, for example, on comparing the observations of solar radiation made with black bulb thermometers in vacuo for some years with the sunspot cycle

obtained results which favour the preceding hypothesis ; but other observers, as for instance, Mr. Hill of Allahabad, obtain results exactly the reverse of these,* which being deduced from observations taken in the dry, clear, atmosphere of the N.-W. Provinces, are presumably more trustworthy than those of the two preceding observers, deduced from observations in the damp atmospheres of England and Bengal respectively, and may thus be regarded as offering further proof in favour of Mr. Pogson's hypothesis. Besides which even if the validity of the results obtained by the two former observers be admitted, how can we reasonably suppose as Mr. Blanford would have us † that the air temperatures which according to Drs. Hahn and Köppen follow the inverse law are the cumulative effects of fluctuations in solar radiation which occur at the *opposite* epochs of sunspot frequency? Such an argument would assume, for example, that the high air-temperature of the year 1834 (sunspot minimum) was a cumulative effect of the supposed high solar radiation in 1828 (sunspot maximum) six years before, and in like manner that the low air-temperature of 1860 (sunspot maximum) was due to the low solar radiation of 1856 (sunspot minimum) which precedes it by four years.

Such a notion might be dismissed even were it merely on the ground that it is unreasonable, but we have further evidence from the observations of Lockyer regarding the variations in the amount of absorbing material above the solar photosphere at the different epochs of solar maculation ‡ as well as those of Secchi regarding the nature and heat-absorbing influence of the spots as compared with other portions of the solar surface, § which all tend to shew that the variations in the air-temperature obtained by Drs. Hahn and Köppen are far more likely to be cumulative effects of similar variations in solar radiation occurring not more than a year or so previous to them, that is, approximately at the same epochs of sunspot frequency. The lagging of the critical epochs in the temperate and polar zones behind those in the equatorial zone may be readily accounted for under this hypothesis, while it offers an insuperable obstacle to Mr Blanford's theory by still further lengthening the period by which the air-temperatures follow the radiation temperatures beyond the limits already given as examples of what would have to be assumed to take place in the tropics. On the whole, however, it is evident, that had Mr. Pogson been the sole author of, or believer in, the preceding theory, Dr. Hunter's results might on this ground alone scarcely have received that amount of attention from the scientific world which they now evidently deserve.

* Nature, October 11th 1877.

† Solar Physics, p. 481.

‡ Indian Meteorologist's Vade Mecum, Part II.

§ *Le Soleil, par Secchi; premiere partie*, p. 209.

I have said that Dr. Hunter wisely refrains from meddling with Mr. Pogson's theory, or from attempting to theorize himself. On page 9, however, when referring to Mr. Pogson's conjecture that the water supply which in the years of minimum sunspot passes as uncondensed vapour over tropical regions, should fall as a vast accumulation of rain in the temperate zone, he suggests, that the excessive rain, if it take place anywhere in India, will probably be found between the 22nd and 32nd degrees of north latitude to the south of the great Himalayan partition wall. This may be reasonable enough in theory, but is certainly not verified by the rain-fall registers of Upper India. On the contrary, Mr. Hill, the Meteorological Reporter for the N.-W. P., after examining the registers of eight stations in Upper India, finds the total annual rain-fall in minimum sunspot years to be four per cent. below the average, and the rain-fall in maximum sunspot years to be 14 per cent. above the same, the same conditions in fact as are found at Madras, the only difference being this, that in the case of Madras the deviation below the average is the greater of the two. In addition to this, the rain-falls of Bengal as far as the present writer has compared them, tend to exhibit results similar to those obtained in the N.-W. P., or at all events to favour the idea of a heavier rain-fall in the years of maximum sunspot than in those of minimum sunspot. These facts, however, do not in any way militate against the supposition that the uncondensed vapour finds its way to regions further north during the summer in years of minimum sunspot, since the vapour, owing to the abnormal excess of heat radiated from the soil in such years, becoming re-absorbed, would be likely to ascend to higher regions of the atmosphere, where encountering the upper S. W. antitrade it would be wafted right over the Himalayas and possibly deluge certain regions lying in the north temperate zone. In the winter, however, when the northern limit of the antitrade following the sun in its annual march of declination, just borders on the southern slope of the Himalayas, the excess of vapour makes its presence felt by an increase in the winter rains, which both Mr. Hill and the writer have shown, occurs to a marked extent in years of minimum sunspot throughout Northern India.

Mr. Hill, for instance, finds, on taking the winter rain-fall of Benares, Allahabad, Agra, Bareilly, Roorkee, Dehra, Mussoorie, and Naini Tal since 1861, that the excess in minimum sunspot years is 20 per cent. of the average winter rain-fall, and the defect in maximum sunspot years 21 per cent. of the same, while the following Table of the winter rain-falls of Calcutta from 1834 to 1877 inclusive will show the relation to be decidedly cyclic, as well as persistently repeated in every single group of eleven years.

Years employed.	Years of series.											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
1834—1844 ...	7.34	3.12	2.97	2.16	1.98	3.19	1.24	5.11	7.49	6.69	4.51	A.
1845—1855 ...	9.21	6.30	3.85	1.77	6.75	5.79	7.28	9.50	1.60	9.54	5.54	B.
1856—1866 ...	3.91	2.76	1.80	7.26	2.56	1.75	5.51	3.83	3.42	8.58	7.46	C.
1867—1877 ...	3.21	5.86	8.41	4.83	6.47	5.08	3.02	8.68	5.15	7.49	9.01	D.
Average of each group ...	5.91	4.51	4.25	4.00	4.44	3.95	4.26	6.78	4.49	8.07	6.63	

The rain-fall is taken for the months of January, February, March and April, and the previous December in each case. In this Table 10, 11, 1 embrace the maximum rain-fall group and 4, 5, 6, 7 the minimum group.

The years of absolute sunspot minimum occur in the 10th, 11th, and 1st series, and those of absolute sunspot maximum in the 4th and 5th series.

The maximum rain-fall therefore occurs in the groups containing the years of minimum sunspot and those of low maculation preceding them, and the minimum rain-fall occurs in the groups containing the years of maximum sunspot and those of high maculation preceding and following them, exactly the reverse conditions in fact to those which Dr. Hunter finds exhibited in the *total annual* rain-falls at Madras.

Taking the means throughout the whole period of the three series of maximum rain-fall and the four series of minimum rain-fall we have—

	Max. group inches.	Min. group inches.
Mean rain-fall ...	6.87	4.16

The same relation is found to be repeated in each cycle of eleven years taken separately, shewing the distinct presence of some physical law of recurrence thus:—

	Max. group inches.	Min. group inches.
Series A ...	6.18	2.14
B ...	8.08	4.31
C ...	6.65	4.27
D ...	6.58	4.85

The relation which is here so distinctly shown by the winter-rain-

fall of Calcutta is typical of what occurs throughout Northern India, and has recently been discovered to be of still wider application in various other parts of the world. The important bearing of this fact upon the general question involved in the pamphlet under review will be readily acknowledged when it is understood that all the Mediterranean stations where the chief rain-fall is in the *winter*, and which were lately brought forward by Dr. Carl Jelinek as evidence against the direct variation of rain with the sunspots—a theory held by Messrs. Meldrum and Lockyer as well as by the writer of the pamphlet—confirm in a striking manner the hypothesis of an inverse relation in the winter rain-falls throughout the world (where they are due to the descent of the antitrade vapour-current) which had already been foreshadowed to some extent by the winter rain-falls of Northern India.* The relation is most powerfully exhibited where the rain-fall of the year is solely confined to the winter months, as at Jerusalem, for example, where the rain-fall at one period of minimum sunspot is nearly double of that at the corresponding period of maximum sunspot. Mr. Meldrum had already noticed this fact as being unfavourable to his theory, in his paper before the British Association in 1873. What appeared to him and Dr. Jelinek, therefore, to be anomalies, we may consider as further evidence in favour of the hypothesis of the *inverse* relation in the winter rain-falls, and thus to fill up an enormous lacuna in the mass of evidence hitherto available for demonstrating the reality of the connexion between rain-fall and sunspots.

These facts then must be considered decidedly favourable to the hypothesis on which Dr. Hunter bases his results.

To revert to the pamphlet.

The first conclusion arrived at by Dr. Hunter with regard to the connection between the Madras rain-fall and the frequency of sunspots might well have discouraged one less endowed with the qualities of perseverance and ingenuity. On comparing the rain-falls of each year with the corresponding relative number of sunspots as recorded by Wolf, he arrived at the conclusion that "no uniform numerical relation can be detected between the relative number of sunspots and the actual amount of rain-fall." In some cases a year of few spots was found to have as much or even more rain than a year of many spots. For example, five years with a relative number of sunspots averaging 3.1 had a rain-fall averaging 45.08 inches, while three years with a relative number of sunspots averaging 103.3 had a rain-fall averaging only 43.88 inches. It is noticeable, however, as Dr. Hunter remarks, that not one of the periods when the relative number of sunspots was below 50

* Zeitschrift für Meteorologie Band, VIII. No. 6.

had a rain-fall equal to the general average rain-fall of the 48 years, and on the whole, the average of all the years when the relative number of sunspots was over 50 is found to be greater than the average of all the years when the relative number of sunspots is, under the same in ratio of the numbers 47 to 43.

The evident discordance, however, between the numerical expressions for the rain-falls and sunspots in individual years led Dr. Hunter to examine whether, even in the face of such irregularities, some of which might be due to accidental disturbing influences, there might not be some indications of a cyclical coincidence between the periods of deficient and abundant rain-fall, and those of minimum and maximum solar maculation. With a view to carry out this idea, he next proceeded to compare the total and average rain-falls of the critical periods in each of the eleven year cycles of sunspot included within the period (1813—1876) over which the register extended. In Table II, the average of five years of absolute sunspot minimum was found to be 37·07 inches; in Table III, the average of the five years preceding the years of absolute minimum was 39·65 inches; and in Table IV, the average of both sets together came to 38·36, quantities respectively 11·44, 8·86 and 10·15 inches below the average rain-fall for the 54 years. Out of these ten years, only three had a rain-fall above the average, the majority being considerably below it. So far as it goes then the proceeding evidence favours the idea of a general deficiency in the rain-fall of years of few sunspots. Dr. Hunter next proceeded to examine the rain-falls of the other critical periods of the eleven year cycles—using for this purpose De La Rue's dates of maximum which precede Wolf's by one year, in three cases, and being deduced from more careful delineations, are presumably more trustworthy. The years of maximum which have been worked out by De La Rue are 1836, 1847, and 1859. The average rain-fall of these years at Madras is 60·29 inches which being 11·78 inches above the mean of the 64 years is so far favourable to a high average at such periods. This high average, however, as Dr. Hunter confesses, is only kept up by two out of the three years. It must be considered somewhat fortunate that, Dr. Hunter was in possession of the dates of maximum sunspot as given by De La Rue, since, if in their absence he had taken the rain-falls of the three years of maximum according to Wolf, *viz.*, 1837, 1848, and 1860 the average would have only amounted to 43·88 or 4·83 inches below the mean, and further, if in addition he had included the rain-falls for the remaining years of maximum sunspot (according to Wolf) within the period over which the register extended, *viz.*, 1816, and 1830, the average for the whole five years would have been 41·05 inches or 7·46 inches below the mean of the 64 years, a result still

more unfavourable to the hypothesis of a high average rain-fall in years of maximum sunspot.*

On taking the average of the years of maximum (according to De La Rue) and of those immediately preceding them, Dr. Hunter finds it to be 58.44 inches which being 9.93 inches above the mean of the 64 years, conveys an impression that the rain-fall rises above the average in years of many spots. There are, however, many objections which may be urged against the validity of such an hypothesis, founded on the previous scanty evidence, some of which are dwelt upon by the author. Besides these, it would appear that one rather important consideration has here been somewhat disregarded by Dr. Hunter. It is evident that the high average obtained above, is chiefly derived by including the years immediately preceding the years of maximum sunspot. Now, as the effect of a physical cause especially, if that cause be of cosmical origin generally tends to lag somewhat behind it, we ought rather to expect the years which immediately follow the years of maximum sunspot, to furnish a truer criterion of the effects of high maculation on the rain-fall than those which immediately precede them. The comparison then can scarcely be deemed thoroughly trustworthy, unless the years which directly follow the years of maximum sunspot (according to De La Rue) are also made to furnish their contingent to the average. In the present case this is especially necessary, as, though 1835 may be said to precede the year of maximum sunspot 1836, it may also be regarded as following the year of minimum sunspot, the exact date of which according to Mr. De La Rue is 1833.91. If then we include the following as well as the preceding years, the average of the three groups 1835-36, 37 1846-47-48, 1858-59-60 will be found to be 53.48 inches which is only 4.97 inches above the mean of the 64 years.

Dr. Hunter, however, candidly confesses that the evidence in favour of any very decided increase in the rain-fall in years of maximum sunspot corresponding to the defect in years of minimum sunspot is not very strong; and it is solely upon the results of the comparison of the minimum sunspot groups that he bases his second conclusion as follows:—"That although no uniform relation can be detected between the relative number of sunspots and the actual amount of rain-fall, yet that the minimum period in the cycle of sunspot is a period of regularly recurring and strongly marked drought in Southern India."

* I took the dates of maximum sunspot as given by De La Rue on trust from Dr. Hunter; but on looking them up I find them to be more accurately as follows:—

... 1836.97

... 1847.87
... 1859.67
that is, they approximate far more closely to Wolf's dates than to the three years which Dr. Hunter has taken]

If "Madras" be substituted for "Southern India," the above conclusion appears fair enough. In the absence of corroborative evidence furnished by the registers of other places in Southern India, however, it is plain that the above conclusion can hardly be taken to apply to the whole of Southern India. Dr. Hunter then proceeds to discuss the possibility of the assumed excess of vapour in years of minimum sunspot finding its way over into extra-tropical regions. As far as Northern India is concerned, this question has been already dwelt upon, the evidence being apparently in favour of such an hypothesis, but with reference to Europe, Dr. Hunter says, that after having examined the rain returns of 28 stations in Great Britain and 31 stations on the continent of Europe, he finds no evidence of an excessive rain-fall regularly recurring at the minimum period of sunspots in the temperate zone.

This conclusion is, we presume, arrived at after an examination of *total annual* falls alone; and is so far, certainly, in accordance with the result obtained by other investigators, who, as a rule, find more evidence in favour of deficient than of excessive rain-fall at the period of minimum sunspot. the same relation in fact as that which holds at Madras. These results, however, are only obtained from a comparison of the *total* or *summer* rain-falls with the sunspot cycle. The *winter* falls on the other hand tend as a rule to follow the inverse law, and exhibit the excessive fall in years of minimum sunspot which Dr. Hunter seems to have anticipated might be found to occur in the total annual falls. With regard to the summer falls alone, Dr. F. G. Hahn in a work recently published and entitled "*Ueber die Beziehungender sonnen fleckenperiode zu Meteorologischen Erscheinungen*"* after comparing the rain-fall of the three summer months, June, July, and August, of eight places in Central Europe, from 1820 to 1870, with the sunspot period finds distinct proof of the direct variation of the rain-fall with the sunspots. The presence of the opposite variation in the winter falls throughout the extra-tropical regions, of which evidence is not wanting, is probably the reason why the variation, while still of the *same character* as that exhibited by the summer falls, is so much smaller in the total annual falls of the same places. This fact probably explains why the following table for Great Britain put forward by Mr. Meldrum of Mauritius, while furnishing additional evidence in favour of a general connexion between the two phenomena, exhibits such a slight preponderance of rain at the maximum sunspot epoch.

* Leipzig, Engelmann & Co., 1877.

Great Britain.

No of Stations.	Years of least sunspot.	Mean rain- fall.	Years of most sunspot.	Mean rain- fall.
		inches.		inches.
2	1809-11	89.75	1816-18	96.85
10	1821-23	87.64	1828-30	92.55
18	1832-34	81.63	1836-38	88.71
31	1842-44	86.05	1847-49	96.58
30	1854-56	96.80	1859-61	137.9
40	1865-67	108.55	1870-72	109.73
Sums 131		550 1 2		598 21

Excess 47.79 inches
over first group.

It is, however, known to the writer that one station at least in Italy follows the same law of variation to as large or even larger extent than Madras, *viz.*, Udine in Lombardy.

The following table which is arranged to be similar to that of Dr. Hunter's for Madras, will shew, not merely that the rain-fall rises to a maximum in years of maximum sunspot, but that there is the same cyclical coincidence between the rain-fall and the sunspots which is visible in the case of Madras. The rain-fall is registered from 1803 to 1842 inclusive.

Udine, Lombardy.		Average fall in inches.	Average rela- tive No. of sunspots (Wolf.)
Group con- taining years of Minimum Sunspot.	Eleventh series of years. 1832. 1821. 1810.	58.80	Double Groups. 8.8
	1st series 1833. 1822. 1811.	40.24	3.8
	2nd series 1834. 1823. 1812.	59.26	5.8
	3rd series 1835. 1824. 1813.	58.01	22.8
	4th series 1836. 1825. 1814. 1803.	71.16	46.7
Groups con- taining years of Maximum Sunspot.	5th series 1837. 1826. 1815. 1804.	71.77	61.3
	6th series 1838. 1827. 1816. 1805.	69.29	54.5
	7th series 1839. 1828. 1817. 1806.	60.27	48.6
	8th series 1840. 1829. 1818. 1807.	59.33	37.3
	9th series 1841. 1831. 1819. 1808.	54.37	28.3
	10th series 1842. 1831. 1820. 1809.	62.81	17.0

Mean of the 40 years 62.08 inches.

Average of the max. group 8.45 inches above mean.

Ditto min. group 9.35 „ below „

No inference is intended by the writer to be drawn from the preceding comparison of the rain-fall of Udine, as to whether

Northern Italy is subject to a cycle of deficient and abundant rain coinciding with the eleven year cycle of sunspots. The evidence derived from the case of one town alone is insufficient for such a purpose, and though it might become a valuable item in the event of similar results being furnished by other rain-fall registers in Northern Italy, it is merely inserted here, together with the notice of Dr. Hahn's investigations and Mr. Meldrum's Table, to shew that cases do occur where the rain-falls in the temperate zone exhibit a decided tendency to rise and fall in unison with the spots, though Dr. Hunter failed to discover any indication thereof or of the converse. Dr. Hunter next proceeds, according to his own statement, to enquire whether apart from any solar theory there is evidence of any real cycle of increase and decrease in the rain-fall itself. *After many experiments* he thinks he has worked out such a cycle. Though it might appear somewhat questionable whether there was any real necessity for making so many experiments, it must be considered an extremely lucky circumstance that the cycle he at last hit upon happened to coincide in length with the sunspot cycle of eleven years since in most other cases it would have been found a somewhat vain task to attempt, subsequently to compare the results obtained with the average relative number of sunspots in each series of years. Years of few spots would have got inextricably mixed up with those of many spots, the result being that in many cases the average relative number of sunspots in each series of years composing the cycle would have been approximately the same throughout.

The arrangement by which Dr. Hunter forms a cycle of eleven series of years occupying the same relative position in each individual period of eleven years is quite correct, but as the period over which the register extends is only 64 years (two less than six complete eleven year periods) in two of the groups so formed, viz., the 1st and 2nd, the average of five years only is taken, the average in the remainder being taken for six years. This circumstance undoubtedly detracts somewhat from the absolute rigidity of the method, and certainly causes the results to wear a very different aspect to what they would present were the comparison made for five complete periods of eleven years. It may no doubt be urged that by taking the averages of five years throughout, we lose the results of the years 1868-1876 inclusive; still, until the rain-falls of 1877 and 1878 (the two years yet remaining to complete the six eleven year periods) are known, it must be evident that though we lose in extent, we gain in absolute reliability, when five year groups are taken by the uniformity thus secured throughout. here append Dr. Hunter's Tables VII and VIII for the purpose comparing the results of the two methods.

TABLE VII.

Average Annual rain-fall of each series in inches.

		(1) According to Dr. Hunter in six year groups.	(2) In five year groups.
Minimum group.	{ Eleventh Series of years	... 37.03	40.14
	{ 1st. " "	... 49.15	49.15
	{ 2nd. " "	... 35.00	35.00
	{ 3rd. " "	... 49.08	50.61
Maximum group in (2) Maximum group in (1)	{ 4th. " "	... 49.17	52.54
	{ 5th. " "	... 58.33	55.17
	{ 6th. " "	... 50.95	49.87
	{ 7th. " "	... 50.37	47.13
	{ 8th. " "	... 54.35	54.85
	{ 9th. " "	... 52.88	50.87
	{ 10th. " "	... 45.16	46.77
	{ 11th. " Repeated)	... 37.03	40.14

Mean rain-fall of the 61 years 48.51 do of the 55 years 48.23

From which it is plain that though the tendency towards a cyclical rise and fall is manifested in (2) as well as in (1), the *absolute range of variation* is considerably less in the case of the former than in that of the latter. Besides this the two maximum groups in (2) are the 4th and 5th instead of the 5th and 6th as in (1) the maximum thus occurring earlier in the cycle. A second maximum in the 8th and 9th series is also rendered more apparent in (2) than in (1). Table VIII is added below to show the same in double groups.

Average Annual rain-fall in inches.

		(1) Six year periods.	(2) Five year periods.
Minimum group.	{ Eleventh Series of years	... 37.03	40.14
	{ 1st. & 2nd. Series of years	... 42.07	42.07
	{ 3rd. & 4th. " "	... 49.12	51.57
Maximum group.	{ 5th. & 6th. " "	... 54.64	52.52
	{ 7th. & 8th. " "	... 52.36	50.99
	{ 9th. & 10th. " "	... 49.02	48.82
	{ 11th. " (Repeated)	... 37.03	40.14

Until then the rain-falls of 1877 and 1878 have been registered and placed in their respective series the plan of taking the years in groups of six together can scarcely be considered a perfect one, so that the conclusions at present ought accurately to be based upon the result of taking the averages for five years uniformly throughout.

The arrangement by which the years are placed in a cycle of eleven series of years occupying the same relative position in each individual period of eleven years as in Tables VII and VIII is, as I have already remarked, the only rational one by which a comparison can be affected between the average rain-falls and the relative number of sunspots in each series so that although it

might appear from Dr. Hunter's conclusions, Nos. (3) and (1), that the rain-fall rises to maximum and falls to a minimum in every complete cycle of eleven years, and that it fails to do so in a cycle of any other length, it must really be considered merely as a preparatory step towards a subsequent comparison of the rain-falls with the relative number of sunspots. For even supposing the rain-falls had shown a tendency to rise and fall in a cycle of any other length, then subsequent comparison with the sunspots would have been virtually impossible and the cycle therefore valueless. The supreme importance of the result of such a comparison in the present case must not be overlooked, as it is quite possible that the critical periods of solar maculation might have fallen midway between the critical periods of rain-fall, or have assumed any other position than one exactly coinciding with them. In such a case it would be difficult to correlate the two phenomena. As it happened, however, the critical periods corresponded so closely that it was evident at once the coincidence was scarcely accidental, though, as will always happen in the case of a meteorological element so largely affected with non-periodic variations as rain-fall, irregularities enter in, which to some extent detract from the regularity of the connection. On the whole, however, it was found that the minimum period of rain-fall coincided approximately with the years of minimum sunspot and that from thence the rain-fall in each group gradually increased with the average relative number of sunspots in the same, until both reached their maximum simultaneously in the 5th series of years. They then decreased though not regularly until the rain-fall and sunspots again conjointly reached their average minimum period in the 11th 1st and 2nd series which are the series containing the years of minimum sunspot. The same result is true with individual modifications where the average is taken for five years throughout. Appended is the Table IX with the averages taken as in the pamphlet, and for five years uniformly throughout.

		(1) In six year groups average annual rain-fall.		(2) In five year groups. No. of Sunspots.	
		Sunspots		Rain-fall.	
		Sunspots		Sunspots.	
Mini- mum group.	Eleventh Series of years ...	37.03	10.9	40.14	17.4
	1st. " "	49.15	7.57	49.15	7.57
	2nd. " "	35.00	12.4	35.00	12.4
	3rd. " "	49.08	26.9	50.61	27.5
	4th. " "	49.17	52.88	52.54	52.8
	5th. " "	58.33	74.4	55.17	77.4
	6th. " "	50.95	72.4	49.87	72.4
	7th. " "	50.37	57.2	47.13	61.2
	8th. " "	44.35	50.3	54.85	52.1
	9th. " "	52.88	40.87	50.87	41.8
	10th. " "	45.6	26.2	46.77	24.4
	11th. " (Repeated) ...	37.03	10.9	40.14	17.4

So far then as can be deduced from the preceding facts, Dr. Hunter is quite entitled to his valuable conclusion No. 5, *viz.*, "that apart from any solar theory the statistical evidence shows that the cycle of rain-fall at Madras has a marked coincidence with a corresponding cycle of sunspots; that in this cycle of eleven years both the sunspots and the rain-fall reach their minimum in the group consisting of the eleventh, first, and second years; that both the rain-fall and the sunspots then increase till they both reach their maximum in the fifth year; after which they decline together, till both again enter their minimum period in the eleventh first and second series of years." It is evident, therefore, that the two phenomena are connected, though as the irregularities plainly shew, in a manner not strictly depending on the number of sunspots visible at any particular period. A period of deficient rain-fall, however, appears likely to recur in one or other of the years of sunspot minimum, while at the same time it would seem to be impossible from the preceding data to forecast its *exact* date of arrival. Whether such deficiency would be attended with disastrous results to the presidency town and adjacent districts, it is also impossible to predict with certainty, or even conjecture, unless we know the probable extent of deviation from the average at such a period. Owing to reasons already given, the absolute range of deviation at the critical periods ought properly to be tested from the results of the comparison when the averages of the series are taken for five years uniformly throughout. The following are the results of testing it according to this method:—

	Average rain-fall in inches.
Single series of least rain fall (2nd)	... 35.00
Average rain-fall of the 55 years	... 48.23
Defect from average	... 13.23
	Average rain-fall in inches.
Single series of greatest rain-fall (5th)	... 55.17
Average rain fall of the 55 years	.. 48.23
Excess over average	... 6.94
	Average rain-fall in inches.
Group of series of least rain fall (eleventh first and second)	... 41.43
Average rain-fall of the 55 years	... 48.23
Defect from average	... 6.80

	Average rain-fall in inches.
Group of series of greatest rain-fall (4th and 5th series)	... 53.85
Average rain-fall of the 55 years	... 48.23

Excess over average ... 5.62

The range of variation, as computed from Dr. Hunter's Tables, is larger but not so trustworthy. It appears then from the above comparison that the probable deficiency in the second series is 13.23 inches or 27 per cent. below the general average, while the probable deficiency in any one of the three groups of deficient rain-fall is 6.80 inches or 14 per cent. of the general average. It may be as well perhaps to mention here that an interesting discussion has recently taken place in the columns of "Nature" between Professor Balfour Stewart and General Strachey, regarding the absolute value of the cyclic coincidence between the rain-fall at Madras and the eleven year period of sunspots as shewn by Dr. Hunter, in which the former brings forward evidence in favour of such a coincidence which appears stronger than any contained in the pamphlet. After some preliminary remarks on General Strachey's communication to the Royal Society on the subject, Dr. Balfour Stewart says: "the true test of a physical cycle is its repetition, and since in the present aspect of this question we cannot perhaps calmly wait for another 64 years' observations, let us now endeavour to break these 64 years into periods and see whether we obtain any traces of physical persistence from this method. Grouping, as Dr. Hunter has done, the 64 years Madras rain-fall into a series of years beginning with the first in 1813, we obtain the following table:—

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
1813—1823	... 45.11	32.41	56.00	41.16	63.56	76.25	36.33	70.01	47.13	59.61	26.62	A.
1824—1834	... 33.72	56.05	60.73	88.41	37.89	36.87	32.43	44.35	18.45	37.11	39.00	B.
1835—1845	... 41.47	44.76	49.26	52.33	53.07	56.65	58.33	36.48	50.28	66.36	30.5	C.
1846—1856	... 79.81	80.99	54.76	39.81	36.88	64.32	42.69	85.82	43.20	32.32	46.99	D.
1857—1867	... 52.95	48.50	55.14	27.64	37.19	38.18	54.61	47.23	41.64	51.89	24.37	E.
1868—end	... 41.43	32.81	74.10	56.55	73.67	51.83	62.90	37.12	9			F.
Whole period.	49.1	49.2	58.8	50.9	50.4	54.4	52.9	45.2		49.2	35.00	

In this Table 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 embrace the maximum rain-fall group, and 8, 9, 10, 11 the minimum group, and the sunspot maximum occurs generally about the beginning of 3 and the sunspot

minimum a little before 11. We have therefore, taking the means of the five maximum years, a result 53·4 inches for the whole six years, and also by taking the means of the four minimum years, a result 41·6 for the whole six years (exclusive of 1876 and 1877). But we can obtain similar results for each individual series.

Thus—

	Max group.	Min. group.
Series A	54·7	50·8
" B	51·3	34·7
" C	54·3	47·5
" D	53·7	39·6
" E	42·6	41·2
" F	63·8	29·3 (incomplete)

We have thus considerable evidence of *repetition*." The result then of Dr. Balfour Stewart's comparison shews that the periodical variation in the rain-fall at Madras is not only manifest in the cycle made up of series of years occupying the same position in each period of eleven years, but is equally apparent in each eleven year period separately. The additional support derived from this method of analysis which seems entirely to have escaped Dr. Hunter's notice, may be said to have placed his conclusions on a far firmer footing than that which they previously occupied, the persistence of the same variation throughout each individual period of eleven years, plainly exhibiting a repetition such as Dr. Balfour Stewart considers to be the true test of a physical cycle.

Finally with respect to the years of famine and their connection with the previous data. Dr. Hunter first of all gives a list of famine years in Madras as furnished him by Sir William Robinson, but he leaves us in doubt as to whether they embraced the whole Presidency or only the immediate neighbourhood of Madras. He also says, though without citing any authority for such a statement, that these famines were caused by deficient rain-fall in the years preceding them. Now if these famines (as Dr. Hunter certainly leads us to infer) affected the whole Presidency of Madras, a deficiency of rain-fall in the years that preceded them should be apparent throughout the Presidency.

This does not appear to have been, uniformly the case, as will be seen from the following comparison of the deviations from the average annual rain-fall at Bangalore, Mysore, and Madras in the three years preceding the last three famines :—

Years preceding	Bangalore. inches.	Mysore. inches.	Madras. inches.
Famines			
1853	—0·74	+8·86	—12·69
1865	+0·56	+1·66	—6·87
1876	—13·10	—6·92	—26·79

There cannot have been much of a drought at Mysore in 1853 when its rain-fall was 8·86 inches above the average. In fact 1876 appears to have been the only drought felt at all three stations simultaneously. As far as Madras alone is concerned, however, the evidence implied in the fact that five out of the six years of deficient rain-fall causing famine, *viz.*, 1810, 1823, 1832, 1865 and 1876 fell within the group of deficient rain-fall in the cycle, is doubtless tolerably conclusive, and can scarcely be considered accidental. On examining these years of drought, Dr. Hunter finds their average rain-fall to be 28·80 inches or about 20 inches below the average. The average of the actual years of famine is 41·35 inches, and of the two together 35·99 inches. Dr. Hunter, thence concludes that a rain-fall below 30 inches generally causes a famine at Madras, but that one above that quantity does not. Now the series with the lowest average rain-fall is the 2nd which averages 35·00 inches, and this is five inches above the critical point. A year of drought, therefore, can scarcely be prophesied with any certainty from the above data, though there is a balance of probability in favour of its occurring either in the eleventh or second series. A consideration of the foregoing facts brings Dr. Hunter to his sixth and last conclusion, *viz.* :—

“That while the statistical evidence discloses a cycle, of drought in Southern India, coincident in a marked manner with a corresponding cycle of sunspots, it also tends to shew that the average rain-fall of the years of minimum rain-fall in the said cycle approaches perilously near to the point of deficiency which causes famine; that the average is, however, above that point; and that while we have reason to apprehend recurring droughts and frequent famines in these cyclic years of minimum rain-fall, the evidence is insufficient for predicting a regularly recurring famine.”

As far as Madras alone is concerned the above conclusion is doubtless well founded; but, as the rain-fall of Bangalore and Mysore shows, it can scarcely be applied in the absence of further data to any large area of Southern India. On the whole therefore it must be allowed that Mr. Blanford is justified in saying “that until it can be shewn that a deficiency in the rain-fall of the Presidency town indicates a deficiency productive of famine over some considerable area of Southern India, the supposed periodicity of the latter class of phenomena has only such validity as may be warranted by the facts independently adduced in its support”; and “that this, which to the administrator is the subject of cardinal importance is treated of in a very cursory manner in the pamphlet.” Besides this, the question of the particular causes that contributed to bring about each famine, though doubtless exceedingly intricate, is one which cannot be shirked if any practical results are expected to follow from Dr.

Hunter's researches, and ought properly to form a sequel to the present investigation. Let us now recapitulate briefly the results that appear to have been really ascertained within correct limits by Dr. Hunter. It has been shown that although there is no uniform numerical relation between the relative number of sunspots and the actual amount of rain-fall in individual years at Madras, the rain-falls when arranged, both in periods of eleven years and in a cycle composed of series of years occupying the same position in each eleven year period, show a decided general tendency to rise to a maximum in the years of maximum sunspot, and fall to a minimum in years of minimum sunspot. That the probable extent of such variation cannot be estimated beforehand as more than 5.62 inches or 11 per cent. above the average annual rainfall in the group containing the years of maximum sunspot or more than 6.80 inches or 14 per cent. below the same in the group containing the year of minimum sunspot. That while years of drought at Madras hitherto appear to have approximately coincided with the years of minimum sunspot, or years of low maculation, it would be premature to conclude in the absence of further positive data that such was the case throughout the Presidency. Finally, in the absence of confirmatory data none of Dr. Hunter's conclusions even in a modified form can be applied with confidence to any large portion of Southern India, though it is quite possible they may extend over a considerable tract of country on the Coromandel Coast, which is subject to the same meteorological conditions as hold at the Presidency town of Madras. Even when thus modified and circumscribed by the strict limits assigned by the scanty evidence hitherto adduced, the results of Dr. Hunter's investigations must be allowed to have afforded valuable indications of the direct effects of a certain periodic solar influence apparently coincident with the sunspot period, which, when more thoroughly investigated and extensively worked out, may constitute a valuable means of prognosticating periodic variations in the rain-fall and other climatic features, not only of Madras, but of many other places in Northern as well as Southern India. It is no doubt true, as Dr. Hunter pertinently notices in conclusion, that there is scarcely a single other country in the world so advantageously placed as India for thoroughly and systematically perfecting the study of meteorology. The regularity of the monsoons, the isolation from the rest of Asia effected by the interposition of the Himalayan barrier, and the direct influence of solar heat, all combine to render India a model country for attempting the solution of those meteorological problems which, in the varied and complicated weather conditions that envelope the temperate regions of Europe, have hitherto so completely baffled all efforts made to solve them. It redounds therefore very much to Dr. Hunter's credit that, though profess-

edly not a meteorologist himself, he has struck out a line which comparatively few persons in this country have hitherto investigated, and one which certainly so far promises to yield anything but barren results. It is true, as Mr. Blanford stated in his letter to the "*Englishman*," that Mr. Norman Lockyer had previously tested the Madras rain-fall, but it was only for one period of maximum and minimum; and Dr. Hunter has supplemented it by such an able and exhaustive comparison, that he ought really to be credited with the honour of having first brought it before public notice in the manner it properly deserved. Whether the variation which Dr. Hunter has shown to exist at Madras can or cannot be distinctly correlated with the periodical recurrence of famine, is a question which cannot be fully determined at present, or until we know for certain the particular cause or causes which led to each individual famine, and the exact limits to which it extended. Nevertheless from the dates of famine in Madras as given by Sir W. Robinson, it would appear, that the years of drought which preceded them coincide approximately with the minimum sunspot period; and if, as Dr. Hunter leads us to infer, these famines were really and solely due to drought, the evidence is so far strong in favour of their possible recurrence at the same period in future. At all events it is quite sufficient to warrant special precautions and provision being made at the time of minimum solar maculation with a view to ward off the awful effects of such a visitation as that which is just now devastating the whole Presidency, and which forms the latest as well as the most terrible example of, the coincidence of years of famine with those of few sunspots.

As a further proof of a possible general connection between drought and the absence of sunspots, it may be noticed that many other countries bordering upon the Indian Ocean exhibit variations in their rain-fall at the critical periods of solar maculation precisely similar to those found at Madras. Mr. Norman Lockyer in an article in "*Nature*" (Vol. VII. p. 98) gives a resumé of some comparisons of the rain-fall at Brisbane, Adelaide and Port Louis with the sunspot period by Mr. Meldrum, supplementing them by his own comparisons of the rain-fall at the Cape, the results of which in every case coincide with that at Madras. In Australia the tendency to periodical drought appears to have been very generally recognised. Mr. Mossman in his "*Origin of the Seasons*" says "The worst vicissitudes to which the climate of Victoria is subject in common with Australia generally are the occasional droughts. These, as already stated, appear to follow those years characterised by unusual rain-fall, a fact that has given rise to the conjecture that both excessively wet and excessively dry seasons are periodical. The last drought to which the colony was subject

extended from the summer of 1865 to almost the winter of 1866, [one of Dr. Hunter's 'famine years and close to the period of minimum sunspot] and was doubtless due to the small rain-fall in the autumn and spring months."*

Even as far back as 1835 it was known that frightful droughts occurred in Australia in cycles of 9 to 10 years (vide *Westminster Review*, July 1835, No. 45), and in one of the latest books on the country the writer remarks that "since the drought in 1866 the rain-fall gradually increased up to 1869-72 (a period of maximum sunspot) during which years rain was plentiful, while *since that time* the seasons have become drier until in 1875 and up to February 1876 (latest date) very little rain has fallen between the 24th and 30th parallels and even further south. The country north of Spencer's Gulf is now suffering somewhat from drought which extends eastward to Queensland and New South Wales, and which is *again coincident with an epoch of minimum sunspot*."† The same conditions appear to prevail at Mauritius where, besides the marvellous connection Mr. Meldrum has recently discovered between the cyclones of the South Indian Ocean and the sunspot period, in which the number, length, and duration of their courses, and the extent of the Earth's Surface covered by them, all reach their maximum during the years of maximum sunspot in each sun spot period and *vice versa*, there appears to be the same tendency to periodical drought as at Madras, and in Australia.

A drought occurred there early in November 1876, soon after which, Mr. Meldrum ventured publicly to express his opinion that probably the drought would not break up till towards the end of January, and that it might last till the middle of February, adding, that up to these dates the rain-fall of the island would not exceed 50 per cent, of the mean fall.

This opinion was an inference grounded on past observations which show that former droughts have lasted from about 3 to 3½ months, and that these droughts have occurred in the years of minimum sunspot or at all events in years when the spots are far below the average as in 1842, 1843, 1855, 1856, 1864, 1866, and 1867, and that now we are again near the minimum epoch of sunspots.

It would be a fine link in this universal chain of evidence were we to find that the Cape had suffered drought either during the past or present year.‡ It would then have been satisfactorily ascertained that in addition to the evidence afforded by the registered rain-falls and tradition of past years a well-marked and serious

* "Origin of the Seasons" by S. Mossman, p. 385. from the Cape up to September report a serious drought in the Central and Eastern districts. This information therefore supplies the missing link.

† South Australia by Harens, p. 414.

‡ Since writing the above I notice in a recent "Pioneer" that advices

drought, followed, in one case at least, by a fearful famine had taken place simultaneously in India, Australia, Mauritius, and the Cape. It seems then that the periodical tendency to drought which with the concomitant variation in the rain-fall at Madras forms the groundwork of Dr. Hunter's hypothesis of a cycle of drought and famine in Southern India, is by no means confined to India alone, but is felt apparently simultaneously in other countries bordering upon the Indian Ocean, even if it is not still more universal.

It is plain therefore that though certain local conditions may intensify its local effects, the prime cause itself must be of cosmical rather than of terrestrial origin. We may therefore not unreasonably refer it to periodical variations in the amount of heat radiated from the sun, such as are from other considerations inferred to accompany the periodical changes in the amount of solar maculation. Regarding the contents of Dr. Hunter's pamphlet, limited and imperfect though they may be, under the additional light afforded by the knowledge of the preceding facts, it is manifest that in reality they go to form an additional link in the universal chain of periodical pluviometrical conditions with which at all events the countries bordering upon the Indian Ocean appear to be invested, and, as such, have a distinct claim upon the attention of Government, as well as that of the scientific public.

The present and the past year have hitherto (September) been characterized by an abnormal if not unprecedented absence of spots, and as though to shew that an aggravation of certain solar conditions is followed by a similar aggravation of their terrestrial effects they both appear destined to become memorable in the world's history not only for their fearful droughts and famines in India but also for remarkable perturbations of the weather in other parts of the world. Whether all such abnormal conditions can be strictly referred to the effect of an unusual sunspot minimum it is impossible to conclude with our present limited knowledge of these matters, but it may perhaps be some consolation to those who believe in the efficacy of the reappearance of sunspots to change the present state of things, to learn, that according to Secchi signs of re-awakening solar activity have recently manifested themselves, which make it likely that we have already past the period of actual sunspot minimum. In addition to this, Dr. Wolf's conclusions based on the sunspot evidence of past years backed up by Mr. J. Allan Broun's independent conjectures founded on a consideration of magnetic observations, render it probable that we are now passing through an abnormally short period of solar maculation, which their combined researches show, has a tendency to recur every 80 or 90 years.* If this hypothesis be correct, then according to Mr. Broun we may expect the next year of sunspot maxi-

* *Nature*, vol. xiii, p. 413.

imum to occur in 1879 or 1880. During the next few years therefore we may expect to find the sunspots rapidly increase in numbers and area, such increase being very possibly attended by a complete reversal of those meteorological conditions which have recently so sorely afflicted the whole country.

Since writing the above I have received a letter from the author in which he regrets to find (probably from a letter I had written to "Nature") that I am under the impression he intended his conclusions to apply to the whole of Southern India generally; and says, that as there was some ambiguity in the first impression of his paper hastily struck off for Government as he was leaving Calcutta, he now sends me a copy of the pamphlet as finally printed off. I can only say that there appears to me to have been ample ground for any such misconception on my part in the persistent use by the author (in the original pamphlet) of the words "in Southern India" after each conclusion. Why, if the investigation merely comprised the rain-fall at Madras, were the conclusions made to end with the words "in Southern India," was the question I repeatedly asked myself, and the only reasonable answer appeared to be, that the author assuming the variation at Madras was typical of what went on throughout Southern India intended his conclusions to apply to the whole of that region. My conjecture was I believe shared by many others who like myself had not the privilege of being acquainted with the author's real intentions. In the revised edition of the pamphlet all possible misconception with regard to the limits over which the conclusions are intended to extend is at once removed by the substitution in every case of the words "at Madras" for "in Southern India," the very corrections in fact which I suggested in the preceding review as being necessary.

An additional Table is also inserted in the revised pamphlet, which as the author considers it to be the crucial one of the lot, I take the liberty of reproducing here.

Cycle of rain-fall and Sunspot shown in Minimum Intermediate, and Maximum groups.

TABLE XL.

	Average rain-fall in inches, register- ed at Madras, 1813-1876.	Average relative number of sun- spots (Wolf) 1810-1860.
Minimum group. Eleventh first and second years. ... }	40-39	10-32
Intermediate group, third fourth, with tenth & ninth years ... }	49-07	36-71
Maximum group, fifth sixth seventh & eighth years ... }	53-50	63-61

The parallel march of the rain-fall and sunspots is here rendered more generally manifest through the necessary elimination of individual irregularities.

I need only say in conclusion, that all my remarks must be understood to have reference to the pamphlet in its *original* and not in its *revised* form, and that I regret the tardy arrival of the pamphlet in its latter form has prevented me from meting out the almost unqualified commendation it deserves, and which I could not conscientiously accord to its predecessor.

E. D. ARCHIBALD, B.A.

ART. VI.—THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

TOWARDS the eastern confines of the Bay of Bengal, and almost due west of the Tenasserim province of British Burmah, lies a numerous group of sylvan islands 'dividing the currents of parted seas.' Covered with dense primeval forest and rich in the gorgeous coloring of all tropical vegetation, their shores are encircled with a dangerous belt of coral reefs, lending their bright iridescent hues to the transparent crystal of the waters above them, which lave the shelving treacherous strands. These varied tints of exquisite coloring, blending with those of the luxuriant foliage of gigantic forest trees, and the azure of the sunlit sea, give to these remote and secluded gardens of the ocean a weird beauty baffling all description.

Tenanted by a hostile race of reputed savage anthropophagi, who regarded all earlier attempted intercourse as a wilful aggression, these isles were long the terror of mariners whose voyages compelled them to brave the dangers of these seas; nor even in the present day has credence in the cannibalistic propensities of the aborigines of the Andamans wholly ceased to exist, it being firmly retained by a large proportion of our European seafaring populations, though no reliable confirmatory evidence has ever been adduced that would warrant or justify its retention. It is an indisputable fact, however, that, with one or two solitary exceptions, all efforts to trace the fate of the crews of the numerous storm-driven vessels wrecked upon these inhospitable coasts have been unavailing and wholly unattended with success; whether or not it be the case that the men have but fallen victims to the implacable hostility of the savages; or that their fate has been such as to afford some color for the current reports of this putative and peculiar propensity so long ascribed to the natives of these islands. The simple fact of the absolute disappearance of all trace remains, and no doubt in itself sufficiently accounts, not only for the prevalent assertions of cannibalism but also for the wide credence such belief has attained, whether with, or, as is more probable, without due justification.

Of the traditions, manners or customs of these races little has yet been gleaned or garnered into the vast and rapidly accumulating store of oriental research, and although efforts are now being made to obtain some knowledge of these and some insight into the structure of the language such are necessarily at present, at best, somewhat crudely tentative and experimental. That the races possess several distinct dialects has so far been ascertained but all endeavours to trace them to any parent stem have as yet failed, owing probably in a great measure to the fact that like the

Polynesian Islanders, the Andamanese possess no script of their own, being wholly ignorant of caligraphy. To the philologist a wide and deeply interesting new field of study is evidently here thus open. That it should be early availed of there can be no doubt, for with the gradual but not the less certain eventual extinction of these races will be lost all traces of their distinct ethnical entity, which would be much to be regretted; for, as has been justly remarked by Max Müller, each distinct language is the growth of thousands and thousands of years, the workmanship of millions and millions of human beings; and its preservation may hereafter fill the most critical gaps in the history of the human race, aiding in the solution of some of its most difficult problems.

Severed, probably by later geographical changes,* during many generations, from intercourse with other races, these rude aborigines would seem to have wholly escaped all contact with the resistless wave of Aryan civilization which swept over the continent of India and to have preserved intact their primitive barbarian articulations wholly unreached and unaffected by foreign innovations. In these 'summer isles of Eden, lying in dark-purple spheres of sea' may, therefore, possibly yet be found some valuable links in the history of the unfathomed past.

The most cursory examination of the features and of the physical structure of the present inhabitants of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands would satisfy the physiologist that the races are decidedly distinct, and that they retain no trace of any probable earlier affinity to each other or of derivation from the same

* The geological formations of the whole of the South Andaman, of the Labyrinth Archipelago, and of the Southern parts of the Middle Andaman are affirmed (by Mr. W. Blanford and Dr. Stoliczka) to be identical with those of the Arracan coast. The principal ranges all run from South by West to North by East, somewhat in the direction of the lines of outcrop in the different strata. The main geological features are said to be chloritic rock, sandstone, serpentine rock and syenite, with three well-marked diversities of soil.

1st.—The brick-colored soil extending over decomposed serpentine rock.

2nd.—The yellowish clay following sandstone formation.

3rd.—The greyish or blackish soil, having a quantity of silicious particles.

Dr. C. M. Douglas, V. C., re-

marks, (in his "Notes on the Andaman Islands," Army Medl. Dept. Report for 1873, vol. xv, p. 326) as follows:—

"A broad strip of an indurated chloritic rock runs through the interior, rather felspathic in character, greenish in color, scarcely stratified, but intersected by veins of quartz or calcareous spar: no veins of metal were observed."

In Darwin's map, the Andamans are noted as "rising" on account of the fringing reefs and volcanism. On the other hand, Mr. S. Kurz, on his visit in 1866, observed signs which he thought indicated a "sinking" tendency, by the presence of the stumps of sunken trees and changes of the soil through the formation of the mangrove swamps. The Andaman group lies between

Lat. 11° 30' and 14° 20' North.
Long. 92° 10' and 93° 30' East.

parent stock, whilst the original extraction of both remains to this day an unsolved ethnographical mystery.

The Nicobareans, who somewhat resemble the Malay race, are of a sallow, yellow (or rather, "copper") hue, the eyes being very small and somewhat deeply set. In height varying from 5 feet 6 to 9 inches; they are well-formed and fairly muscular, with high cheek bones, flat noses, and thick lips. The back of the head is extremely flat, (it being flattened by compression in infancy). Lazy, apathetic and indolent to a degree they are yet intellectually greatly superior to the savage tribes by whom the Andaman group, to their north is peopled.

The Andamanese, on the other hand, averaging in height but 4 feet 5½ to 5 ft. 4 in. * is of a squat thick-set figure, with a glossy skin, intensely black in color, a round head and full projecting eyes. At first sight the race has a dwarfed negritic appearance being also naturally woolly-haired. Wholly destitute of all clothing or covering of any description, the bodies of the men are disfigured by savage tattooing, † deep lines being scarred in the skin with some cutting instrument. The hair ‡ is often wholly removed from the scalps and the anterior part of the chest, the top of the head being then covered with daubs of red coloring matter. § Their women are also wholly nude, though they are generally girt with a very slight cincture, formed of leaves—a bunch of these being also invariably suspended from the waistbelt behind. ||

* The following particulars give the result of an examination of upwards of 80 aborigines, as conducted by the officer, now in charge of the Andamanese (Mr. E. H. Mau).

				Ft. In.
Males.	Maximum height	5-4½	(very exceptional) }	Average, 4-11
	Minimum	4-5½		
Females.	Maximum	4-11½	(very exceptional) }	Average, 4-7½
	Minimum	4-4		

+ See *Proceedings, Asiatic Society, Bengal*, June 1870, p. 159, for descriptions of tattooing (Mr. Francis Day).

The tattooing is always the work of the women and though formerly effected by means of a flint fixed in the slit end of a piece of wood, it is now performed with a piece of thinly chipped glass. Steel is never made use of, the Andamanese being prejudiced in regard to its use upon their persons.

‡ The heads of the women are

all closely shaven. Those of the males are often dressed in various styles. Some crowns being shaven others having a reserved patch of hair upon either side or in the centre, &c. It is, however, common to see the men entirely shaven like the females.

§ A mixture of oxide of iron and melted pig or turtle fat.

|| In this they resemble the Koragar women of the Western Coast of India, See "Account of a leaf-wearing tribe." *Journal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. IV. No 11.

Without any knowledge of time they have, it would appear, neither reliable generally-accepted legendary traditions* of their past, nor conceptions of a possible future, and in their absolute isolation and seclusion from contact with more advanced races, they would seem so far to have been proof against 'the unmeasured power of the theory of development,' and to be still in that stage of civilization which geologists teach us had been attained by the human race in Europe towards the close of the glacial period.

The origin of the race is necessarily enveloped in considerable obscurity and doubt. The Rev. D. Rosen, a Danish Lutheran Missionary who resided in the Nicobar Islands from 1831 to 1834, gives currency to a rumour there prevalent in regard to the negritic origin of the Andamanese races, who were then said to be descendants of African slaves wrecked upon these shores, an opinion, in fact, adopted by the Andaman Committee of 1858, who state that the men are evidently dwarf negroes with all the physical characters of Africans.† From this view, however, nearly all later writers justly dissent, the opinion now most generally held being that they are unquestionably the original heritors of the soil. That so early as the year 1801, the contrary view prevailed is, however, beyond doubt, from the following remarks of Mr G. Hamilton who had visited the Car Nicobar island. "The inhabitants of the Andamans are said to be cannibals. The people of Car Nicobar have a tradition amongst them, that several canoes came from Andaman many years ago, and that the crew were all armed and committed great depredations and killed several of the Nicobareans. It appears at first remarkable that there should be such a great difference between the manners of inhabitants of islands so near to one another, the Andamans being savagecannibals and the others the most harmless, inoffensive people

* In a recent work this fact is questioned, and may possibly of course be yet disproved. The legend of the origin of the present Southern Andaman tribes is thus rendered therein:—

"God (Paluga) is a spirit who dwells in the sky (Mawro) * * He is supposed to have a wife, Chana-palak (literally Mother Fish). * Her province is to provide fish for the sea which she throws from heaven. * * The legend concerning Chana-elewadi is that she came pregnant from the sea, from the north-east, and landed at Dürating, where she gave birth to eight children at once, who in course of

time separated in pairs, male and female, and became progenitors of the present Andamanese tribes." —"*The Lord's Prayer, in the South Andaman language*," Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Co., 1877.

Were such traditions reliable or of general and universal acceptance they would undoubtedly favor other theories than those above advanced in regard to the races being indigenous to the soil. The contrary seems rather to be the case, so far as has yet been reliably ascertained.

† Letter No. 2,136, para. 107. Report of Committee appointed by Government of India.

possible ; but it is accounted for by the following historical anecdote which I have been assured is a matter of fact. Shortly after the Portuguese had discovered the passage to India round the Cape of Good Hope, one of their ships on board of which were a number of Mozambique negroes was lost on the Andaman Islands, which were till then uninhabited. The blacks remained in the island and settled it : the Europeans made a small shallop in which they sailed to Pegu. On the other hand the Nicobar islands were peopled from the opposite main and the coast of Pegu, in proof of which the Nicobar and Pegu languages are said by those acquainted with the latter to have much resemblance.”*

With such materials as are at present available, any attempted generalization would necessarily be premature and could but be conjectural. So little is in fact yet known either of the language, the manners, or the traditions of the race, that there are absolutely no fully satisfactory data justifying an ethnological assertion. Such evidence as has yet been obtained, however, would seem fairly and unquestionably to point to a possession of the soil extending over several generations, and to favor the conclusion that the races are indigenous, and that the present occupants are the descendants of the primitive aborigines of the islands which they now inhabit. Of the fact that their tenancy has covered such lengthened period, sufficient proof is afforded by the presence of numerous hillocks composed of the shells of oysters, mussels and other shell fish, with the bones of birds, &c., now covered with layers of earth. These hillocks known in Europe as kitchen middens or kitchen-heaps, probably mark the sites of ancient villages, or at least of places of common and habitual resort. In Denmark, Scotland, and in other parts of Northern Europe their occurrence is frequent, and more than a hundred such Kjökken-middings have been counted on the shores of the Baltic, where they are found both oblong and circular in shape. These latter of course far exceed in size those of the Andaman Islands, some being no less than 300 yards in length, 50 yards in width and 10 feet in height. Both, however, alike indicate considerable changes in the modes of life of the races upon whose soil they are yet to be found ; and at Port Blair in the lower layers of the Andaman kitchen-middens, glazed pottery, flints, and iron arrow-heads are now said to be found ; though iron was certainly not in common use on our acquisition of the islands. De Röepstorff, who has given much valuable attention to this subject, thus refers to the local discoveries made.

“ Even more peculiar is the circumstance that bones of birds

* Asiatic Researches, vol p. 337. Art. XXXI.

are found in the lower layers; for at the time of Port Blair being opened out, they did not eat birds. Probably with the loss of communication with the outer world, and the consequent want of iron to form their arrow-heads, they gave up the chase of birds.* * Oysters are found to have been the staple of their food formerly; now they will not touch them, &c.*

It seems far from improbable that the long ridge of continuous rocks resembling each other and passing through the centre of this group of Islands, formerly connected, all these islands now separated by deep seas, a fact the ethnological importance of which it is impossible to overestimate. As was recently pointed out by Professor Owen, the ethnologist is too often misled by attaching too great an importance to the present actual disposition of land and sea; and he impresses upon all students of that science, the necessity for the acceptance of the facts established by the concurrence of zoological† and geological evidence in regard to the later geological changes in the earth's surface, which have gradually broken up continents into "insular patches" of land. Physiology indeed now compels a retrospect far beyond historical periods of time for the establishment of such numerous varieties of the human race.

That a more satisfactory solution of the problem of the origin of the present Andamanese tribes, therefore, than that afforded by the hypothetical shipwreck of a crew of Mozambique slaves, will yet ultimately be found, there seems little reason to doubt. Earlier writers have probably not escaped the influence of their surroundings, and the complete isolation of the islands, with the marked divergence of the type of their inhabitants from the Malayan races, better known in the Nicobars and in the East Indian Archipelago, have no doubt mainly influenced and led up to the repetition of the assertions of their negritic and continental origin as Africans, the race to which in a desire for ready generalization certain of their distinctive characteristics were found most

* Vocabulary of Dialects, Andaman and Nicobar Isles. Fr. Ad. de Roepstorff, Calcutta 1875.

† Investigation of the zoology of the islands shows, (affirms Dobson)—

1st.—That the Islands were *last* connected with the Asiatic Continent, most probably with Burmah and the Malay Peninsula.

2nd.—That they probably formed portions of a large island placed in the delta of a large river.

3rd.—That they have not been at any time completely submerged since their separation from the Continent.

(Journal, Anthropological Society, April 1876, p. 458.) See also Wallace's Malay Archipelago, vol. 1.

The facts cited in support of this inference are briefly—

(a) The absolute identity of almost every species of animal with species common to India, and Burmah especially.

(b) The presence of fresh-water fishes, of which almost every species is found in the fresh-waters of Burmah.

(c) The great paucity of mammals especially of all large mammals.

easily to assimilate. The recent investigations of F. Jagor, in the Philippine Islands, of Wallace in the Malayan Archipelago, and of Cameron and others in the Malay Peninsula, have all disclosed fragmentary yet distinct traces of pristine savage races, allied in type more or less remotely with those of the Andaman group, some affinity with whom may be yet capable of establishment. Of the aboriginal tribes of Singapore and of the more Southern portion of the Malayan Peninsula more particularly, including Malacca, scattered remnants are still distinguishable in the JACOONS, MAUTRAS, SAMANGS, BUMAHS, and KARIANS, though these have throughout that peninsula everywhere given place to the Malay races since the earlier portion of the thirteenth century. But whilst the Malayan aggressions and incursions would seem equally to have extended to and embraced the Nicobar Islands, in the largest of which alone, the Great Nicobar, remnants of an earlier race (termed "Shompeng" by the Nicobarese themselves) exist, it seems sufficiently established that, whether from geographical isolation or other causes, the primitive aboriginal heritors of the soil had escaped eviction or extermination and remained in comparatively undisturbed possession of the more northern Andaman group. Earlier pioneers of western civilization, who had then but rarely been brought into contact in these seas with other types than the Malayan or Polynesian, were unable to explain away the presence of the dwarf, sable negritic Andamanese savage by any other hypothesis than that already alluded to, which fuller and more accurate philological and ethnological research will however no doubt, it is believed, completely disprove and repudiate.*

This view is the more strongly confirmed by the fact that the inveterate and inexorable animosity of these savage islanders is not confined to the fairer European races, as a similar hostility has been found to exist and to be equally evinced towards natives of the continent of India; and whilst of late years the Nicobareans, (more particularly of the Car Nicobar and of the southern group) have to some extent

* The various theories that have been put forward from time to time to explain the presence of these savages, on the isles may be thus enumerated.

1. *Shipwrecked negroes*, either from an Arab vessel or from a slave ship en-route to a Portuguese Settlement in Pegu (Syme's Embassy to Ava and Calcutta. *Monthly Register*, 1790.)

2. *Aborigines*, not necessarily connected (on anatomical grounds) with the people of any existing continent.

(Professor Owen. Report of British Association, 1861, p. 241.)

3. *Negrito negroes*. (Huxley. *Fortnightly Review*, 1865, p. 268.)

4. *Negritos or Samangs*, from Malay Peninsula. (Wallace, *Malay Archipelago*, vol. II, p. 452.)

5. *Mincopie* branch of the Negriton division of an original negro stock. (Quatrefages' "Revived" Anthropologie, 1872). *Anthropological Journal*, April 1875.

awakened to the advantages to be reaped from trade and barter with foreign races, the Andamanese do not mitigate, in any marked degree, the "Guerra al cuchillo" hostility, for which their islands have so long been unfavorably known, in regard to strangers of whatever nationality, who may endeavour to approach their shores. For this implacable animosity many explanations have been from time to time advanced, and writing so recently as the year 1866, one of the earlier Superintendents of the penal settlement at Port Blair, on the South Andaman, (whose laudable and persevering efforts to extend our friendly communications with the aborigines were marked with a certain meed of well deserved success) ascribed its source to a cause which commends itself as at least probable, *viz.*, the predatory and piratical habits of Malayan cruisers. These roving craft, he alleges, originally sought these sea-girt shores but to capture and carry off the islanders to those markets for men's lives,—the Courts of Siam, Achéen, and Cambodia. "What wonder then," he adds, "that the savage drew his bow upon the stranger who would rob him of his kindred, or that the pirate fought fiercely to retain the unfortunate victim when once within his grasp. * * Thus the islanders regarded all but those who had joint occupancy of the land they lived in as their enemy, and thus it was that when the storm-driven vessel was thrown a wreck upon their island reefs, the tribe, exasperated by former wrongs, their natural extreme cupidity intensely excited in view of the plunder almost within their grasp, that they would fall upon the lost and wearied mariner, now an easy victim, and make the wreck their own. * * Thus it is that the belief exists even in this day amongst seafaring people, even of education, that the Andaman islanders are bloodthirsty and ruthless cannibals."* The Rev. Père Barbe who visited the Nicobars in 1846, also states that both Malays and Burmese had been previously in the habit of visiting the Andamans in search of birds-nests (of the *Collocalia fuciphaga*) and affirms that he conversed with an old Caffrey who had, when young, often visited those islands, of which the inhabitants were then harmless, the change in their manners being ascribed by this informant to the same cause, *viz.*, the capture for slaves by Malays and Burmese of all those who boarded their vessels. Père Barbe, adds, "At present their antipathy to strangers has risen to such a degree, that it is most dangerous to approach these shores. It is said that the Andaman people are cannibals, but the assertion is hitherto destitute of unquestionable proof; * * it is certain that peaceful persons who

* This view is also advanced by 1842, cited in "Sailing Directions, Cant. J. H. Muller in a communication to the *Nautical Magazine* of Bay of Bengal." Rosser and Imray.

have called at their island to procure a supply of water have been murdered by the natives without provocation.”*

So general in fact was the belief in the anthropophagous habits of these races, that the East India Court of Directors so recently as 1858, appears to have demurred to the acceptance of the assurance to the contrary of the members of the Andaman Committee, and to have received with much surprise their assertion that they had failed to detect or discover any indications of cannibalism, no human bones or relics whether of the aborigines or of shipwrecked mariners having been encountered in the dwellings visited.† Skulls of fish, pigs, and turtle, variously daubed with red colors having alone been met with. So persistently indeed were all attempts at conciliation rejected by the natives, that the Committee were reluctantly compelled to abandon them, and it appears that on the visit of H. M. S. *Pluto* to Cragg Island (in 1858,) one of the savages waded to his waist in the sea, howled defiance and shot a couple of arrows in the direction of the steamer, whilst those on the shore gesticulated violently, vociferated, waved bows and arrows, and one of them brandished a spear with a metallic head. On a party landing from the boats, it had scarcely advanced a hundred yards ere it was assailed with a flight of arrows from an open patch of jungle, and the attack required to be repelled by a volley of musketry. A second attack was also made upon two boats of this vessel, when some seven canoes with about 30 aborigines were seen. As the boats drifted slowly towards the canoes, the occupants of the latter, when at a distance of some 15 yards only, suddenly stood up simultaneously as if by preconcerted arrangement, and wholly without provocation discharged a flight of arrows, wounding an officer, a seaman, and a native. Again was it necessary to open fire, and three of the aborigines lay dead, the remainder seeking refuge in flight. Abandoning their canoes they took to the water, and swimming rapidly ashore were soon concealed in the adjacent forests where no pursuit could be attempted. At first wholly fearless, they seem to have courted rather than shrunk from attack, and the Committee report that their hostility was of so aggressive a character throughout, that they “put themselves out of the pale of humanity by the violence and mistrust of their proceedings.” The contact with civilization, under such circumstances, could only end in their destruction, whereas could they be persuaded that no harm were intended them, it is not visionary to hope that the mean of reclaiming and restoring them to a place

* A reference is made to such a case, which occurred in 1840, when on the murder of Dr. Helfer, his wife shot the assassin with her pistol. (Directory, Indian Ocean. A. G. Findlay, 1866.)
 † Despatch, Political Dept. No. 19, 18th May 1858, para. 8.

in the human family, which they do not now occupy, may be found.

From the latter part of the 18th century may be said to date our first relations with these islanders; for in September of the year 1789 formal possession of the Andamans was first assumed by the British Government, their sovereignty being vested in the Hon'ble East India Company in trust for the British Crown. Since their subsequent intermediate abandonment in 1796* however, their possession was virtually nominal only; for it was not until the year 1858, that any re-occupation or formal resumption on the part of the Crown was announced, the islands being in the interim practically derelict. To the statesmanlike forethought of Lord Cornwallis was due this addition to our Eastern possessions in the Bay of Bengal, an acquisition partly influenced no doubt by the vast strategical importance of their position, and anchorages affording such excellent harbourage, for our fleets, but also by the facilities afforded in their extreme isolation from other shores, for the establishment thereon of penal settlements.†

Meagre as are the details now accessible of this earlier occupation, they are sufficient to shew that the implacable hostility of the dusky savage heritors of the soil existed and was, even at that time, the cause of no inconsiderable anxiety and annoyance to Lieut. Blair, R. N. who had charge of the earliest expedition. It was in the great natural harbour on the east coast of the "South Andaman," that the first attempt to found a penal colony was made, at the exact site of the present settlement of Port Blair; and to this was then first given the name of "Port Cornwallis," though the site was also later known as the "Old Harbour," probably after its abandonment in 1792, when the small colony was removed to the northwards, to the N.-E. side of the North Andaman Island, where an even more capacious harbour had been found by Lieut. Blair to exist.

The move was however in many respects far from fortunate, for whilst the first colony had enjoyed fairly good health, the latter settlement was found to be extremely unhealthy, & and in fact, so

* Some Government records fix the year as 1793, but the date above given appears the more correct, as regards final surrender and relinquishment.

† Report, Andaman Committee, para 127, *et seq.*

The area of the Andaman islands is about 1,746 square miles thus distributed:—

Great Coco	11	Sqr. miles.
Little	2	" "

3 Main Andaman Islands, in one line,	{	1,353	sqr. miles.
Others smaller islands		380	sqr. miles.

The area of the Nicobars is some 568 square miles, thus: the area of both groups, *viz.*, the Andamans and Nicobars is about 2,327 square miles.

§ Such numerous reports have been circulated respecting the alleged

great was the sickness and mortality amongst the troops, free-settlers, convicts and others, that towards the close of the year 1796, this second settlement, which had also been named Port Cornwallis, was finally abandoned, the troops and others returning to Bengal whilst the convicts were transferred to Penang.

Penang in the meantime however had also its own difficulties to contend with; and upon the death of Mr. Light, the Governor in 1794, it was seriously in contemplation to wholly abandon that Settlement and to transfer it to the Andamans, a proposal, which, fortunately for the British Government as has since proved, was not carried into effect.* For upwards of 60 years then, the occupation of the Andamans had been relinquished by the British Government; and so short had in fact been our earlier tenure that no impression whatever had been made upon the aboriginal races.

The unhealthiness of the site of the second Port Cornwallis is spoken of by the Andaman Committee of 1858, who revisited it, as self-evident from its surroundings, and it is even said that conditions more certainly calculated to secure the largest measure of unhealthiness it would be difficult to find. It is not surprising, therefore, that they were at the time believed insurmountable, and mainly led to the final abandonment of the Settlement of which but few traces still exist, the jungle which has now re-covered its site being almost impenetrable. Of the first and original

unhealthiness of these islands that the following information regarding the present settlement at Port Blair will not be without interest. Dr. Hunter, in his "Life of Lord Mayo," calls attention to the fact that for 10 years after the re-establishment in 1858, the settlers were exactly decimated each twelvemonth.

Mortality at Port Blair.

Years.	Per centage of deaths.
1859 ...	63.00 per cent.
1860 ...	13.4 "
1861 ...	14.25 "
1862 ...	15.53 "
1863 ...	21.55 "
1864 ...	14.64 "
1865 ...	6.57 "
1866 ...	10.56 "
1867 ...	10.17 "
1868 ...	3.9 "
1869 ...	2.0 "
1870 ...	1.21 "
1871 ...	1.72 "

1872 ...	1.64 per cent.
1873 ...	1.51 "
1874 ...	2.51 "
1875 ...	3.67 "

In the year 1876 the death rate rose to 4.33 at Port Blair. The above percentages, however, include all violent deaths. On the 20th August, 1863, the shock of an earthquake was experienced at 3-15 A. M.

Thermometrical Observations. Maximum and Minimum ranges of Thermometer.

Year.	Min.	Max.
1868	68°	93° Fahrenheit.
1871	68°	96° } The highest yet on record.
1872	69°	95°
1875	68°	94°

* The average annual rainfall is about 100 inches.

* 1. Our tropical possessions in Malayan India. T. Cameron, 1865.

settlement of 1789 to the South, all traces had also been completely obliterated and effaced by the year 1858—a few bricks, tiles and a rough stone jetty, affording the only indications of an alien possession after so great a lapse of time—for it was not until some 70 years after the date of the first attempt at colonization at Port Cornwallis (then Old Harbour) that the second essay was made. The name of Port Blair was then substituted for its original designation, at the recommendation of the Committee in recognition of the singularly valuable services and efforts of its first founder.

Convulsed as had been our Indian Empire by the terrible events of 1857, it became a matter of serious anxiety to the Government whether it would be expedient either to detain so large a number of disaffected prisoners in the Indian local jails (men who had all been guilty of the commission of crimes against the State) or to deport them in such considerable numbers to the ordinary places of transportation, and after a careful survey by the Committee appointed (which visited Rutland, The Sound, Long, Craggy, Interview, and the Cinque Islands and both the former Ports Cornwallis) it was ultimately determined by the Government to resume the occupation of the Andaman islands so long abandoned, and to establish a Penal Settlement upon them at the site now known as Port Blair*; in favor of the selection of which the Committee very strongly reported and regarding which they state as follows:—"The Committee are not aware of any physical indications by which the healthiness of an uncleared locality can be predicated, but so far as ordinary experience can be accepted as a safe guide, Old Harbour seems to afford fair promise of proving as healthy as any locality similarly situated in tropical regions."

No sooner had the resolution been taken, than prompt and vigorous action followed, and early in the year 1858, the Superintendent of convicts at Moulmein was deputed to Port Blair in H. M. S. *Pluto* to make arrangements for the reception of a thousand convicts, mainly of those sentenced to transportation for the crimes of mutiny and rebellion, and other similar offences connected with the Indian mutiny of the previous year. On the 10th March the first convicts actually arrived with the first Superintendent of the Settlement, and from that date to the present year, the penal colony has received upwards of (23,500) twenty three thousand five hundred prisoners convicted of various offences, the number at present in confinement amounting to about ten thousand.

* Port Blair has only very recently been declared a Port, under Act XII of 1875. Notn. 114, dated Simla 18 April 1877.

It would have been scarcely possible that the aborigines should remain wholly unaffected by the influx of so large a population, nor has such in fact been the case; but so strongly were all earlier efforts at intercourse resented, of so savage, suspicious and unplaceable a character and so determinedly hostile were these wild races, that for many years no satisfactory amicable communications could be established with them. This was in fact anticipated in a great measure by the Government at home, who expressed an earnest desire that all possible precautions should be taken to protect the aboriginal inhabitants of the islands from those collisions with the convicts which it was only too probable would be provoked on both sides, and which once commenced, were so likely to end in the extermination of the weaker race,* as the latter were in the habit of inviting hostilities whenever approached. The difficulty of intercourse has moreover been greatly enhanced by the fact that the tribes held little or no communication with each other or even with those upon the same islands. The longitudinal ridge of highlands running North and South throughout the group, appears to have frequently interposed an effectual recognized barrier between tribes of the East and West coasts respectively, who were in fact often absolutely unconscious of each other's existence, though in such immediate vicinity to each other, until very recent years and subsequent to our settlement.† If to this be added the hitherto almost insuperable difficulties involved in the intercommunication of thought, owing to the numerous distinct dialects spoken, and to the low state of mental development and advancement of these savages, the magnitude of an undertaking, to tame these dauntless 'naked knights of savage chivalry' will be better realized and appreciated.

Having no fixed *habitat*, it is often extremely difficult even to come upon the clans, whose nomadic habits preclude the certainty of finding members of them at points at which they have previously been encountered. Their lone shores guarded by shoals, by rocks and coral reefs (of which the jutting bases are often found projecting below the water to some considerable distance beyond the headlands of each islet's coast) are dangerous of approach in certain monsoon seasons of the year,‡ whilst the roar of the restless

* Court of Directors' Despatch 19 of 1858.

† This is suggested to have been perhaps also frequently due rather to the influence of tribe jealousies and feuds than to geological barriers; the former were often temporarily suspended to admit of combination against the common enemy—the English settlers.

‡ On the 18th June 1877, five soldiers of the 1-21st Fusiliers were drifted out to sea from Port Blair during the S.-W. monsoon and landed on Have-lock Island (25 miles distant) whence they were with difficulty rescued on the 25th idem, one having however been drowned in the interim, their boat having been dashed to pieces in the surf.

billows, fretting and chafing against the low ridges of dark rock visible through the clear, transparent waters, or foaming rolls of high-crested surf, breaking high over their jutting ridges, warn back the mariner from too venturesome an approach, and the sparkling spray dashed back from headland and precipice, indicates the impassible barrier of a perpendicular cliff upon which no footing can for a moment be made good.

So long as the original settlement of 1858 was restricted to the small uninhabited island of Chatham, originally occupied by Lieutenant Blair, but little active opposition was encountered from the aboriginal races; but no sooner was an attempt made to effect a clearing of some portion of the apparently impenetrable forest upon the coast of the South Andaman itself, than, assembling in large numbers under shelter of the dense jungle, the savages would discharge repeated flights of arrows at the working parties, and would only be induced to desist from the annoyance when the guns of the guardship opened fire upon them and forced them to withdraw and retire to their remote fastnesses.

From this year up to 1863 but the very slightest progress had been made in establishing friendly relations. Occasional meetings (at North point) had been sparsely attended by the aborigines, and efforts were being made in treating those met with, with uniform kindness to induce them to throw off their reserve and to meet upon a less hostile footing. Unfortunately, however, the conduct of one of the naval brigade (European) who was seen by one of the tribe to attempt some familiarities with an Andamanese woman, led to a serious rupture, for the offender was immediately transfixed with an arrow, death ensuing. No retaliation was attempted, but two of the tribe were seized and detained as hostages upon Ross Island, then, as now, the head-quarters of the settlement. A

Although, beyond the ordinary cyclone tracks, such storms have reached these islands, and as has been shown by Piddington, in his Memoirs (Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, Art. xii, vol. xiv), have raged there with considerable violence. No less than three instances of such are cited. Their first being from about 11° N. and 96° East. No. 1 in November 1844.—Track from E. S.-E. to W. N.-W., reported by "Baton" and "Runnimeed"—both of which transport vessels were wrecked at once, and close together (in the Andaman Archipelago)—when proceeding with detachments of H. M.'s 6th and 10th regiments from Aus-

tralia and Portsmouth respectively. No. 2 in November 1850. Reported by Brig. "Erin," Track, S.-E. by S. to N.-W. by W. No. 3 in April 1854, Reported by Indian Govt. S. T. "Pluto." Track S.-W. to N.-E.

Piddington remarks of the Andaman Sea as follows: "This tract, confined as it is, is yet subject to cyclones of terrific violence though they seem to be of rare occurrence. * * These have shewn that at times cyclones, fully equal to those of the China Sea and Bay of Bengal, may arise there. "The Sailor's Horn Book for the Law of Storms, 1869."

hut was built for their occupation, and some few of their friends being induced to visit them, were also detained. This was in fact the first attempt at the institution of a "home;"* and on the 30th June 1863, its charge was transferred to the chaplain who retained it to the June following. In the latter month a further outrage, however, had been perpetrated by these savages, two Andamanese having attacked convicts of whom they killed three wounding two others. Intercourse was consequently again suspended, this time for 3 months, the aborigines being forbidden the settlement, and two posts which had been established on the coast, and which had been visited from time to time by the chaplain, ceased to be supplied with the food which it was customary to place in them for the inclement season. On the resignation by the chaplain of his charge, it passed to the hands of Mr. J. N. Homfray, an officer of the settlement, and from this year may be dated our first really successful progressive efforts to establish a friendly intercourse with the aboriginal races, who, during this and the following years were frequently visited in their own haunts; several interviews of a friendly character having been obtained by the Superintendent of Port Blair with the tribes at the Labyrinth and Archipelago Islands, and later at Outram Island, Mr. Homfray being also deputed to visit other clans of various other islands. During 1865-1866 no less than nine tribes having chiefs or elders are shewn by the reports to have been in friendly relations with the settlement. These were the various tribes occupying the Southern half of Great Andaman and the archipelago. The visits of the aborigines to the "home" increased in frequency, and return visits were made to the Superintendent by those clans which had been visited in their native wilds. On one occasion no less than five chiefs or elders with their followers coming in to introduce some 20 men of the Eastern Archipelago, who were for the first time visiting the penal settlement. These visits were wisely encouraged, the visitors being most hospitably entertained and permitted to depart at will.

They had no doubt tended greatly to remove the belief in our hostile intentions, as regarded the aboriginal races, and to gain for us their confidence and good will; and had this policy been persistently pursued throughout, there can be no doubt but that ere this, our relations with these primitive savages would have been far more advanced and placed upon a more permanently secure footing than is now the case, and not only a better knowledge of their habits, manners and customs would have been acquired, but the ancient implacable hostility would have everywhere given place, throughout

* Administration Report, 1865-66. Government to the support of these
A special grant of Rs. 3,600 per institutions and for the education, &c.,
annum, has been assigned by the of aborigines.

these islands, to a more friendly understanding ; so desirable, where at any time, our shipwrecked mariners are liable to be cast upon their dangerous shores. Changes in the administration of the penal settlement of Port Blair, however, as well as of the individual officers in charge of these tribes, are but too apt to involve entire changes of policy in the treatment of the aboriginal races, which are ill-understood by these savages, and are certain to be misconstrued by them. In the absence of a definite and distinct policy, undeviatingly pursued, any good advance achieved during one year may obviously be wholly lost during that following, and that this is so, is apparent from the fact, that recently, on the occasion of the visit of a late Superintendent in the Government steamer "Enterprise," to Port Cornwallis itself, the usual animosity was again evinced, and the boat approaching the shore was met with the usual discharge of a flight of arrows, no landing being effected or found practicable.* Nor are all the nearer tribes yet friendly ; that of the Little Andaman island, in close proximity to Port Blair, being habitually specially hostile. Some four years since, in fact, these islanders murdered the entire crew of a boat which had landed to obtain water, and there can, unfortunately, be no doubt of what would be the inevitable fate of any lost and shipwrecked crew driven, even now, by the elements upon this "tombstone of the wave."† The officer deputed from Port Blair to enquire into the circumstances of the massacre of the crew, was also fired upon when burning the houses,‡ and was forced to open fire. Again, four convicts were ruthlessly massacred at Shoal Bay in 1875, about 12 miles from the settlement of Port Blair ; and numerous other instances could be adduced shewing that our relations are yet not wholly satisfactory. Whilst then at the close of the year 1866-67, the reports shew the British influence to have extended to no less than twelve widely severed distinct tribes, with

* The events of 1867, at this island will probably recur to many of our readers. Here it was that Dr. J. M. Douglas (now R A) and 4 privates of the 2nd battalion, 24th Regiment, gallantly won for themselves on the 7th May 1867, Victoria Crosses for their rescue through the dangerous surf of 17 officers and men, who would probably have otherwise fallen victims to the ferocity of the islanders. The party were members of an expedition from Burmah, deputed to search for traces of the Commander and 7 of the crew of the ship "Adam Valley" who were known to have

landed, and were believed to have been murdered by the savages on this island.

† Para. 126 *et seq.* Annual Administration Report, 1867-68.

Since the above was written however a slightly more satisfactory visit has been paid.

‡ It is a fact worthy of remark, that whilst the inhabitants of the Southern Andaman erect no houses those of the Little Andaman erect large beehive huts, with low roofs somewhat similar to those of the Car Nicobar Island. Whence this practice has been acquired it is difficult to ascertain.

whom friendly intercourse was maintained, and with whom visits were frequently interchanged, in later years, and under other administrators, there was destined to be an entire change of policy and of treatment of these savages, which, though not amounting to a complete interruption of friendly relations, involved a change in their nature which must at once have made itself felt, more particularly with those tribes resident at some distance from the settlement. Up to this year it is reported that our acquaintance and good understanding extended to the tribes of the South and Southern half of Middle Andaman, including Interview Island, (the scene of the attack already referred to of 1858,) as also to the tribes of the Eastern Archipelago. In fact, our influence is asserted to have extended completely over the Southern tribes of the Great Andaman.

At the second Port Cornwallis, however, (of the North Andaman) a boat of H. M. Str. "Kwantung," in search of the commander of the wrecked schooner "Baillie Nicol Jarvie," who with his wife was believed to be in captivity with these savages, was fired upon when a landing was attempted; one man being wounded, which no less than 27 arrows were picked up showing that the assailants had been numerous. The party was accompanied by some friendly Andamanese of the South, who were found to be wholly unable to communicate with the Northern islanders, the dialects being entirely distinct. It is not impossible that their presence may have partly been the cause of this attack, the aborigines being apparently anxious to repel the advances of other distinct local tribes of whose intentions they entertain considerable suspicion.

In the report of 1867-68 the administration had passed to other hands; and as the following remarks indicate, a change of policy had been determined on, which has no doubt, for many years, considerably retarded and influenced our subsequent relations with the aboriginal tribes. The Superintendent remarks: "It is certainly very desirable that we should continue on amicable terms with these savages, for though they could effect but little harm to the settlement, the good treatment they experience here may have a very beneficial effect on their reception of shipwrecked mariners."

"But I am strongly of opinion that some change should be made in the course we adopt with these people; they are certainly not pleasant neighbours nor sightly, as we cannot induce them to adopt clothing. The effect of our cleanliness seems to be injurious to their health, and they decidedly have not improved in morals by their association with us." * * *

"* * * To wean the adult savage from his roaming desultory life is nearly an impossible task; our only chance of being successful is

"by turning our attention to the children."—Again, in the year following, the Superintendent reports that he had removed the friendly aborigines at Navy Bay to Port Mouat on the distant Western Coast and continues thus :—

"I look upon all attempts to civilize such inveterate nomads as these are as hopeless. We may tame them and render them harmless, but to turn them into pattern villagers is a task beyond our power, and will probably not be effected for one or two generations."

During these years all interchange of friendly visits had apparently been suspended and had ceased, for, at the close of 1871, the officer in temporary charge of the administration again reports upon the course observed in regard to the aborigines during the previous official year, 1870-71, as follows : *

"They have been discouraged from visiting our Stations in order to prevent an intimacy between them and the convicts, and are confined to their jungle homes, of which six have been constructed for their accommodation in their own haunts."†

Again, however, were our relations destined to undergo a yet further modification, and with the arrival of a new Superintendent, a revival of the previous policy was initiated; for in the first Administration Report of this Officer it is distinctly enunciated that efforts would be made to extend the circle of our influence, both North and South, it being further added that the friendly tribes in our immediate vicinity had acquired complete reliance upon our disinterestedness in our dealings with them, and that so far as had been ascertained, our influence upon them had been such as in many cases to induce them to abandon their wandering and erratic habits and to settle down in villages; and that though cultivation had been previously wholly unknown to them whilst located on the sea coasts on the edges of their vast primeval forests, they were now commencing to show an interest in the culture of fruit and vegetables, and were induced to bring in honey, wax, shells and turtles to the settlement for sale.‡

* No. 978, dated 5th September 1871. Administration Report.

† It is but just, however, to remark that the discontinuance of the visits to the various Islands was not wholly due to local causes, as it would appear, that from 1869 to the year 1872, Port Blair Settlement was left wholly without a steam vessel or other local means of communication with the adjacent Islands or the Nicobars. The Steamer "Kwang Tung" having been removed to the Persian

Gulf in the former years, (by the Government of India) was not replaced on the station until May 1872 (by the Steamer "Undaunted"—since relieved by the I. Government Steamer "Enterprise").

‡ In the report of Mr. Brandis, upon the Andaman Forests of August 1864, it is stated that no less than 26 varieties of timber are found, the more valuable being the nine descriptions enumerated on next page :—

Strange as it may appear, all children brought in from their native wilds whose age permits of their retaining any recollection of a nomadic life still prove untamable, and they prefer a reversion to it to any of the inducements held out by the more advanced stages of civilization as encountered by them in the English settlements; whilst infants nursed by alien foster-mothers can with difficulty be induced to recognize or return to their own tribes. During the next three years the intermittent visits, which had been discontinued, to the aborigines in their own homes were occasionally resumed, and there can be no doubt with most beneficial results.

In the earlier days of the penal settlement of Port Blair, desperate as were the chances of escape through such lonely impenetrable jungles, the coasts when reached, tenanted by these fierce and implacable savages and beyond, the 'vast, salt, dread, eternal, deep,' hundreds of desperate convicts annually hoping against hope, committed their fate to these pathless forests. Terrible indeed must often have been their doom, and yet not more appalling than that which awaited them should they venture to return. United by a common bond of sympathy in misfortune, these men, many of whom had been led to the commission of their crimes by the example of others (in the fearful struggle upon the continent of India, of the mutiny and rebellion of the year 1857) would ignore all claims of caste and creed and unite in one desperate effort to regain their freedom, unbarred by the evident privations and sufferings of those whose failing courage, with the insupportable pangs of hunger, had compelled unwillingly to return. To this day may be found traces of the inexorable severity of the discipline then enforced. Flogging, branding upon the forehead,* and even death at the hands of the executioner, all were tried, and all equally failed to deter attempted escapes;

1.	Padoók (Pterocarpus Indicus	...	...	...	Willu.)
2.	Pynna (Lagerstrœmia hypoleuca	...	...	...	Kur.)
3.	Tampemnayhen	...	...	...	(Bullet wood)
8.	Thimau	...	...	...	(Hopea Odorata ... Wali)
10.	Thitau	...	...	...	(Podocarpus Polystachya R. Brown)
11.	Kyoonvali (?)	...	...	...	approaches Premna Pyramidata)
15.	Mable-wood	...	...	...	(Diospyros Kuzia ... Thern)
23.	Ebony	...	...	...	(Tendoo-Burmese) ... Diospyros Pyrrocarpa My)
26.	Kyadoo	...	...	...	(Alseodia) erroneously deemed sandal-wood)

Since the date of the above report, however, there have been considerable additions to the varieties locally discovered of valuable woods. See note on *Fauna* and *Flora*.

* To this day many of the convicts retain branded upon their foreheads their number, offence, and date of sentence. The following is a

specimen copied from the living bearer of the original inscription: "Run Bahadoor Singh, 11,848, a convict of the Meerut District crime highway robbery with murder, 27th June '46."—(1846.)

1,243 convicts escaped into the jungles in March and April, 1858, of whom 144 never returned.

but the severity of the discipline may be said to have reached its climax when, in one June day of the year 1858, no less than eighty-six convicts, whose only offence had been an unsuccessful attempt at escape without violence, and who had since surrendered to authority, were condemned and executed by the Superintendent. To such a death what were the horrors of a lingering decease by starvation or the dangers of sudden death in a hostile attack at the hands of the savage aborigines.* Many of the men so branded will, perhaps, eventually obtain their release—after 20 years passed in transportation—under the operation of the more enlightened and merciful rules recently introduced, but they will bear with them to their graves this ineffaceable stamp of guilt and shame.

To revert, however, to the aborigines. Of later years, or in fact since our communications with them were placed upon a more friendly footing, the ruthless murders of escaped convicts in the jungles have virtually ceased; and as rewards are paid for their re-capture numbers are now annually brought in. One report, that of 1873-74, shows no less than 32 recaptures due to their assistance, of convicts, whose lives would in earlier years of the settlement have been sacrificed to their vindictive animosity.

For the past fourteen years, and since the establishment of the "homes," or places of call, upon their coasts, where food to supplement their scanty fare, during the more trying seasons is periodically placed by the wise munificence of the Government, a more kindly feeling has been engendered, which no efforts should be spared to foster and maintain, having regard to the higher aims and objects which initiated and led to the original establishment of these institutions.

Whilst, however, every care should be taken to avoid in any way unduly pampering the race, whilst punishment—as well as rewards—should be equitably meted out and bestowed when deserved, a distinct and well-defined policy in regard to the uniform treatment of the various tribes throughout the islands might well be determined on, certain fixed principles in regard to visits, presents, rewards, requitements, &c., being adopted and recognized (such only as were capable of being readily understood by those to whom applied), and these should be undeviatingly pursued and persevered in. Placed beyond the individual caprice of rapidly succeeding administrations or charges, such policy would slowly but surely work its way to the understanding and intelligence, as also later, to the higher appreciation of these people; and having assumed the sovereignty of the islands, our duties and responsibilities in regard to their primitive inhabitants should be not only fully accepted and recognized but honorably acted up to, fitful and spasmodic changes of individual treatment

being most studiously avoided. That as a race the aborigines are capable of culture, past experience has demonstrated; of the fact that they recognise kindnesses, their conduct has evinced some proof; whilst the low, sordid state of their savage life has been established beyond the possibility of question. Though it is evident, then, that the lowest state of savage life in our immediate vicinity and under our administration, is perfectly consistent with the co-existence of a large civilized community in its midst, it is scarcely creditable to our rule that such should be the case, or that after an occupation of 20 years, we should be forced to admit that comparatively nothing has been achieved towards the amelioration of the sordid moral degradation of these savage ocean waifs.

With some few observations upon the manners and customs of these aboriginal races we must now bring our remarks to a close. Of the language but little is yet known, and to such of our readers as would desire to pursue this branch of the subject further, we can only commend the perusal of a recent brochure,* upon the Bojingijida, in which the latest acquired information has been recorded. That the dialects are most numerous is an established fact. Whether this however be due to the undoubted tendency of the absence of script to permit the dismemberment of a language into a variety of dialects, the philologists have yet to determine. Ordinarily fearless as these undaunted savages have proved themselves, they are far from being free from the superstitions of demonology, and have a firm belief in the malignity of evil spirits who fly chiefly during the darkness; and though the Andamanese possess no form of worship and make no efforts in any way to propitiate the demons, it can scarcely be doubted but that the skulls and human bones which they are in the habit of wearing appended to their necks, are amulets intended as preservatives against demoniacal influences.

Universal as appears to be the belief in evil spirits, and in their influence over human beings, no trace has been found of the practice or performance of any rites, exorcisms, or enchantments, or of any attempts at conjuring such, so uniformly practised in the Nicobars; and it may therefore be questioned whether this belief extends to demoniacal possession, or is confined to a vague idea of a malicious desire on the part of evil spirits to injure the human race so common with such aborigines. It does not appear that diseases are in any way ascribed to the action of devils or demons as at the Nicobars, and though destruction and injury are feared from their agency, all ideas in connection

* The Lord's Prayer translated and Nicobars. Calcutta: Thacker into the Bojingijida language, by Spink & Co. 1877.
E. H. Man, Asst. Supt. Andamans

with their powers are believed to be very ill-defined and vague, and scarcely, perhaps, even extend to the usual earlier conceptions of the influence or power of spirits of an unseen world over the cosmical phenomena of nature.

Mr. Homfray, to whom reference has already been made, and who for many years past has maintained a very intimate intercourse with the various tribes in the vicinity of Port Blair, is fully convinced of their belief in ghosts, and ascribes to this source their peculiar habit of instantly quitting any encampment in which a death may have taken place—such desertion often continuing from three to six months. This point has not, however, been fully established, and must, as yet, be accepted with some reservation, as it is by others asserted that this desertion of the encampment is simply induced by a belief in the unhealthiness of the site as evidenced by its assumed influence upon the death of one of the members of the tribe. It may be that both causes are not without their influence in this matter.

Singular as it may appear, their method of interment much resembles that of which some traces were recently found at Wezikon in Switzerland, and which is that asserted to have been in vogue in the period intervening between the two glacial epochs. A kind of net-work frame composed of rattan (cane) wicker work, or more often of large leaves,* is made in which the deceased is placed.† The knees are, however, bent back to meet the chest, the limbs being then tightly bound with ligatures of jungle fibre. The corpse is carried to a distance of about a mile from the encampment, a grave is dug and the body is hastily interred, a slight mound marking the spot. The funeral party returns to the encampment which is immediately deserted for some distant spot, selected in the meantime, and approved by the tribe. The body, prior to burial, is never left alone, the parents or wife laying down beside it during the night. The ordinary avocations are pursued without interruption, and the body is removed for sepulture as quickly as possible. After the lapse of a month or two, however, the grave is revisited, and with every demonstration of grief the bones and limbs of the deceased are divided, each person present carefully preserving one which he retains, and which is later often worn as an amulet appended to the neck; possibly on account of its supposed metaphysical operation in averting evil. How far this retention of such ghastly relics may be responsible for the origin of the theory of the anthropophagous habits attributed to these tribes, it is difficult to determine; it is equally so to connect these observances

* Termed by the aborigines 'Kapa'.

† The corpse is also frequently placed upon a machân (raised platform) of the branches of a single tree

or is suspended between two trees, a fire being left burning at the foot of the trees selected. A fire is also ordinarily lit at a grave.

with the return of the perturbed spirit of the deceased as a spectral apparition "making night hideous," having regard to the entire dismemberment of the body if it be accepted that the aborigines recognize the existence of no 'living powers' superior to, or distinct from, and unconnected with, visible matter. Death, in fact, can but be regarded by these tribes as annihilation, or a mere cessation of existence, and the evil spirits and unreal shadows which are said to daunt and terrify during the dark hours of the night, an otherwise fearless race, need not necessarily be connected in their primitive and simple minds with goblin-visitations of their deceased progenitors. Death itself they regard with indifference. Like Epicurus, they consider that it merely robs us of sensation. "As long as we are, death is not; and when death is, we are not. Life has no more evil for him who has made up his mind that it is no evil not to live." Death may be affirmed, in fact, to be regarded by these tribes simply as a dissolution of matter. As with the indigenous natives of Hindustan, frantic dances are of frequent occurrence. Here, however, they would appear to be wholly unconnected with any religious observance, and are rather the indications of friendliness and good-will upon the amicable meeting of any of the tribes or upon other 'festive' gatherings* than, as is often the case elsewhere in the East, the expressions or outlet of any fanatical religious emotion. There is much singing during the dances. Magic, incantations and witchcraft are unknown, and the origin of the evil spirits, like that of Ahriman in the Zoroastrian Ontology is wholly unexplained and unaccounted for. Priestcraft, in the entire absence of a religion or priesthood, is necessarily impossible with a people destitute of any instinctive belief in existence after death, the race affording in this respect a singular and most marked contrast to the Nicobarean priest-ridden tribes.

Although* possessing neither religious ontology nor belief in the existence of a Being superior to man, morality is yet recognized; and simple as are the nuptial rites and ceremonies amongst this barbarian race, naked and 'wild among the trees on isles and woody shores,' unchastity after marriage (though common before) is alleged to be almost unknown. The actual wedding ceremonies are said to be as follows: *

* This description as also that of the mortuary rites is translated from a vernacular (Urdu) Manuscript dated 1861. The writer Koshee Ram was apparently a convict in the Port Blair Penal Settlement and obtained, his release in that year. His narrative was recorded, he alleges, from the

lips of one Deodnath, a convict who escaped from Port Blair in 1858, but returned after 13 months' residence with the aborigines in the interior. He had by them been permitted to marry an Andamanese female.

The bodies of bride and bridegroom having, been daubed with red earth, both are made to sit on leaves spread upon the ground at some distance from each other, in presence of the entire tribe. A third person who officiates as master of the ceremonies, but has no priestly functions, then takes the bridegroom and leading him up to the bride, 'in growth a woman though in years a child,' seats him close beside her. He then presents a number of bows and arrows to the bridegroom (signifying that he must henceforth support his bride by his own prowess with such weapons) and turning to the assembled tribe, he couples both names, repeating the words "*Ab-ik*" (take away) several times. This completes the ceremony, and the nuptial-knot thus tied no divorce can sever.

So few are the wants of these primitive races, that the bows and arrows thus presented to the bridegroom often constitute the sole worldly possessions of the young pair. Ignorant of the anxieties of civilization, they have as few wants in the present as anxieties in the future. Such huts as exist, (if by this name they can be correctly described) are constructed but of a few palm leaves, tightly bound together and overlapping each other. They have four posts only, the two anterior being much higher than the two posterior ones, the latter being close to the ground. Open on all sides, they afford no privacy whatever. It is to one of these that the island-bride is conducted by her mate. The whole property of the aborigines may be said, in fact, to consist of some bows, arrows, and lances, in the use of which they are expert, with a few canoes, and the skulls of some pigs, fish, and turtle. There are usually in each camping ground of these wandering tribes one or more huts superior to the rest in construction, and these are reserved for the chiefs or leaders of the clans. Their roofs are better prepared than those of the remainder of the huts, which otherwise they resemble in all respects, save, perhaps, that they are somewhat larger.

With these aborigines, whose clock is the sun, whose hour-glass is the shifting sand of the sea-shore, three seasons are said to represent the only conception of time. First, the dry season, covering the months of February to May and termed *Yéré-bôdo* (literally, quick sun); secondly, the wet or rainy season, termed *Gumôl* and including the months of June to September; and thirdly the neutral or intermediate season, *Pâper*, covering the remaining period from October to January. Their food during the first season consists of honey turtle and jungle fruit, whilst during the second they subsist mainly on preserved jack-seeds and wild pig; and as these latter become scarce towards the close of the third season they eke out a somewhat precarious subsistence with fish and turtle, having towards the close of the second occupied themselves in the preparation of lances and nets for such pursuits. They also eat the fruit of the

mangrove (genus *Rhizophora*), a large leguminous bean, and of a wild spinach.

Their canoes varying from 20 to 30 feet in length are of most simple construction, and as is usual with all yet savage races, consist of one log of wood (Baljadhahs)* the centre perseveringly hollowed-out by means of a small adze or axe. The head of the latter is now found to be made of iron (said to have been recovered from wrecks) but formerly a sharp shell or flint answered all purposes. Of prophylactic or therapeutic art, they know absolutely nothing. Of the use of simples, plants or minerals, for the cure or mitigation of disease, they are yet profoundly ignorant. Bleeding is, however, frequently adopted as a specific in all cases, and the patient freely and copiously himself lets blood, or causes the operation to be performed by his wife in a ruthless and barbarous manner. The use of a red preparation for external application is found to be resorted to with great frequency, but as this is also applied for the adornment of the person, it is doubtful whether it is accredited with any hygienic properties.†

Taught from their earliest infancy to dive and swim, these sable nurslings of the ocean rival the finny natives of the element in the rapidity with which they cleave the billows, or plunge feet foremost 'down along the wave.'

During the dead long summer days, which make the ocean glitter like a lake, the aborigines may be seen bounding from crag to crag as they watch and follow the swiftest movements of their prey in the crystal fishful waters below, or erect, bow in hand, motionless upon some rocky promontory, their glossy ebony skins glistening in the sun, they stealthily await its approach within reach of their barbed missile, which but rarely misses its aim. Then plunging into the dancing waves they follow and secure their spoil, returning triumphant with it to the shore. A bow with arrows the child's first toy, so expert do they become in its use that neither beast nor fish escapes them, and the fact that their skill may often later prove all upon which the tribe can rely or depend for the necessities of bare existence, no doubt strongly influences the thoughtful care evinced in training the children from their earliest days to handle with such facility both bow and spear.

Thus, subsisting upon the luxuries of seas and woods they make no effort whatever to till or cultivate the soil, and clinging to the coasts they appear to penetrate but slightly and only in pursuit

* This word is said to refer only to those made of the large Baja wood the canoes being spoken of by the various names of the woods from which they are constructed.

† Mr. Man is of opinion that the

oxide of iron is undoubtedly accredited by the natives with hygienic properties and affirms that from its mode of application it can be readily determined whether the wearer is ailing or rejoicing.

of the wild pig into the interior, where the primeval forests are yet almost untrodden by the foot of man.* Indeed it may be said that these aborigines approach very closely Tennyson's conception of the squalid Oriental nomadic savage, wandering on from island unto island 'at the gateways of the day'—

"Iron jointed, suppl'd sinew'd, they shall dive and they shall run,"

"Catch the wild goat by the hair, and hurl their lances in the sun ;"

"Whistle back the parrot's call, and leap the rainbows of the brooks."

That the race is gradually but certainly becoming extinct there seems but little reason to doubt ; but no accurate data exist for any reliable computation of their present numbers. Not only can they themselves not count beyond two, but their language has no word expressive of numerals, and they are often wholly ignorant of each other's existence, scattered as are the various tribes over the insular patches of lands which they now occupy ; consequently nothing but the barest conjecture can be hazarded. In 1857, Dr. Mouat, the President of the Government Commission, fixed the probable population at 5,000 ; in 1867, however, it was estimated, in a Government report not to exceed 3,000, and the probabilities seem to point to even this being an excessive estimate in the present year, in the light of the better knowledge of the distribution of the various tribes since attained.

During the heavy rains of the monsoon months, from the effects of exposure to which their ill-constructed huts offer little if any protection ; often greatly pressed to provide the bare necessities of subsistence ; subject to the malarious influences of the dense mangrove swamps, (the trees of which have the appearance of being 'rooted in the deep,' amidst its calm) unclad, ill-nurtured and compelled to follow the erratic wanderings of the tribe, what wonder that numbers of the children perish in infancy !—and that a race, whose females are far from prolific, should gradually become extinct and be swept from the face of the earth ; from which it will inevitably ere long disappear, leaving but the slightest traces of its existence.

WM. B. BIPCH.

* To this there are perhaps some exceptions as in the case of the hostile Jarawa tribe.

Note.—Tables of the *Fauna, Flora, &c.*, of the Andaman Islands will follow a paper on the Nicobars by the same author, to appear in our next issue as a companion article to the foregoing.—Ed.

ART. VII.—RUSSIAN TURKISTAN.

1. *Turkistan*. By E. Schnyler.
2. *The Shores of Aral*. By Major Wood, R.E. 1876.
3. *Campaign on the Oxus and Fall of Khiva*. By MacGahan, 1874.
4. *Notes on the Central Asian Question*. Romanofski.
5. *Turkistan Gazettes*, 1875-76-77.

TO Mr. Eugene Schuyler, an American, we owe one of the most thorough books on Turkistan and the Russian possessions in Central Asia yet published. As Secretary of Legation for the United States at St. Petersburg he had exceptional opportunities for gaining information of which he has not scrupled to avail himself fully. Although, as he says in his preface, the care taken that he should incur no personal danger or penetrate into no regions previously unexplored prevented him from giving information of new territories, yet the chief aim of his journey was to study the political and social condition of the regions which had been recently annexed by Russia; as well as to compare the state of the inhabitants under Russian rule with those still living under the despotism of the Khans. In this he has been most painstaking and has collected a store of most valuable information.

Mr. Schuyler took the regular post road from Samara to Tashkend, now the head-quarters of the Governor-General of Turkistan. Of this tedious journey, comparing it with the accounts given by Major Wood and other travellers on the same route, one cannot help being struck with the vast area of steppe, a separation worse than sea, as it only admits of one line of traffic, which lies between Orenburg and the Syr Darya. In the Khiva expedition of 1873, as in the previous one of 1839, which terminated so disastrously, the troops being obliged to turn back on account of the cold, the great Kirghiz steppe was one of the chief difficulties. Regular relays of horses are requisite, and though with their aid the journey may be accomplished in winter perhaps even better than in summer, in either case extremes of temperature are met with; and practically Russia in Europe is as much if not more separated from her Central Asian possessions than if the Mediterranean rolled between them. The distance from Orenburg to Kazala is about 500 miles in a bee-line, the width of the Mediterranean from Marseilles to Algiers. Nor is the difficulty then over, for Mr. Schuyler informs us that goods from Orenburg or other places frequently arrive at Kazala at times when, owing to the state of

the roads, it is impossible to carry them further, and they must therefore be stored for some weeks or possibly months. Romanofski tells us that it requires nearly two years to move troops and stores from the Volga across the Kirghiz steppe to the advanced posts of the Bokhara frontier.

A railway to cross the steppe at its narrowest part, between the Caspian and the Aral, was under consideration some years ago, but little is heard of it now; the railway scheme has either been put on one side in favor of works of more immediate importance, or the difficulty of navigating the Caspian, the northern half of which is ice-bound for several months in the year, and the Aral, which is extremely shallow and liable to sudden and furious gales, may have deterred the Russians from its construction. The difficulty of obtaining good fuel in sufficient quantity would also be far from light. The oft-quoted assertion of Major Wood that a cannon ball fired in Central Asia costs £2, of course includes the previous cost of manufacture, for a recent Russian authority puts the cost of carriage of one Russian pood, which is nearly equivalent to 36lbs. English, as averaging 4 roubles or 12 shillings from Moscow to Tashkend. In fact he computes the cost of transport of a pood's weight of goods from London to Bokhara at about 9 shillings, or what it costs the Russians under the most favorable conditions to transport the same weight from Moscow to Tashkend only.

From Kazala, or Fort No. 1, the post-road follows the course of the Syr Darya as far as the town of Turkistan or Hazrat Sultan and then goes through Chimkend to Tashkend. Of each of these places Mr. Schuyler gives a full and interesting description. It appears that at Tashkend General Kaufmann as Governor-General holds a regular court and "imitates in the state he keeps the eastern monarchs by whom he is surrounded. He never rides out, so I am told, without a select guard of Cossacks and even his wife and children had their escorts. These, I believe, were abolished after the unfortunate remark of some newly-arrived officer who innocently enquired what lady that was under arrest."

The Russians do not seem to have been as much troubled with the "great shoe question" as ourselves; for we learn that they have not the slightest difficulty in entering any of the mosques in Tashkend, and are not even requested to take off their boots; moreover, by what seems a great stretch of politeness, there is no objection made to their smoking in the precincts.

From Tashkend Mr. Schuyler went to Bokhara by Chinaz. The latter place was at first thought by the Russians likely to be of importance as it was the head of steam-navigation on the Syr Darya, but the steamers of the Aral flotilla are so irregular in their visits and the navigation of the river is so bad as to

discourage any private companies from starting vessels there, thus it remains a little Cossack settlement. The current of the Syr Darya is so strong that it takes three weeks to ascend the river by steamer from Kazala to Chinaz, a distance of 700 miles.

The Russians evidently originally supposed not only that there was gold to be found in the sands of the Oxus and Syr Darya, but also that gold was to be made by trade through navigation of these rivers. Unfortunately they are neither of them easy of navigation. According to Major Wood the Syr Darya is ice-bound for three months in the year; and, as high gales prevail on Aral during autumn and winter, the Russian vessels are on service only in May, and October. The entrance of the river is obstructed by a mass of shoals. The entrance into the Oxus is very little better; its current is also so rapid that when Major Wood ascended it in the "Perovski," the steamer had very great difficulty to make any way. In winter the river is unnavigable on account of ice, and caravans have been known to cross the river on the ice as high up as Charjui and Kerki. Another difficulty lies with fuel, for the carriage of coal from the Volga is so expensive as to be prohibitive of commercial success, and the "saksaul" or steppe plant, though abundant enough, is so bulky in comparison with its heat-giving powers that MacGahan speaks of a steamer towing one or two barges loaded with fuel for its journey. The discovery of coal near Khojend may end this difficulty some day, but the coal is not of first-rate quality and at present there is difficulty in working and transporting it.

The most curious fact about all this portion of Asia is that, though now arid to a degree, it undoubtedly at one time supported a dense population. According to Mr. Schuyler there is an old legend that the whole valley of the Syr Darya was at one time so thickly settled "that a nightingale could fly from branch to branch of the fruit trees, and a cat walk from wall to wall and housetop to housetop from Kashghar to the Sea of Aral."

Without giving full credence to this legend we know from ancient history that on the banks of the rivers were large and flourishing towns; and there are ruins and traces of ancient cultivation mentioned by every traveller sufficient to show that the country which can now barely support a very small population was of old densely populated.

To whatever cause it may be due, it appears beyond doubt that Central Asia is rapidly desiccating; and there is every reason to suppose that this has been going on for many ages. Not only does tradition and the evidence of former cultivation show this, but the statements of recent European travellers tell us how rapidly the Caspian and Aral are shrinking, overtaken by the ever-increasing desert.

Thus in the Russian naval expedition to the Caspian in the year 1782, under Count Voinovitch, the Gomushtapa or Silver Hill is described as an Island. In 1819 Muravief found that it was no longer an Island; and was told by the Turkomans that it really had been an Island and had only been joined by the dry land some five or six years previously. The Bay of Hassan Kuli, on the map apparently an excellent natural harbour, is, according to Colonel Venukoff, really nothing but a large puddle almost hidden by rushes, and boasts of an average depth of three feet.

The Bay of Aschi or Alexander Bay on the east coast of the Caspian has lately dried up altogether. So shallow is part of the east coast of the Caspian that according to the same authority steamers have to lie out at an incredible distance from the land, the cargo has to be shifted to small vessels, from these again to boats, and finally carried to land on men's backs. Similarly in the sea of Aral Major Wood says the bed of the Abugir Gulf was covered to a depth of 3 feet in 1848 but is now dry and under cultivation. Schuyler says of the eastern coast of Aral that one may wade for miles through the shallow water.

Major Wood's opinion that the immense amount of earth in suspension brought down by the Oxus has been in great part the cause of the vast deserts is no doubt correct; for the earth in suspension gets laid down by the numerous irrigation canals, then dried by the sun, and dispersed as sand by any wind, thus covering and smothering the cultivated soil and gradually filling up the small irrigation canals at a distance from the river. In the course of centuries this must be of very considerable moment; and any change in the course of the river would thus make its former bed a centre from which the desert would spread. It is also to be noted that in any wars in this formerly fertile district, the first thing done obviously was to divert the water-streams and render the country desert. Even in tribal feuds this might be done, and the country almost irreparably ruined, conquered in fact by desert. Under ancient conditions of warfare the conquerors would do little to restore the country, nor, "if they desired it," is it as easy to restore fertility as to destroy it. In this way the vast deserts of the Kara Kum and Kizil Kum have most probably arisen. There is very strong evidence that at one time the Oxus flowed into the Caspian through country which is now so entirely desert that Colonel Markosof's force in the Khiva expedition of 1873 could not advance for want of water beyond Igdy. Mr. Schuyler quotes from a letter in the *Exchange Gazette*, for publishing which the newspaper immediately received a warning. It says, "Almost the whole expedition was ill. Sixty men died of sunstroke. The troops returned to Korasnovodsk without their arms. The camels, the booty of the Turkomans,

were abandoned in the steppe. The expedition returned in a most miserable state." The utter impracticability for troops to march by this route from Krasnovodsk direct to Khiva was demonstrated by Colonel Scobelef who rode within 6 miles of Ortakui with Turkoman guides and was scarcely able to obtain sufficient water for his small party.

A great part of this way across the desert goes by the Uzboi or old bed of the Oxus by which that river formerly discharged into the Caspian. The change of course of the river seems to be thought extraordinary; but there are similar cases on a smaller scale in the Punjab; for example the Beas, which some 150 years ago used to fall into the Sutlej near Mooltan, now joins that river near Ferozepur. The old bed of the Beas is shown in the maps, and is no doubt still distinctly traceable. Indeed late reports say it is now showing a tendency to return to its former channel. Again about 1856 the Hoang Ho changed its course over a distance of some 300 miles, and in place of falling into the Yellow Sea now falls into the Pechili Gulf. The old bed of the Oxus is distinctly traceable at the present day from Khiva to Balkan Bay in the Caspian, being strongly marked in most parts by the "Chink," a steep line of cliff which divides the Ust Urt Plateau from the Kara Kum desert. The tendency of the river still to flow in the old channel is shown by the fact that, in spite of the dams erected, the water occasionally bursts through and in 1850 forced its way as far as Sary Kamish, a distance of about 63 miles, where it flooded an immense area of ground. Some such occurrence might account for Vambéry's description of a large lake near Sary Kamish, of which other travellers make no mention. It is, however, considered that the volume of water in the Oxus is so diminished by irrigation canals that it would now be insufficient of itself to reach the Caspian. But a somewhat similar ancient bed seems to exist between the Syr Darya and the Oxus, tending to show that at one time the Syr Darya poured its waters into the Oxus and the united rivers flowed into the Caspian, or that vast inland sea which Major Wood conjectures may have existed by a conjunction of the Caspian and Black Seas before the waters of the latter burst through the Bosphorus. For a considerable distance on the line between Kazala and Khiva there is still a channel of water called the Yani Darya or old river; and Major Wood and Mr. MacGahan, who both travelled this way, speak of the numerous dried-up irrigation canals found even where water no longer reached. Again, the great and rapid, though now shallow, river Chu, rising near the Lake Issik Kùl, flows in a more or less direct line towards the Syr Darya, but eventually loses itself in the marshes and lake of Saumal Kul in the midst of a vast desert and steppe. And not far, geographi-

cally speaking, from this point the river Sarysu, coming from the north in a direct line towards the terminus of the Chu, also loses itself in salt lakes and marsh land. The latest Russian theory, put forward by M. Chaikofsky in the *Turkistan Gazette*, is that at one time the Chu and Sarysu joined, fell into the Syr Darya and Oxus, and that one immense river rolled towards the Caspian.

From this may have arisen the first impulse of some of the vast migratory hordes of the middle ages. If this now desert land were formerly fertilized by vast and united rivers, and in some war connection with the river diverted, the people forcibly driven out by the loss of the greatest necessity of life would fight with desperation to seize other lands more westerly and thus the wave of destruction roll on from tribe to tribe, from nation to nation.

But the hand of man alone would be insufficient to arrest the courses of such mighty rivers. M. Chaikofsky's theory is that the Chu was the main supply issuing from the Issik Kub which Lake was fed by the Kashkar river. At the present time the Kashkar flows toward the Lake and suddenly, about 4 miles from it, in the little level plain of Kotmaldi, divides into two branches, one of which conveys a small portion of water into the Issik Kul, the other falls into the river Chu. There is thus the extraordinary condition presented, that a river at a very insignificant distance, in an almost level plain, passes by a ready receptacle for its waters; and on the other hand a lake 5,300 feet above sea-level has a convenient natural outlet of which it does not avail itself. It is supposed that at some unfixed epoch the bottom of the lake by geological action sank, thus arresting the efflux of its surplus waters into the Chu. Major Wood is of opinion that the changes of the great river-courses and the depth of Aral may have occurred not once but several times. The rising and sinking of the bottom of Issik Kul would clearly have the greatest effect if the rivers were joined at any time; and that Issik Kul may have altered its level more than once would seem probable from the statements that it throws up household utensils of every kind, human bones, &c., and that submerged buildings lie in its depths. A favorite scheme with a Russian party is to restore as far as possible this former order of things and utilize the vast amount of water now wasted in the desert. This is strongly opposed by another section on the obvious ground that the expense must be enormous while the success can only be doubtful. With reference to this plan of making a navigable river to the Caspian Mr. Schuyler says:

"There seems to be this difficulty in all the schemes for the improvement of river-navigation, that the amount of water in the rivers is not so great as formerly, owing no doubt in great measure to the destruction of forests on the mountains along their upper sources. In order to have sufficient water for navigation

it would seem to be necessary to destroy the irrigation systems and this by diminishing, if not putting an end to, the productive power of the countries of Central Asia, and thus destroying the commerce, would remove the only reason for which navigation is considered requisite."

In the Khivan expedition of 1873 it will be remembered that General Vereffkin was first to arrive at Khiva, and, after several sharp skirmishes, took the place just at the time when General Kaufmann, the Governor-General, arrived from the opposite direction. Mr. Schuyler points out in as plain words as could be written (see vol. II, p. 355) that after the capture of Khiva it was considered necessary in order to gain decorations that the detachment from Tashkent should have a fight. And it was therefore determined, to quote Cromwell's words, to "put the fear of God" into the Turkomans, despite the fact that submission had come in from the neighbouring tribes, and that expeditionary parties had been sharing their hospitality and treated with the greatest kindness.

On the pretext that the Khan had little power over the Turkomans, and that when the Russians retired he would get no tribute from them to pay the Russian money-obligations, the Turkomans were directed to pay in 300,000 roubles, about £41,000, one-third to be paid within ten days, the remaining two-thirds within five days more. The elders of the Turkomans were evidently astonished, for whence were they, whose sole wealth consisted in herds of cattle and the ornaments of their women, to raise so much money at so short a date. Hence at once arose an obvious breach of faith. "And as if to make it still more evident that his meaning was war" General Kaufmann directed the forces to march and attack the Turkomans without even waiting for the 15 days to expire. He ordered a force to start on the 19th, immediately to move on the settlements of the Yomuds, and Mr. Schuyler says, quoting the words of the official despatch, "*to give over the settlements of the Yomuds and their families to complete destruction and their herds and property to confiscation.*"

How this was carried out is given by Mr. Schuyler on the authority of an eyewitness from his own lips. "When we had gone about 25 miles from Khiva, General Golovatchef said before a large number of officers in my presence 'I have received on order from the commander-in-chief. I hope you will remember it and give it to your soldiers. This expedition does not spare sex or age, kill all of them.' "After this the officers gave the command to their several detachments. The detachment of the Caucasus army had not then arrived, but came that evening. Golovatchef called together all the officers of the Caucasus and said, 'I hope you will fulfil all these commands strictly in the Circassian style, without a

question. You are not to spare either sex or age—kill all of them.' 'The old colonel of the Caucasus said 'certainly we will do exactly as you say.'"

The troops carried out their orders, as MacGahan corroborates, and General Kaufman obtained the coveted cross.

It has been said the Russians are more suited to be the pioneers of civilization than the British, who thrust their laws of high civilization on the people at once, without reference to the suitability to the existing condition of the inhabitants. It may be so; if so, the British army may be congratulated on being spared the job of carrying out missions of civilization and humanitarianism in this style.

Mr. Schuyler says it had been foreseen by many persons acquainted with the affairs of Central Asia that the campaign against the Turkomans would excite them against Russian rule; and it has been found that these sharp measures have not at once civilized the Turkomans, who, apparently, are still unable to resist the joys of plundering caravans. Hence, to protect their trading parties between Krasnovodsk and Mangishlak to Khiva, the Russians constructed a fort between Sary Kamish and Kudia Urganj on a large canal cut from the Oxus, which they garrisoned in August 1876 with 6 companies of infantry and one ~~some~~ of Cossacks with artillery and rockets. They now find that the Tekke Turkomans are ready at any time to plunder their caravans. Hence in the course of 1876 an expedition was made to Kizil Arvat, where the Russians have established a fort; and it is openly said in the *Turkistan Gazette* that in order to quiet the Turkomans it will be necessary for them to establish a fort at Merv.

The treaty with Khiva after the expedition of 1873 is given at full length by Schuyler. The chief points of this treaty are that all territory on the right bank as far as Meshekli is handed over to Russia, and the strip of land beyond that which belonged to Khiva is now transferred to Bokhara, so that Khiva has no land at all on the right bank now. The Russians have also exclusive right of navigating the river, no Khivan or Bokhariot boats being allowed to traffic on the river without special permission from a Russian Agent. Moreover, Russia has the right of establishing ports and building warehouses on the left bank wherever it may appear suitable, and the Khivan Government is held responsible for the safety of these. As the oasis of Khiva is simply dependent for existence on the irrigation canals from the Oxus, it is obvious that she lies at the mercy of Russia. Through the burning down of one warehouse on the left bank a pretext is afforded, on which, without any declaration of war or notification to other Governments, the Russians are able, by a pure threat, to reduce Khiva to any terms at any time, or in case of contumacy

to close the irrigation canals and allow the desert to overwhelm the oases. With Bokhara the Russian position is nearly similar. The head waters of the Zarafshan river, by which the Bokhara Khanat exists, is Russian territory; and this river is so extensively used for irrigation that even in great floods, not one drop reaches the Oxus, but it is absorbed in the Karakul Lake and desert, some 53 miles beyond Bokhara. The Russians with their hold of Samarkand are able at any time to reduce Bokhara to their terms by threatening to cut off the water supply, with even greater ease than could be done in the case of Khiva. A son of the Amir of Bokhara is being educated in St. Petersburg. Having such complete power over Bokhara itself, and its Amir, the obvious policy of the Russian, who desires enlargement of territory with individual aims in preference to imperial strength, is to bolster up Bokhara as much as possible. Bokhara has a number of outlying provinces on the Oxus which rendered her allegiance nominal or tributary in accordance with her strength at the moment. Among these are Shahr-i-sabz, which after an independence of some 16 years was conquered in 1857, but again broke out in 1870 into rebellion headed by the eldest son of the Amir. The Russians, with the consent of the Amir, assisted him in the reduction of the town and province of Shahr-i-sabz. They were of course easy victors in a contest with troops of much inferior armament and discipline, though the difficult nature of the country was much against them. To the astonishment apparently of the Amir of Bokhara, the territory was handed over completely to him. The Russians also, like Clive, seem astonished at their own moderation, and are continually harping on the wonderful fact that, having put down a rebellion in a friendly country, they did not appropriate the land. But it will be seen from the position of Russia towards Bokhara that the appropriation can be made by them without difficulty whenever a fit moment occurs. They were, however, able to make a useful end to the expedition by sending in safety an exploring party to Hissar and Kolab, as far as the Oxus at Chushka Gazar. The geographical information brought back was full but rather vague. Schuyler says they went more in search of decorations than astronomical observations.

Beyond Shahr-i-sabz lies Hissar, where a son of the Amir of Bokhara resides, and it would seem that the *hakims* or governors of Baljuan and Kolab are immediately subordinate to the Chief of Hissar. M. Mayef, however, who was with the Hissar expedition, says that Kolab has not forgotten its former ruler, Sarykhaa, while Karatigin with Darwaz are only nominally subject to Bokhara. In fact Karatigin used to be tributary to Khokand; but as that State has lately lost much territory and power it seems inclined to submit to its more powerful neighbour.

Artemus Ward has most wisely and wittily said, "never prophesy till you are quite certain;" and it is truly impossible to say what the effect of the present war may be to the Russian position in Central Asia. How insulated they are from their chief base has been already shown. Mr. Schuyler estimated their military strength in 1873 at some 40,000 men only. They may have been reinforced; yet at the present moment are scarcely likely to exceed this number. The victories gained in Khokand by handfuls of disciplined Russians against hordes of undisciplined and indifferently armed enemies recall to us the days of Plassey and Arcot. Their position is precarious, of great extent, and, like our position in India, almost entirely dependent on superior powers of discipline, armament, and organization. But these last are the powers that rule the world. Alexander, with a comparatively small army of Macedonians, conquered and held all these vast regions through superior discipline, armament and organization. It has been argued that because Alexander and others invaded India that therefore a successful invasion of India is now possible. Alexander's men, and the troops of Timur and Baber carried their spears, swords and shields, and required little beyond each day's provision. To meet a British force in India on equal terms an invader must have with him cannon and rifles of latest type with ample stores of ammunition for their effective use. If there were no other reason, this would show the impracticability of an actual invasion of India by Russia until she had conquered Persia, Afghanistan, Baluchistan, and also had such command of the Indian Ocean that she would be under no fear of embarrassing flank-attacks from the sea. It is not overstraining Artemus Ward's dictum to say that a great many things will happen before that. But that Russia could give us an infinity of trouble on our border and force us to waste money in keeping troops to subject the neighbouring tribes, cannot be doubted; and it is for this reason that it would be objectionable to us to see her in full command of the country up to the borders of Afghanistan. That this will occur in the ordinary course of events is most likely. Russia can strengthen the hand of Bokhara quietly and give her full power over the principalities north of the Oxus, then step in, occupy Bokhara, and by right of conquest hold all territories subject to her. It may be an advantage to us, it probably would be so in the way of trade. Mr. Schuyler in fact considers that Russia and England are needlessly jealous, and that the true boundary will be found in the Oxus. But it must be remembered that, just as the result of the permanent occupation of Constantinople and the Dardanelles by the Russians would be to force us to keep up, in addition to our present navy, a fleet near the Egyptian coast at all times, equal, if not superior, to any fleet the

proximity to our Indian frontier would be to force us to keep at all times, no matter what the European pressure might be, a military force at least equal to suppressing any invasions or disturbances she might be able to get up by intrigues on our border or within our own territories. Either case causing a heavy addition to the taxation of British subjects.

While at Bokhara Mr. Schuyler tried hard to visit Charjui, the celebrated ferry over the Oxus; but though the Amir at first gave permission for the journey, it was afterwards rescinded. He had, therefore, to retrace his steps, and then travelled into Khokand which had not at that time been taken possession of by Russia.

The geographical position of the valley of Ferghana, with numerous streams and rivers flowing from three sides into the Syr Darya, would lead one to suppose that it would be a country of uninterrupted fertility. But Mr. Schuyler shows us that deserts encompass the town; and that, except where rivers are near enough at hand to allow of the full use of irrigation, the land is apt to become desert. He says, indeed, that a map of Central Asia on which the arable lands were carefully marked, would be at once instructive and curious, so narrow would be the green strips along the rivers and at the foot of the mountains; and he estimates that in the whole of Russian Central Asia, excluding the Kizil Kum desert, only 16 per cent. of the whole is fit for cultivation. Most of the grain for army use has to be brought from Verny, Kopal, and Southern Siberia. "A result which speaks plainly as to the value of the recently-acquired Russian possessions."

From Khokand Mr. Schuyler travelled into Semirechye by Verny & Kuja. Into part of this territory, lately wrested from the Chinese, the Russians are importing colonists from other parts of their Empire. It is said of these new colonists against their will that they mostly consist of tribes who have objected to the new rules of compulsory military service. Mr. Schuyler does not seem to have any high opinion of these importations as agriculturists; indeed in his conclusion he says the "influx of Russian colonists with their shiftless ways is not likely to improve matters," and strongly hints that this part of the country would be much better off in the hands of the Chinese, under whom Kulja was a productive and thickly-settled country.

Of the Russian acquisitions in Central Asia, generally, Mr. Schuyler tells us that in 1873 the extent of country held by them was about 325,000 square miles English, or as large as Germany and Italy, with a scattered population of 1,600,000 men, no more than Denmark.

A full and detailed account of the revenue and expenditure are

given, from which it would seem that the Central Asian acquisitions are far from paying in a financial point of view. He estimates the total expenses in 1873 at about 8,000,000 roubles (or £1,200,000), while the revenues he puts at about 1,627,000 roubles (or £244,050), by which there would be a deficit of 6,373,000 roubles (or £940,950); and says also that so much has been said of late of the cost of the Government of Turkistan, that, by a skilful manipulation of figures, an attempt has been made to prove a surplus. This has been done by deducting from the expenses all those which relate to the support of the army or are connected with the military forces. In fact, he gives his opinion, that "Central Asia has no stores of wealth and no economical resources; neither by its agricultural, nor by its mineral wealth, nor by its commerce, nor by the revenue to be derived from it, can it ever repay the Russians for what it has already cost and for the rapidly-increasing expenditure bestowed on it. Had Russia known 15 years ago as much about the countries of Central Asia as she knows now, there can hardly be a doubt that there would have been no movement in that direction."

A careful study of this book certainly does not tend to lessen the general belief in the intrigues carried on by Russian generals and officials when at a distance from St. Petersburg. But at the same time it shows us the strength and weakness of the Russians in Central Asia, and the extreme difficulty they would have in doing us any injury in India.

"If England only to herself prove true"—

and fully justifies our policy in securing the Bolan pass for the safety of trade and doing what seems best for the attainment of security and peace on our border without taking Russia into more than secondary consideration.

R. H. F.

ART. VIII — THE RELIGIONS OF INDIA.

Essays by Colebrook, Whitney, Max Müller, H. H. Wilson.

Indian Wisdom. By Monier Williams.

Antient India, By Mrs. Manning (late Spiers).

Translations of Vedas. By H. H. Wilson, Max Müller, &c., &c.

Translation of Adi Granth. By Trumpp.

Essay on Phallic Worship. By Kittel.

Essay on Ghost-Worship. By Walhouse.

Essay on Non-Aryan Worship. By Col. Dalton.

Essay on Brahmoism. By Nehemiah Gorah.

Life of Krishna. By Pavie, Weber, Wilson.

Life of Buddha. By St Hilaire, Bigandet, Beale, Foucaux, Hardy, &c.

Hindu Sects. By H. H. Wilson.

Indian Castes. By Sherring.

Hinduism. By Wurm, Haug, Ward, Vaughan, Williams.

Sanskrit Texts. By John Muir.

Tree and Serpent Worship. By John Fergusson.

IMAGINE a person to drop down from the moon into England, and to inquire generally into the Religion of the inhabitants of the British Islands. Some would tell him one thing, some another. Scholars would treat the subject historically or philosophically: Divines would treat it theologically: the Statesman would say that it was merely a machine to maintain order: enthusiasts would maintain that it was a spiritual lever to move the world: all might agree that it had its origin among the people of the Jews, and in the country of Syria in Asia: but they would agree about nothing else, except the practice of using hard words to all that differed from them. It would be hopeless to find the subject treated with impartiality, truthfulness, or brevity.

Our countrymen drop annually, as from the moon, into British India, and become aware in spite of themselves, that they are among a people who ignore and hate the religion of Europe, but have a great diversity of religious beliefs of their own. A general notion is arrived at, that there are two main divisions, Brahmanism and Mahomedanism, to which a third, that of Buddhism, might be added; that extreme antiquity is ascribed to certain sacred books; and that magnificent buildings, and enormous crowds of worshippers evidence the importance and popularity

of the worship. It is proposed to pass the whole subject under a brief review, referring to the important books on each branch of the subject. Many points bristle with controversy, therefore no new views are expressed. The scholar will no doubt find fault with the incompleteness and incorrectness; the missionary may take offence at the cynical impartiality or indifference with which the subject is handled: the native of India may, with more justice, complain of the hard measure, with which his country and religions are measured. But the subject is approached with the deepest feelings of reverence; and the object is to allow an Englishman, in a short period, to obtain a general view of the whole prospect, and to indicate the quarters in which he can obtain further information. Volumes have been written, but they do not pass under the eyes of those for whom these pages are intended.

The word "Religion" implies the binding of the soul to God, and is in itself a holy thing. The first effort of the savage is to feel after the unknown powers of nature, and propitiate them. The first cry of the inquiring spirit, when free from the shackles of the flesh, will be to ask Pilate's question "what is truth"? However imperfect may be the ideal and the concrete expression of the dogma and the cult, they express the longings of the human soul, shaped in its highest possible form, and should be regarded with reverence. It is idle and wicked to denounce the ancient cults and faiths of the world, and entangle hopelessly the questions of civilization and morality with that of religion, as if some of the most depraved of God's creatures were not Christians, and some members of European communities little better than heathens. All depraved and decaying religions assume the same type—Ritual instead of Piety, ignorant superstition instead of reasonable belief.

We must use the word "Hindu" in its ethnical sense only, as a "native of India" without reference to the religion, although the word "Brahmanical" is not a sufficient substitute in the Vedic period. We must accept the term "Aryan" in sharp contrast to those forms of non-Aryan cult, which existed in India before the great Aryan immigration, and so greatly modified by contact the Vedic religious conceptions, and some remnants or representatives of which still survive in the many millions of non-Aryan pagans in Central India, and on the south-eastern frontiers. We must reserve our notice of the non-Aryan cults, until we have disposed of the Aryan and all its numerous offshoots. To the Vedic Aryan succeeded, in due course, the Brahminical system; but that was, long before the Christian era, superseded by the great Buddhistic conception, and never reigned alone again. For, although at a later and uncertain period, the new developments of Vaishnavism and Saivism, under which the Brah-

manical priesthood again rose to power, sprang into existence, and drove Buddhism fairly out of Aryan and Dravidian India; still the vigor of the old pre-Buddhistic system was never restored; and Jainas, Mahomedans, Christians, Jews, Fire-worshippers, Lingaites, Sikhs, and many other sects, stood out in strong contrast to each other, and in open antagonism to the Religion of the majority, which ceased also after the Mahomedan invasion, to be the state religion, and lost its power of direct and indirect persecution.

Let us now consider the period, the place, and the earliest documents of the Aryan religion. As regards the period, there is but one ascertained date anterior to the Mahomedan conquest, and upon that peg hangs all chronological theories. A famous Sovereign, named Chandragupta, is identified beyond all reasonable doubt with that Sandracottus, king of Palibothra, who is recorded by Greek Historians to have received the ambassadors of the successors of Alexander the Great. His grandson, Asoka, is identified with Priadasee who raised columns in different parts of India, existing to this day, enforcing the observance of Buddhist practices. By another process the date of the birth of Buddha is fixed with general consent at B. C. 622. The theories of scholars, based upon these facts, are most moderate. Colebrook, resting upon certain astronomical data, which are not accepted by modern science, fixes 1400 B. C. as the date of the Vedas; Max Müller by another process arrives at 1100 B. C.; making in the one case the sacred books of the Aryans contemporary with the Exodus, and in the other with the establishment of the Jewish Monarchy. Admitting some such date as the latest possible, we must leave ample room for the development of the magnificent language, which, in its earliest documents, shows unmistakable signs of many centuries of wear and tear. The grammatical forms are not the simple primate position of roots, such as are presented in the Hieroglyphic texts of the earliest Egyptians at a period anterior by a thousand years at the least. Our oldest documents of Hebrew, as of Sanskrit, which can safely be placed at 1100 B. C., present us with a highly-finished Synthetic language, which does not represent the earliest efforts of even a cultivated nation, far less of pastoral immigrants. We must, however, leave it to the license of speculation to fix the epoch of the great Aryan immigration and the gradual compilation of the Vedic Psalter, which may, like the Jewish Psalter, comprise poetic snatches with the difference of nine centuries—for not less a period of time separates the "Waters of Babylon" from the Psalm of Moses. But it is not for its antiquity, not for its continuity of hold upon the human race, that the Vedic conception stands preeminent. The elder religions of the world, the Egyptian, the Proto-Baby-

Ionian, the Assyrian, the Syrian, and the beautiful creations of Hellas, have perished many centuries. Delphi is silent: great Pan is dead: the great institutions, founded by Moses and Zoroaster, have shrivelled up to a fragment of a nation, and they have been for centuries in exile, without a country or language. The great Propagandist systems of Christ, Buddha, Mahomet, Confucius, and Laotzee are of historical dates. Alone, out of the hoary mist of antiquity, stands the Vedic conception, still revered by millions in the country of its birth; and out of its loins has proceeded a still greater religious idea, which, in various forms of Buddhism, dominates over countless millions of non-Aryan races. No such marvellous phenomena has the world elsewhere seen.

With regard to the place, there can be no doubt. In the Provinces of the Punjab, to which the heart of the writer of these pages will ever look back with feelings of the tenderest love and deepest regret, those Vedic hymns were composed by *rishis*, or Wise Men, not necessarily Brahmans, amidst a pastoral population which had at some not-far-distant period left the original home of the Aryan race on the Oxus, from which at a still more remote period had struck off westward the Celt, the Teuton, the Græco-Latin, the Letto-Slavonic, and southward the great Iranic stems. The language must have been formed after the parting; as, though resembling in some particulars, it is essentially different. Attempts have been made to collect all the words, which are the common property of the undivided Aryan family, and reconstitute the mother-language, and from those dry bones to arrive at some idea of proto-Aryan or pre-Aryan religion and customs. That religion speedily took new development; in the Iranian branch it was refined into Fire-worship, in the Indian it degenerated into Pantheism. We find the Punjab alluded to as a country of seven rivers: probably the Saraswati forms the seventh. We find unmistakeable allusions to the great ocean, which pushes us on to the conclusion that they had found their way down the Indus at that early period; though they had not as yet possessed themselves of the valley of the Ganges, which river is only once mentioned.

They found tribes already in the land of a darker colour, with whom they waged perpetual war, and they appear to have warred among themselves.

The documents are known as the Vedas, and are four-fold: all of them are now accessible in both text and translation. Round the latter there is a great controversy, whether the traditional interpretation should be followed, or whether the same should be extracted by strict exegesis of scholars. These venerable documents are of unquestioned genuineness. No copy has come down to us earlier than the ninth century of our era, and no lapidary

inscriptions of any antiquity; and in that respect the religions of India are in a far less favourable position than those of Egypt and Mesopotamia, which are both represented by original documents of between 1000 and 2000 years before the Christian era—free from the risks of the careless copyist, or the designing manipulator.

The Vedas are made up of hymns: upwards of one thousand. They are what we ought to have expected, yet which no one of later generations could have designedly composed. There is an antique simplicity of thought: the sentiments are childlike, the first sobbing and plaintive cry of a human family to their Great Father, who made them, and to Nature and the Elements, the great Mother, who nourished them; and with the childhood of our race and religion every true heart must sympathise. There is no attempt at cosmogonies and universal knowledge: there is no self-consciousness, and nothing is found, which will in any way support the gigantic abominations of Vaishnavism and Saivism; there is no mention of Rama or Krishna; Vishnu is indeed mentioned by name, as the one who takes three steps, symbolical of the rising, midday, and setting suns, or by another interpretation, Light on Earth as Fire, Light in the Atmosphere as Lightning, Light in Heaven as the Sun; and Siva is supposed to be identical with Rudra, mentioned in some of the Hymns; there is no allusion to the great Hindu Triad, or to transmigration of souls, or to castes, or to the Pantheistic Philosophy of the wise or the gross Polytheism of the ignorant: there is no mention of temples, or of a monopolizing Brahmanical priesthood, and not the slightest allusion to the Lingam. The sun is worshipped, but there is no mention of the planets: the moon is noticed, but the constellations never.

The blessings asked for are temporal; the worship was domestic, addressed to unreal presences, not represented by visible types and therefore not idolatry. The physical forces of nature were worshipped, which appeared as possibly rival, certainly irresistible deities: those that struck the mind most, were Fire, Rain and Wind, the Sun; and thus Agni, Indra or Vayu, and Surya constituted the earlier Vedic Triad. With them were associated the Dawn, the Storm Gods, the Earth, the Waters, the Rivers, the Sky, the Seasons, the Moon, and the Manes of ancestors. Sacrifices were offered both by warriors and priests, as food to the deities, hymns were sung, and handed down orally, and a ritual was established.

The growth of religion is necessarily as continuous as the growth of language. The soul of man appears to possess as its congenital attributes an intuition of a great, just, and wise God; a sense of human dependence, as evidenced by want, sickness, and death: a rough, but true, distinction of good and evil: a hope of a better life, though a very carnal and material one. Two causes were at work to assist the development of the simple Vedic faith and

cult: first was the artifice of the Brahmanical priesthood, who sought to secure and increase their power; and second the involuntary local streak of non-Aryan religion. Thus gradually anthropomorphism grew, and demoniolatry. It is possible that the priests believed in the unity of the Godhead, and that these separate fanciful creations merely represented different phases of the Divine nature, the different attributes and spheres of operation of the Creator; but the vulgar mind could not comprehend this, and thus Pantheism sprang into existence from a too-gross conception and a too-material practise.

We can only allude to the theory of the Tree and Serpent worship of pre-Aryan India with feelings of respect for the propounder: it lies outside the subject-matter of our discussion. It is asserted that Buddhism is but a revival of the coarser superstition of the non-Aryan races, in which the tree and serpent played so great a part among the Nagas. We are not justified, moreover, in attributing the entire work of civilization to the Aryan immigrants: the remains left by the Bhars, unquestionably non-Aryans, indicate an advanced civilization, from which the Aryans may have borrowed in architecture, as well as in religion. If time be just, we shall find at length how much Semites and Aryans, all over Asia and Europe, are indebted to their non-Aryan, and non-Semite predecessors.

It has been the fashion to look upon the Brahmanical system as one which admitted no proselytes. That it was at one time essentially propagandist, is evidenced by the spiritual domination which it has assumed over the non-Aryan Dravidians of Southern India, and by the famous colonization of Java and other islands of the Indian Archipelago; but from the earliest days it has gone on absorbing inferior races. The name "sudra" was applied to those who settled down in nominal submission; the terms "dasya" and "mlechchha" were reserved to those who remained hostile and unsubdued; and with this absorption of heterogeneous elements has followed a modification of cult and ritual. In spite of the Vedas and of the Brahmins, or perhaps with the connivance of the latter, there has ever been an undercurrent of pagan-usages; and the slightest examination will demonstrate the existence of local objects of worship in every part of India, of which the sacred books make no mention. "*Semper, ubique, et ab omnibus,*" may be the cuckoo-cry at Benares as it is at Rome, but it is equally unfounded. Just as the Roman Catholic visits local shrines and gives way to a low form of worship in connivance with, or in spite of, his priest; so in every part of India there are deities on the mountain-tops, there are holy lakes, there are volcanic-fires, such as those of Jowala Mookhee in the Punjab, there are floating islands such as those at Murdee, and other local celebrities and sanctities.

While on the one side the simple nature-worship of the Aryans was being diluted by the admixture of non-Aryan elements, on the other side it was becoming developed, and exaggerated, and stiffened by the Brahmins. The Vedas gave birth to the Brahmanas, the Aryanas, and the Upanishads, and a vast crop of dogma and ritual. The object of these compositions, which are now more or less well-known to us, was to work out and to record the working out of the mysterious thoughts of a succession of men, who had the widest range of mind of which man is capable. They sought and sought in vain, by a process of speculation and introspection, for a fitting object of worship, and a fitting base upon which they could erect a moral standard: if unassisted reason could have brought down God from Heaven, they would have achieved it. To these books succeeded the Philosophic period at unknown intervals; whether of centuries or of decades, it is impossible to say, as the magnificent language in which the aphorisms are clothed shows no such divergences as to enable a parallax of time to be discovered. At any rate they did not considerably precede the Grecian Schools of Philosophy; as Buddha, who manifestly was the last in time, was contemporary with Pythagoras, as well as with Confucius in China, and Zoroaster in Persia. There must have been at that period of the world's history, a great searching of hearts. The six Indian schools of Philosophy, represented by Kapila, Patanjali, Jaimini, Vyasa, Gautama and Kanada, sprang into existence in the deep longing of the perplexed heart to solve the sad mystery of existence:—what am I?—whence came I?—whither do I go? Under different names, and by different processes, they shadowed out some force other than their own soul, whether as Visvakarma, or Purusha, or Brihaspati, or Brahma, or Atman, or Paramatman, the one Eternal, the one Universal Soul. They discovered at least, what savages never knew, that each one had within his own individual self a germ of the Eternal; and they proceeded on to investigate how he could free the eternal element from the miserable perishable integuments in which it was enfolded. It was the old struggle of Pneuma and Sarx; and one feels the deepest sympathy with those ancient far-away half-naked sages, for it is the real question, which has ever baffled schools and nations, and lies close to and perplexes the heart of man. The Vedas in their simple Psalmody had avoided the sad question of the origin and object of Pain, Sorrow, Sickness, and Death, the reason of Birth and Death, the existence of a future state and the inequality of human fortunes. But these wonderful philosophic aphorisms indicate the yearning of the poor heart of man after the unknown. The intelligent Brahman would, no doubt then as now, say that the various symbols and idols were only manifestations of the one God: the sun is one in the heavens,

yet he appears in multiform reflection on the water of the lake. The various schools and sects are but different doors to enter the same city. But the Ritualists of those days could do no more than the Ritualists of modern times. In proportion as the Philosophers became more atheistical, the ignorant classes became more superstitious. Books of elaborate Ritual sprang up by the side of books of daring free-thinking, and outward form was found to be but an opiate of the conscience, which might deaden the pain, but could not eradicate the evil. The result was the creation of an Esoteric and Exoteric Religion: a mass of grovelling superstition crowned by an apex of philosophic atheism. The Philosophers of these schools, like the French Abbés of the last century, had not the honesty and boldness to recede from the State worship. This step was reserved for the bolder spirits who preached Buddhism.

In the meantime the Aryan race had pushed down the valley of the Ganges, and reached the Soné and the Vindya range: the non-Aryan had been incorporated, or pushed to the right in the mountains of Central India, or to the left into the skirts of the Himalaya. Up to a certain time, as to the fixing of which a grand controversy exists, the sacred books had been handed down orally from generation to generation; but a time came, when an offshoot of the great Phenician Alphabet found its way to India, whether by sea from Arabia, or by land from Persia, is the subject of another great controversy. The two Asoka Alphabets represent the oldest character of writing in India: of indigenous character, either ideographic or syllabic, there is not a trace; nor would so self-conscious a people have failed to notice the steps by which they reached the wondrous art of expressing sounds by symbols, if they had themselves passed through that great intellectual process which we see evidenced in the documents of the Chinese, Egyptians and Assyrian nations, none of which attained the sweet simplicity of such an alphabet as the Phenician. The Brahmans had advanced in power and arrogance, and had codified the scattered laws and customs in a form such as the world has never seen equalled. The law of caste was laid down with a rigorous hand: intermarriage of the warrior and priestly caste, which seems to have been possible in Vedic periods, was now impossible: if these laws had ever practical effect, the Sudras must have suffered intolerable hardships, but safe inferences can be drawn from anecdotes in the garrulous heroic poems that they were not so enforced. The life of the ordinary citizen is mapped out into portions with a ridiculous precision: the most respectable fathers of families were expected at a certain period to leave their home, take to the woods, live the life of a hermit, giving up their property in a way which a greedy heir would no doubt

strictly enforce. The savage custom of children of eating their old parents with salt and lemon, which prevails among the Battas in the island of Sumatra, seems to be more merciful than to turn the old couple into the jungle as ascetics after the comfortable life of householders. The baneful snare of penance and asceticism, the greatest scourges of mankind, physically and spiritually, began to spread in one of its most arrogant forms. The heavens were peopled by fiction with gods, who were not gods in power. God identified with the universe made up a Pantheism: the vast immemorial forest, on which the settlers were ever encroaching, was peopled with ogres: holy men made a merit of retiring to these solitudes, and by a life of chastity, self-denial, prayer, sacrifice, and physical suffering, obtained such power as shook the gods in their celestial seats, and compelled them to have recourse to unworthy expedients of tempting these holy men to commit some breach of their asceticism in the society of lovely damsels sent by the celestials to tempt them. The kingdom of heaven was taken by violence. Fervent prayer had then, as in the minds of some excited fanatics still, the power of fulfilling itself. When poor Humanity deals with its relations with the Godhead, it is sure to lapse into some absurdity. Fancy and fiction, falsehood and credulity, had their full play with tales of miraculous fights with the ogres, who interrupted the sacrifices, the victory being followed by the descent of showers of heavenly flowers, the sounds of heavenly music, and the sight of heavenly dancers: thus we find ourselves in the Heroic period.

At whatever period the conception of any "avatâr" or "god in the flesh" was first arrived at, it marks a wonderful progress in religious development. There must be some deep truth underlying the strange intellectual phenomenon that God should descend from heaven, and assume the form of a creature for the purpose of saving the world. Such a notion was unknown to the Semite and the non-Aryan races, until in the fullness of time the Word was made Flesh. The Brahmanical system records nine such manifestations, the earlier ones being animals, or partly so, the later heroes, thus again marking progress. The tortoise was succeeded by the fish; the bear by the man-lion: then followed the dwarf who made the three great steps: the two Ramas, Krishna and Buddha: all were manifestations of Vishnu, and are therefore the creations of a period, when the worship of that deity had become paramount. With regard to the earlier avatârs, we can do nothing but speculate: but in the story of Parasu Ram we recognize the struggle and the victory of the priest over the warrior-class, and in Rama, the son of Dasaratha, we recognize a real person, who has undergone a double transformation, first into a legendary hero, and centuries afterwards into a powerful god. Bacchus and

Hercules certainly, and probably the other deities of Hellas and Latium mounted the same staircase. Our feet seem here to touch ground: we have arrived at something which resembles history—legend interwoven with religion, but with a large substratum of possible fact.

The grand epic poem, the *Ramayana*, gives the narrative of the life of this great hero. It has been remarked with truth, that both Rama and Krishna come before us in two capacities as men and gods, but that it is in a certain portion only of the two great poems that indications of the latter capacity appear; and that they have been added for the purpose of illustrating the divine character, as an incarnation of Vishnu, the fond idea of an after-age, and can be omitted without interrupting the flow of the heroic song. The mere mention of Rama and Krishna in an early book will not carry with it the admission of the early worship of these heroes as divinities; they were known characters in fabulous history, but later ages have elevated them, very much as by lapse of years the Virgin Mary has been growing into a divinity or something more than mortal, Joan of Arc into a saint, and the fancy of a future superstitious age might convert King Arthur and Roland into gods. We must treat them as they appear in the eyes and ears of the people, though it partakes of an anachronism. The great poem of the *Ramayana* has been followed by numerous other Sanskrit poems singing over again the same favourite strain. Not only have the Sanskrit vernaculars repeated the same story with variations, but the Dravidian poets have caught up the melody after their own fashion; and far away in Java, Bali, and Lompok, islands of the Malayan Archipelago, the same story is found, not servilely translated, but as original compositions in Kawi and Javanese. In the midst of all the rich confusion of ideas, where fancy runs riot in sonorous lines and harmonious polyphones; where the wild magnificence of the diction vies with the wild conception of which Oriental languages alone can be the sufficient and skilfully wielded exponent: in the midst of gorgeous descriptions of power, scenery, cities, and marvellous events, towers up the grand knightly form of the great national hero, whose idylls have not yet been written—a miracle of chastity, devotion, and self-abnegation.

In No. XLV. of this *Review*, twenty-three years ago, the writer of these lines gave a full account of this hero, tracing his steps from Ayodhya, the capital of his kingdom north of the Ganges, through the great and pathless forest, which then separated Northern from Southern India to Lanka or Ceylon, and identifying the geographical landmarks. These details lie outside our present object, which embraces the religious aspect of the narrative. Let us reflect on the lofty character which either existed or which

was conceived to have existed : how unlike what might have been anticipated : monogamy, chastity, filial obedience, conjugal fidelity, self-abnegation, self-control, humility, are not the ordinary characteristics of an Oriental hero. As regards the under-lying meaning of the legend there have been various interpretations : it may represent the struggle and victory of the Aryan over the non-Aryan races of Southern India, although of that struggle there are no traces in Dravidian literature : it may indicate the struggle of the Brahmanical party against the Buddhists, Jains, heretics and atheists : or it may mean the great mystery of the struggle betwixt good and evil : or, lastly, the struggle between Vishnu and Siva. Some would fall back upon the irrepressible solar theory, and in the giants and ogres see darkness or winter. We prefer to believe that such a hero really existed.

Unquestionably it has a reality with the people of India, both national and religious. In it we find the germs of the religious conception of *bhakti* or Faith, the reliance of the worshipper on the tutelar divinity for protection, the origin of the ordinary social salutation of the people, a component part of a large portion of their names, and finally the motive of their greatest national festival. In the aurora of all religions, the theatre, which at a later period is so far separated from all connection with the worship of the divinity, is intimately associated with, and is part and parcel of, the idea of Devotion. Thus annually in every city, and in every cluster of villages, this popular legend is enacted by living actors in the eyes of a sympathetic, devout, and exulting people. Temples and shrines are scattered over the land. The art and zeal of the statuary, the poet, the painter, and the priest, have vied with each other to extend the worship of Rama and Sita, and through them of the great member of the Second Triad, Vishnu. The legend no doubt developed in the hand of the chronicler, very much after the manner of the legend of Arthur and the *Chanson de Roland* in mediæval Europe, but it was to the absorption of this legend into the service of religion at a comparatively late date, that it owes its wide expansion : and how this came about we have no information : that it is post-Buddhist, and therefore after the Christian era, there is no doubt.

Measuring by the gauge of religious development, there must have been a considerable interval betwixt the promulgation and acceptance of the dogma of the avatâr of Vishnu as Rama, and the avatâr of the same deity, as Krishna. Both were of the warrior class : both were earthly potentates : to both were ascribed miraculous powers, and martial prowess ; but one was the type of virtue and modesty, the other of licentiousness and

shameless immoralities. The hand of the priest appears more clearly in the latter legend; and the conception of Faith, or *bhakti*, is largely expanded, and with it comes Love: Love spiritual as well as earthly. If chance be the leading feature of Saivism, and duty of Rāma, love, an ocean of love, is the element in which Krishna reigns. He is the god present in many places at once, the object of the love of thousands, the satisfier of that love, while each thinks that that love is special and peculiar. No one can read the Gita Govinda, the Indian song of songs, and the Bhagavad Gita, the grandest effort of unassisted human intellect, without feeling that he is entering into a new order of ideas, and has advanced in the diapason of the human intellect far beyond the Vedic, the Philosophic and the Heroic Periods.

The documents, from which we are informed of this great personage, are the great heroic poems, the Mahabharata, the Bhagavat Purana, the Gita Govinda of Jayadeva, and many other works going over the same ground. The portions of the great poem which relate to Krishna are manifest interpolations of a much later date. The war betwixt the kindred tribes, which took place on the banks of the Saraswati in the Punjab, was probably anterior to the story of Rama, where we find the Aryans settled peaceably far down in the valley of the Ganges. There may have been a chief of the name of Krishna engaged in the conflict, but he is represented as sovereign of Dwarka on the shores of the Indian Ocean in the Peninsula of Kattywar, south of the Vindya range. His historic period may have been 1300 B. C., but his apotheosis cannot date earlier than 700 A. D., and was clearly surrounded by an atmosphere of controversy. We see his superiority asserted over every other deity, and each in his turn is exposed to ridicule and defeat: Siva and Brahma, his partners in the new Triad, Agni, Indra, Varuna, and Yama, the old Vedic deities, are all placed at a disadvantage in the legends composed to elevate the worship of Krishna. The attack upon Indra seems to have been specially an intellectual movement, a rebellion against the worship of the elements. At that stage of human progress the hearts of the worshipper seem to yearn for a personal deity. Indra could at the best only punish or protect in this world, but the new religious conception could protect in a world beyond the grave. The Egyptians had arrived at this idea of Osiris two thousand years earlier.

The question as to the degree in which the Judæo-Christian religious tenets, and the Brahmano-Buddhist, operated upon each other in the ante-Mahomedan period, requires to be handled with great severity of judgment, and by a cold, impartial mind. That they fell within the same periods of history, and that contact was possible in the time of the Ptolomies, and subsequently, is

beyond all doubt. The early navigation of the Red Sea, the Persian caravans from the Euphrates to the Indus, might have imported, or exported, doctrines, thoughts, and ideas which cannot be forgotten, words, which once spoken live for ever, as well as articles of Oriental and occidental product. But on which side was the balance of exchange? Much learning has been wasted in this great controversy. There is a resemblance between Krishna and Bacchus, between Krishna and Apollo, the lord of life, of poetry and light, the object of admiration of love-stricken maidens; between Krishna and Hercules and Orpheus, and a strange and weird congruity of circumstances exists in the legend of the Indian hero-god and—we speak with reverence—the Founder of the Christian religion.

It is possible that pictures of the Virgin Mother of God, and the legends of the false Gospels, may have reached India by means of the Nestorians, and details may by a subtle sympathy of religious consciousness have been incorporated in the nascent legend of the young Krishna. Indignation is felt as for an injury done against those who have asserted that the story of the Evangelists was borrowed from India, yet those who without a shadow of proof would have it that the Indian legend was derived from Syria, must not complain if the Brahmans turn the argument round, and point out how much of European paganism has been incorporated in Christianity. The Comparative Mythologists may probably derive the two kindred legends from the same common origin of the solar myth.

The resemblance of the names is fortuitous. There was an alleged necessity of Vishnu being again born in the flesh to rid the world of Kansa, king of Muttra on the Jumna, who became aware that a son of Vasudeva and Devaki would destroy him. He therefore imprisoned the parents, and slew their first six children: but Destiny was not thus to be baffled, and the seventh was miraculously transferred from the womb of his mother to that of another woman, and born as Bala Rama; while the eighth, Krishna, so called because of his dark hue, was by the favour of the gods, in spite of walls and guards and rivers, conveyed by his father to the care of the wife of Nunda a shepherd, whose child was conveyed back in exchange. The child was thus brought up in a stable and among shepherds. In the legend there is mention of a star, and a payment of tribute. Then followed the attempts of Kansa to destroy the young infant, followed by miraculous feats, and a most lascivious youth, in which Krishna surpassed Solomon, if not in his wisdom, at least in the number of his wives. Add to this that he raised the dead, not a usual type of Indian miracles, cured a deformed hunchback, and removed the stain of sin by a single look. The Bhagavat Gita has been curiously analysed,

and numerous passages selected as manifest loans from the Evangelists. It is forgotten by such critics that mere coincidences of language go for nothing, and coincidences of thought may be explained by reflecting on the common fount of Oriental maxims, and ideas, and conceptions, which can be traced back to a period long anterior to the Christian era.

Others have traced in the legend the struggle of the Brahmanical system against the Buddhists, or of the Vajshnavists against the Saivites. Others have found in the strange license a reaction against the severity of Buddhist manners. The lascivious and carnal fancy of the poet dwelt on the love of the shepherdesses to their lord, while the more cautious theologians asserted that these shepherdesses were but incarnations of the Vedic hymn. The song of Jayadeva is strangely parallel to the Song of Solomon, and the instructed reader is expected to understand by Krishna the human body, by the shepherdesses the allurements of sense, and by Radha, the favourite, the knowledge of divine things; or the whole is said to be an allegory of God and Prayers, the human soul and the Divine Being typified in the lover and beloved. Amidst the mysticism of the Sufees, and such approximation of good and evil, it requires to advance with a very firm step, and with such doctrines in the sanctuary, disguised under the semblance of heavenly love, we may expect to find the greatest licentiousness among the ignorant multitude, every Anoman abomination, and a justification of admitted crimes committed by a divinity under the convenient theory of illusions or *mayā*. The downfall of morals, religion and conscience, is not then far off.

Perhaps something of the same character has wandered through all religious history, and crops out in the allegories of the bridegroom, and the espousal, and the dreams of young women like St. Catherine and St. Agnes, that they are espoused to their Lord, and the same feeling underlies the idea of nunneries. The Pīemsāgar of Krishna is but the Ocean of Love of Keble,—Love is Heaven and Heaven is Love: there is a bitter and dangerous contrast of word and sense, and more dangerous among an Oriental people. We read the lines of Sadi, the Persian poet, with startled amazement when we are told that the wine cup and the sweetheart represent something so totally different from their usual meaning—the Hebrew prophets are not free from these dangerous ambiguities and figures of speech. The incongruous mingling of things human and divine is for less felt in Greek mythology, for the Indian theologians had worked out such sublime ideas of the Divinity, that the conscience is shocked when a justification is put in for the gross immorality of God incarnate in the flesh, by the assertion that the actions of Vishnu must be believed and

his mode of procedure not questioned, as it was a mystery, and the Supreme Being could not be liable to sin—blasphemy can go no greater lengths than this—and we shall see the consequences in the vagaries of the Vallabhas.

But the conception of Faith was marvellous as illustrated by the story in the Vishnu Purana of the sage, who having gone through certain stages of transmigration could recollect the events of a preceding birth, and remembered also immediately after his last death, as he lay half-conscious, overhearing the King of Death charging his servants not to lay their hands on any who had died with faith in Vishnu.

“Touch not, I charge thee, any one,
 “Whom Vishnu has let loose :
 “On Madhu-Sudan’s followers
 “Cast not the fatal noose.
 “For he who chooses Vishnu
 “As spiritual guide,
 “Slave of a mightier lord than me
 “Can scorn me in my pride.”
 “But tell us Master,” they replied,
 “How shall thy slaves descry
 “Those, who with heart and soul upon
 “The mighty lord rely.”
 “Oh ! they are those who truly love
 “Their neighbours :—them you’ll know,
 “Who never from their duty swerve,
 “And would not hurt their foe.”
 “Such were the orders that the King
 “Of Death his servants gave :
 “For Vishnu his true followers
 “From death itself can save.”

It is singular that the authors of the Bhagavat Gita should have selected the middle of the battle as the moment for conveying instruction on the highest philosophic topics that man can conceive, and still more singular that in the *Chanson de Roland* in the middle of a fight betwixt Roland and his antagonist, the monkish author influenced by the spirit of his age and order interpolates a long theological discussion.

We have been compelled to treat the heroic and divine conceptions of Rama and Krishna together, carefully guarding that there was a lapse of ten centuries at least betwixt the two conceptions, and in that interval appeared on the stage a man greater than them, the greatest of mortals that ever trod the earth. He was known to his contemporaries and successors by the names of Sakya, Siddhastha, Gautama, Tathagata, and Buddha : he was of the War-

rior tribe, and the son of a king in Transgangetic India: his date is fixed by general consent at about B C. 622. No man has left a deeper footprint on the sands of Time. His followers and the believers in his doctrines count by millions, far beyond the number of Christians or Mahomedans, and are spread over the whole of Further Asia, including Ceylon, Burmah, Tibet, Siam, Cambodia, Cochin China, China, Mongolia, Manchuria, and Japan; though totally expelled from the country which gave him birth, after a domination of several centuries. Buddha invented, or at least first openly practised, universal propagandism by argument, destroying caste, setting aside the priesthood, ignoring the Vedas and all the sacred books, abolishing sacrifice, dethroning the gods from heaven, appealing to the highest ideal of morality, holding out as an incentive the absorption into the deity. He was in fact the apostle of nihilism, and atheism; for behind the preceptor there is nothing, and beyond death there is nothing but extinction. A literature so voluminous has been handed down in Sanskrit, Pali, Tibetan, Burmese, Peguan, Siamese, Cambodian, Annamese, Shan, Javanese, Chinese, and Mongolian, that another generation must pass away ere an adequate conception can be formed of its contents. Akin to Buddhism, but whether anterior, or subsequent to, Buddhism, there has lately sprung up a great controversy, is Jainism, with a literature of proportions equally colossal, and as imperfectly known; and the brain reels under the burden of unravelling all that has become entangled, and comprehending all the cobwebs that the subtle intellects of generations of men have spun! The Jains appear to have had their career of supremacy in Southern India, but they have dwindled away to an inconsiderable sect: they admit caste, and if they abandon their heresy, can be admitted back into full privileges, from which they are only partially excluded. They carry the respect to animal life to very extravagant lengths.

It is difficult to disconnect the historical facts from the legends which have grown round the fascinating story. Fortunately we have documents which by their abundance, and character, are above suspicion of fabrication. We have inscriptions on pillars and rocks of a date not later than 300 B. C., and we have two distinct families of written documents, the separation of which must have taken place before the Christian era, but which can both be traced back to Magadha, or Behar, where Buddha lived and died. The northern school is in the Sanskrit and Tibetan languages, as when the reaction of Brahmanism took place, the Buddhist fled to the adjoining mountains of Nepal, whither by an irony of fate they were followed by the Brahmans flying in their turn from the Mahomedans. The southern school is in the Pali language, the Magadhi Prakrit, in which the knowledge

of the tenets was conveyed to Ceylon, where the religion still flourishes, whence it has spread to the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, though here also there exists a controversy. No Religion is fortified by such a multiplicity and genuineness of documents as the Buddhist.

Buddha was a Rajput, son of the Raja of Kapilavastu, a State small in dimensions, somewhere betwixt Oudh and Gorakhpur and Nepal. His birth was accompanied by miracles, which are striking from their strange resemblance to Gospel story, though the event to which they are attached happened centuries earlier. They are striking also in themselves. We mention one only. Immediately after his birth the child took seven steps to each quarter of the horizon, using the following words: "In all this world I am very chief, from this day forth my births are finished." Up to the age of twenty-nine he lived a virtuous, but an ordinary life, married and had a son. One day in his drive he encountered an old man, and on inquiry was informed, that old age and decrepitude was the lot of all. On a second day he met a man oppressed with disease, and was informed that sickness was the lot of all. On a third day he met a dead body being carried out amidst mourning and lamentation, and was informed that death was the lot of all. Overwhelmed with the sense of the calamities of poor humanity, he returned to his palace, loathing its splendour and comfort, and dwelling on the mutability of human happiness. It is the old sad story, and is told in the different versions of the legends with romantic beauty, and in itself would form the theme of a poet, or the saw of a moralist. But Buddha was an actor, not a dreamer. Once again he went forth and met a beggar, serene of countenance, simple in habit, one whom the world had left, and who had left the world; who moved free from anger, lust, and sorrow, and in him Buddha recognized the type of his new development.

He left his father's house, and for fifty years he wandered about within a restricted circle. After much meditation he became a "Buddha," or "enlightened" and founded a new society. His peculiarity was that he adopted the method of itinerant preaching in the vernacular dialect to all classes without respect of caste. He admitted the existence of no God, and therefore abolished sacrifice, but instituted the practice of confession. There being no God, there could be no idol or image, or priesthood. His followers congregated in monasteries, with the power of leaving at pleasure, or being expelled for fault; which were entirely of a moral nature. Each year they itinerated to preach their doctrines; those who were unwilling to enter for the high prize of becoming Buddhas, could remain in the paths of ordinary life, practising virtue, and looking for higher things in a future birth.

At the age of 80 in the year 543 B. C., the great master passed away at Kusinagara in Behar. He died as he lived, conscious of the approach of death, in the midst of his disciples, and his last words were—"No doubt can be found in the mind of a true disciple, beloved; that which causes life, causes also decay and death. Never forget this; let your minds be filled with this truth. I called you to make it known to you." Such dignity in leaving life, as an office filled with honour, for the benefit of his fellow-creatures, will not fear a comparison with that of Socrates, or John the Evangelist.

After his death, councils were held to collect his precepts, and establish his church and propagate it beyond the confines of India. The volumes which contain his doctrines are known as the Tripitaka or the three baskets; the first being the Sutra, which contains the doctrinal and practical discourses; the second is the Vinaya, or ecclesiastical discipline; the third is the Abhidharma or metaphysics or philosophy. We may presume that as fixed by the council they have come down to us, as the entire separation of the northern and southern Buddhists has this advantage, that we are able to contrast the documents by critical juxtaposition. While free allusion is made to other of the Brahmanical deities, there is no mention of Krishna, which fixes the period. The foundations of his religion have been summed up in the very ancient formula, probably invented by the founder himself, which is called the Four Great Truths. I.—Misery always accompanies existence. II.—All modes of existence result from passions and desires. III.—There is no escape from existence except destruction of desire. IV.—This may be accomplished by following the fourfold path to Nirvana. These paths are the following: First comes the awakening of the heart; the second stage is to get rid of impure desires and revengeful feelings; the third and last stage is to get free from evil desires, ignorance, doubt, heresy, unkindliness, and vexation, culminating in universal charity.

How it came to pass that this passionless, hopeless, form of atheistic morality should have touched the heart-strings of one-fifth of the human race is a great mystery: it is as if the Bible consisted of the single Book of Ecclesiastes. "Vanity, vanity," said the Preacher, "all is vanity." And yet the world is a beautiful world, and the faculties of man are capable of goodness and greatness and virtue, and the immortality of the soul seems to be an inherent idea of mankind. At any rate, whatever opinion we may form of this strange system which has taken such very deep root in the affections of men, there can be no doubt, that Buddha stands out as the greatest hero of humanity, and that the more that mankind are made acquainted with this exalted type of what the human race can unaided attain to, the better it will be.

There are strange analogies betwixt Buddhism and its founder, and Christianity. We mark the same progress of the human intellect in the total abolition of sacrifices. When Brahmanism recovered its power, the old method of vicarious sacrifice, except in very rare instances, was not renewed : it was felt that this conception had had its day. In Mahomedanism it totally disappeared. We then come to the wonderful fact that Buddhism, like Christianity, was totally and entirely expelled from the land which gave it birth ; to the genius of which it was not adapted. The questions may fairly be raised : was Buddhism expelled ?—when was it expelled ? It is more probable that strict Buddhism relaxed in India, and that Brahmanism modified 'itself by the wonderful assimilation of contact. Buddha was himself promoted to the position of an avatâr of Vishnu. In the seventh century the Chinese traveller found the two cults side by side, as they are now, in the Island of Bali. Traces of assimilation of cult and adaptation of temples and idol-forms are found in many places. At length it ceased to be the State-religion ; then the popular feeling set against it ; Sankara Acharya rose to preach the worship of Siva and the new conceptions. The irreconcilables fled to Nepal ; the worship died out : we have no distinct record of what happened, but the deserted monasteries and temples of Ajunta show no signs of wanton destruction. The cult or rather persuasion totally disappeared in the seventh century of the Christian era, and there is hardly one indigenous Buddhist in India. The Buddhism of Bokhara and Cabul gave way to the worship of Zoroaster, but in those countries in which there had been no taker of Bramanical civilization, the triumph of Buddhism was complete. No doubt it underwent great modifications from contact with indigenous Paganism. It was spiritualized into Lamaism in Tibet ; degraded into Shamaism in Central Asia ; blended with Confucianism in China, and fossilized into a dead idolatry in Ceylon and Burmah. The story of Buddha by a strange freak of fortune appears as St. Barlaam and St. Josaphat in the legends of the saints of the Roman Catholic Church : but no religion has done more good work for the improvement of the human race than Buddhism. What Christianity did for Europe, this strange dogma did for the regions of Further Asia ; elevating mankind and driving out or modifying abominable pagan customs.

One strange doctrine, which does not date back to the Vedic period, but which was the intellectual outcome of a later period, lived through the Buddhist into the Neo-Brahmanical system. We alluded to that of the transmigration of souls. It is more hopeful than the doctrine of Faith, which ruled the earlier world. Under the influence of this doctrine, a man who is poor, afflicted, and unfortunate, is not so, because cruel hard Fate has so decided, and because he has no remedy, past, present, or future. On the con-

trary, he feels that his present state is the result of his moral delinquencies in a past life, for which he is atoning, and though he cannot change the present, he is master of the future, and by a good life he can secure being born again in a better state. All the Philosophic schools agree in this, no one was hardly enough even to question the doctrine. The Buddhist, who denied every other of the Proto-Brahmanical doctrines, admitted this; and yet it is not a self-evident problem of the human mind, and no European intellect, however debased or uninstructed, could be induced to accept it. It is, however, the faith of one-fifth of mankind. Accepting this doctrine the schools of Indian Philosophy proceed to inquire in their own way how this painful wandering of the soul from body to body can be terminated, and *moksha* or liberation be attained. Not to exist, is then the highest reward. It was in fact an attempt to solve the hard puzzle: why in this world the wicked are so exceedingly prosperous, and the righteous so mysteriously oppressed: how came it to pass, unless it had reference to causes which arose in a previous existence, and led to consequences which will develop themselves in a future. The immensity of the intellectual contrast between the followers of the Mahomedan and Brahmanical system can only be grasped, when the Semite conception of the immortality of the soul is placed side by side with that of Transmigration, with eventual absorption or Nihilism.

We come now to the development of the second Triad: Brahma, the creator, Vishnu, the supporter, and Siva, the destroyer. There is an artificial law about this arrangement, and it is clearly a theoretic compromise. Brahma goes for nothing: he has but one or two temples, and scarcely a worshipper. The Brahmanical religion in its post-Buddhist stage is a congeries of parts derived from several very discordant systems. Fashion and taste have their play. Some prefer Siva, some Vishnu: a third party import a female element—a “*Dieu Mère*”—representing that expression of religious feeling, which is gratified by rendering semi-divine honours to the Virgin Mary. Such was the case in the old heathen world: Egypt, Helms, Syria, contributed gods, as Spain, Italy, and France now contribute saints to the fervent adoration of a superstitious populace. Nations still hunger after their local saint as they do after a national flag. In this manner was developed a wife for each of the second Triad: Saraswati or the goddess of eloquence for Brahma: Lachmi or Sri, the goddess of fortune, for Vishnu; and for Siva the multifarious and awful consort, known as *Devi*, Kali, Gauri, Uma, Durga, Parvati, Bhawāni—entailing a depth of degradation at the brink of which we pause.

Siva-worship is alluded to by Megasthenes, and must, therefore, date back to a period anterior to Buddhism, though unknown to the

Vedas. The Brahmins may have offered it, but the popular current was too strong. We know as a fact, that at the time of Mahmud of Ghazni there existed twelve celebrated Lingam shrines, one of which was Somnath, which was destroyed by that Iconoclast. The Lingam or Phallus, with its usual accompaniment, is now the universal and sole emblem of Siva-worship. But there is an uncertainty whether the connection of the two always existed. Some have asserted that the cult was of non-Aryan origin; but to this it is replied, that no trace of it is found in any existing non-Aryan people, and that there is no proof of such a derivation. There is nothing indecent, meant or understood, in this symbol: no rites of a lascivious or degrading character are necessarily connected with the stone idol. We have the same worship in Egypt and Hellas, and Egyptologists have traced the Obelisk to the same source. The symbol appears among the Egyptian Hieroglyphics without any reserve, or evil intent: in fact, it was part of the great nature-worship. The worshippers of Siva, though found all over India, predominate in the south, where the cult was re-established by Sankara Acharya on the expulsion of the Buddhists, about the 8th or 9th century. The worship was, as above stated, antient; but just as the hero-worship of Rama and Krishna developed into Vaishnavism, even so is the revival of the worship of the Linga developed into Saivism. The worship of the Tulsi plant and Salig Ram stone occupied a prominent position with the Vaishnavites. The two worships of rival, independent, supreme and omnipotent deities, were not necessarily mutually antagonistic, though they became so in the heat of ignorant partizanship; and in the inflated language of the rival Puranas we find Arjuna described as addressing a silent prayer to Siva, and then fixing his inflexible faith on Krishna. It is some time before a single preference for a particular divinity, analogous to the liking of a Roman Catholic to a particular saint, passes to the assertion that the particular divinity is the supreme and only God. The female principles, or Sakhtis, were a still further and grosser development, especially with regard to Durga, the reputed wife of Siva, and set forth in the Tantras, of which we have no perfect knowledge, except that there is much that is degrade and obscene. The progress of degradation had become rapid. The study of the Vedas had become quite neglected: a repetition of meaningless words was the extent of their study: all-sufficient faith in the popular divinity took the place of knowledge, ritual and morality. If we wonder at the constant change of dogm and practice, we must reflect that it would have been most wonderful if, contrary to the order of human affairs, it had stood still. The pantheism of the Proto-Brahmanical period was degraded into a polytheism in the Neo-Brahmanical period.

There was a time in the world's history, when Christianity might have spread into India, had the Eternal Disposer of human affairs so willed it, either through the means of political domination, or evangelical preaching. It cannot be too often asserted by the philosophic historian or too deeply pondered over by the right-minded theologian, that Christianity was, and is, the religion of the great Roman Empire, and those countries, which have received their civilization therefrom; and nothing more, whatever other may have been the design or assertion of its Syrian propagators. In the time of the Antonines, it soon became clear that the *rive Tigris* must be for ever the furthest limit of the Roman Empire. The religion of Zoroaster imposed an impassable barrier to Christianity, but a few centuries afterwards disappeared like burnt hay before the flaring meteor of the dogma of Mahomet. Thus India never had the chance of becoming Christian by political domination. A second chance was afforded by the peaceful efforts of the Nestorian missionaries, who found themselves unable to do for the far east what the Buddhist missionaries accomplished, and unable to stand up against the new development of Saivism and Vaishnavism. The opportunity was a good one. The Brahmanical system had been shaken to its foundations, and somehow or other the Buddhist system had not taken root. It was a time of shaking of old foundations and of embracing of new ideas, and the friends of civilization and humanity must regret that such gross and debased conceptions as those of the Vaishnavist Krishna, and Saivite Lingam, should have prevailed. It must be recollected that they were born of the soil, were cast in the mould of the sentiments of the people, intertwined with their heroic legends, pressed on by an hereditary priesthood. We have not yet made ourselves sufficiently masters of the secret springs of the world's history, to be able to analyse the motives and circumstances, which render the adoption by a nation of a new faith possible or impossible. China, Indo-China, and the Far East accepted the religion which India rejected. Europe accepted that Christianity which Asia and Africa would not allow to remain within their boundaries. The doctrines of Mahomet swept over the Eastern world, took captive the Islands of the Indian Archipelago, but never took root in Europe. No foreign religion has ever taken root in India, or acted upon the masses of the Aryan people since the time of the immigration of the Vedic fathers: the Mahomedan population of India consists either of domiciled aliens, or non-Aryan converts.

There was a time also when the sister religion of the Iranian people might have spread into India. We have stated above how that the two nations were branches from the same root, that the languages and religions were near akin. The genius of the

Iranians preferred ethical conceptions, and moral ideas to the grosser and more material conceptions of the Indians, who worshipped the elements of nature. Still further refined by Zoroaster, it became the purest of all the early cults, and most akin to that of the Jews; and the kindness of Cyrus and Darius to their Semite subjects is attributed to their recognition of the resemblance of their views on religious subjects, though doubtless the Jews would not have admitted the resemblance. Many centuries afterwards a remnant of the Fire-worshippers escaped from the persecutions of the Mahomedans and took refuge in India, taking with them their sacred books and ancient faith, though they subsequently lost their language. The name of Parsee is synonymous in India with wealth, and energy, and respectability; but their faith has never extended, and their religion is entirely devoid of propagandism. The same remark applies to the Jews, of whom there are in India ancient settlements, but they have never made the slightest impression on the country.

But while the Christian and the Fire-worshipper and the Jew neither attempted nor were able to introduce a foreign religious element into India, either by domination or persuasion, a bright light suddenly sprung up from Arabia, and illumined the whole of Western Asia and North Africa as far as the Pillars of Hercules. The doctrine promulgated was so simple, that it could be understood at once, never forgotten and never gainsaid, so consonant to the unassisted reason of man, that it seemed an axiom, and so comprehensive, that it took in all races and ranks of mankind. "There is no God but one God." Simple as was the conception, no Indian and no Iranian had arrived at it: there were no longer to be temples, or altars, or sacrifices, or anthropomorphic conceptions, but a God incapable of sin and defilement—merciful—pitying, King of the Day of Judgment, one that hears prayers and will forgive so long as the sun rises from the East, a God not peculiar to any nation or language but God of all—alone, omnipresent, omniscient, omnipotent. Much of this was borrowed from the Jews and Christians, but had never been so enforced, had never been so extensively and enduringly promulgated in such gleaming phraseology.

There had passed twelve hundred years since the birth of Buddha. Mahomet was born in historical times, and laid no claims to powers of working miracles or to divinity: he was a preacher and wrote the Koran. It cannot be supposed that such a mighty actor could have appeared on the theatre of the world without the special design of the Almighty. The promulgation of his doctrines, 622 A. D., is one of greatest landmarks in history. Human sacrifices, idolatry, abominable customs, savage rites, cannibalism, sank before the approach of Islam. In the wholesale abuse heaped

upon every religion by Christian authors, it is forgotten how much the cause of civilization has been advanced by every one of the great book-religions ; how low and degraded are the pagan races, even to this day, who have not come under their influence. About 1000 A. D., Mahomedanism reached India, accompanied by the sword ; and its history is well known. The sword has long been sheathed, but the religion has extended peacefully over the Non-Aryan races on the skirts of India. In the Government of Bengal millions have accepted civilization and the great leading dogma of Mahomet, in spite of all the extravagant absurdity of the Mahomedan hell and heaven. There is found in Islam an expression of an everlasting truth, a rude shadow of the great spiritual fact, and beginning of all facts—"the infinite nature of Deity ;" that man's actions never die, or end at all : that man with his little life reaches up to Heaven, or down to hell, and in his brief span holds an eternity fearfully and wonderfully hidden. It has been given to this religion to reach countries and districts to which the Christian faith never has reached. The Arab merchant carries it backward and forward in the deserts of Africa, giving it to black races as the first germ of civilization ; the Malay pirate carries it to the cannibals and savages of the Indian Archipelago, and tells them of the equality of man, the abolition of priest-craft, the certainty of a day of judgment. In Western China it has established itself and has been struggling against Buddhism for empire. It may have lost its potential vitality, but not its truth. Without any attempt at forcible proselytism or any missionary exertion, it receives large additions, for there is nothing in its simple formula to stagger reason, or make large demands on intelligence and faith. It has supplanted dreadful superstitions, and many of its greatest blemishes may be traced back to the remnants of paganism, which cling to its skirts. We cannot close this brief account of the Religions of Brahma, Buddha, and Mahomet without recording our opinion, that they have been benefactors to the human race, permitted by the Great Disposer of human events to play their part in the education of mankind, teaching men the decencies of life, to cease from man-eating, and head-hunting, to live in houses and villages, and submit to the tie of matrimony and the duty to parents, to learn to till the soil, plough the ocean, and found royal states, build magnificent cities, and bequeath to posterity marvellous literature both as to quality and quantity.

Doubtless the very existence of the Mahomedan power and religion influenced for good the religions of the non-Mahomedan people : at any rate it was a standing protest against polytheism. We come now to the time of the Purans, which are sometimes called the Fifth Veda, and the Sects. The Purans are unmistake-

ably modern works, compiled for a sectarian object, full of ignorance and conceit ; but we find in them extracts and references to older documents, as they existed as far back as the Christian era, and this gives them a value, independent of the fact of their having supplanted the Vedas in the affections of the people. The sects are either Vaishnavite or Saivite. The followers of Ramanuja and Mādhava, who lived in the 12th or 13th century, constitute the great Vaishnavite sect : they have two sub-divisions, which are worthy of notice as illustrating the marvellous coincidences of the efforts of the human intellect. These two branches of the same sect reproduce the controversy betwixt the Calvinists and Arminians. The one insist on the concomitancy of the human will for securing salvation ; the latter maintain the irresistibility of Divine Grace. Characteristically of India, the one adopts what is called the Monkey-argument—for the young monkey holds on to and grasps its mother to be conveyed to safety—and represents the hold of the soul to God. The other uses the Cat-argument, which is expressive of the hold of God on the soul—for the kitten is helpless, until the mother-cat seizes it and secures it from danger.

After Ramanuja, who lived in South India, came Ramanand, who settled at Benares. Both these were devoted to Vishnu in the person of Ram Chandra. Chaitanya founded a sect in Bengal devoted to Vishnu in the person of Krishna ; but the Vallabhacharya or Maharaj sect, devoted to Krishna in his boyish form, is worthy of a special notice. The spiritual preceptors of this sect have had the audacity to assert that they were themselves incarnations of the youthful Krishna, and burned with like passions and desires towards their votaries. Under the blind control of Faith this has led to the grossest immorality, which has been fully exposed in a late trial at Bombay, and the sound principle brought home to the people, that what is morally wrong never can be theologically right. Faith with works was the early cry, but Faith without works, or in spite of works, was the later cry, and degenerated into rank Arminianism.

Among the Saivite sects the most remarkable is that of the Lingaites, as illustrating the wonderful elasticity of the Brahmanical religious community. This sect was founded in the twelfth century by Basava, a native of the Deccan. They reject caste and Brahmanical authority, and all idolatry, except the worship of the Lingam, a model of which they carry about on the arm and tied to the neck. No Brahman officiates in such temples ; they deny the transmigration of the soul, do not burn their dead, and allow the re-marriage of widows. One of their peculiarities is the consideration shewn to women. They call themselves Jangam, and are abhorred by both Saivite and Vaishnavite. They dwell either in convents, or wander about as beggars. And yet in the

census they are enumerated as Hindus. The Basava Purana and other books detail their doctrines.

A still more remarkable sect in the north of India is that of the Sikhs of the Punjab. Indian reformers have ever been springing up, using the vernacular language of the people, and conveying prophetic messages in opposition to the Brahmanical priesthood. Their messages have generally been vague and unsubstantial, speculative rather than practical, making a deep but temporary impression upon the people. Some of them have, however, touched the sensitive chord of their countrymen, and led to the foundation of a new church and new civil polity. Of these Kabir and Nānak stand forth as examples. The one occupies the position of Irving, the other did the work and bore the fame of a Luther. Kabir was one of the twelve disciples of Ramanand, the Vaishnavite reformer, who in the fifteenth century, A. D., with unprecedented boldness assailed the whole system of idolatrous worship, ridiculed Brāhmans and the Vedas, and addressing himself to Mahomedans also with equal severity attacked the Koran. He was a man of the weaver caste, and some assert that he was a Mahomedan. Legends have gathered round him, one of which has an air of verisimilitude, that he vindicated his doctrines in the presence of Sikandar Shah. He left a sect behind him called the Kabir Panthes, who never obtained any great importance, though they have entirely withdrawn in the essential point of worship from the Brahmanical communion; and a voluminous literature in different dialects of the modern Aryan vernaculars, which made a great impression on the popular mind. He lived and died near Benares, the centre of Brahmanism, and his liberal doctrines never had fair play. Far other was the fate of his successor Nānak, who drank deep of his doctrine and quoted freely his sayings. He was born at Tulwandie, in the neighbourhood of Lahore, in the fifteenth century. The Emperor Bābar had there founded a new dynasty, and the Brahmanical system was crushed by the weight and impetus of a permanent Mahomedan polity in the Punjab, the very cradle of Vedic conception. In 1859, the writer of these pages with a loving hand narrated in this *Review*, in a paper on the Lahore Division, the life of the great founder of the Sikh religion, or rather Sikhi sect of the Brahmanical religion; following his steps from the village which gave him birth to the town where he died. Nānak may have attempted a fusion of the two great religions, but he certainly did in no way succeed. He may have wished to abolish caste, but he has failed. He appealed to the people in the vernacular, an archaic form of the Punjabi language, and his doctrines have come down to us in the *Adi Granth*, which has this last year been translated into English, and which by no means must be placed on a level with the Vedic or

Buddhistic books, and is far more modern than the Koran or the Puranas. He and his sect would probably have disappeared, had not the unwise persecution of the Mahomedans lashed his followers into madness; who under his spiritual successor in the tenth degree, Govind Singh, founded a new religious and civil polity, the temporal glory of which has now passed away, and the angles of the sect are rubbing off under the peaceful influence of an accommodating and absorbing Brahmanism.

The even pressure of our overpowering foreign Government, which neither condescends to persecute, nor to sympathise, is not favourable to the development of new sects, even of a peaceful and doctrinal nature: all that is indecent, or cruel, or disturbing of civil order, is quietly stamped out. The Sikh enthusiast has disappeared under the entire freedom of latitudinarianism: the Wahabees, or Mahomedan reformers, are put down because they disturb the peace of the Empire: the roving bands of pious beggars, who might have developed new avatárs, are dispersed by an unsympathising Police: the withdrawal of endowments impoverishes local institutions for supporting lazy religionists. No one who has lived among the people can have failed to remark with interest and respect the conventual establishments, scattered about the country; playing the part of the monasteries in Europe in the Middle Ages. We find the small grant of land from the State, the shrine, the home of the Abbot, and his spiritual disciples, the hall for the reception of strangers, and some scanty educational and medical appliances. Of these the Bairágis are the most respectable, and present a striking contrast to the disgusting Sanyási, and the ferocious Nihung. We have often lodged in their neighbourhood, and found scant learning and piety, but much urbanity, and the appearance of a quiet, moral and unoffending community. We were once asked by an aged Bairági, who was counting his beads and repeating his prayers, whether we also worshipped any God, and of what nature he was. Their way of life is simple. Early in the morning they repeat by the riverside at sunrise the famous *Gayatri*, "Let us meditate on the sacred light of that divine sun, that it may illuminate our minds." This one link reaches over four thousand years, and connects them with their Vedic forefathers. Then comes the worship of the shrine, and the daily prayers, as degraded as dogma and ritual can make them. So little do these besetting sins of the human race differ in externals, that last year, at Troitya, near Moscow, when we saw the reverend Bairágis of the Russo-Greek Church go through their meaningless ritual, we felt that we knew what they were about from our experience of Brahmanical ritual in India.

Festivals and pilgrimages make up the greater part of the

religion of the vulgar. It may be laid down as an axiom that the more debased is the faith, the greater number will be the days dedicated to gods and saints, and the greater number of shrines to be visited. The Brahmanical calendar of deities and shrines was swollen by many loans from the non-Aryan local superstitious observances; and the fellowship of all mankind may be evidenced in the blessing of cattle at Rome on the day of St. Anthony, and the same ceremony at the Pongol festival of Trebeni near Madras.

Another singular resemblance startles us, in the appearance of the tenth and last avatâr with the predictions in the Revelations. At the end of the *Kâli Yuga*, when mankind has become hopelessly evil and the Veda is forgotten, and the average age of man has dwindled down to twenty-three, Vishnu will again appear in the flesh as Kalki, and be seen riding on a white horse with a two-edged sword in his hand; and as such, the vision is depicted, and has been seen by us on the walls of palaces and temples. He will destroy all that are not of the Brahmanical fold and reduce them to the paths of probity. It is fair to remark that this prophecy cannot be traced back to a period antecedent to the Mahomedan conquest.

In the south of India the Brahmanical religion did not extend to the lower classes more than in name; it is always difficult to find out how far a new cult has extinguished or uprooted its predecessor. It is notorious that in Java there is only a skin-deep Mahomedanism spread over the former religion: so in South India and India generally. The pilgrimages to *devis* and local shrines, tell an unmistakable tale; and in South India it is understood that the worship of Kali, the wife or female energy of Siva, is but an assimilation of a local *devi*: and in the great temple of Madura, side by side with Siva, is seated a local goddess, adopted from the non-Aryans by the astute Brahmins. In every village there is a *devi*, the remnant of their old cult; and from one remarkable temple we arrive at a date valuable in chronology for on the most southern point of India is a temple dedicated to one of the female energies of Siva, as Kûtnari, which is mentioned in the Periplus at a date not later than 200 A. D. and is now known as Cape Comorin. Beside this is the devil-worship, which is essentially the same as the ghost-worship of the western coast. The devil-dancer whirls round in frenzy, and, when under full control of the demon, is worshipped as a present deity by the bystanders and consulted with regard to their wants. Such was the Bacchantes, and the priests of Cybele, in older times. Of a kindred origin, and imported into the Mahomedan religion are the dervish-dancers, and the ceremonies of the Shamanites in North Asia. We find the old Adam cropping out in all the religions of the second stage. The Brahmanical religion is

spread like a thin veneer over all, but the old affections of the lower classes survive. Notoriously in Northern India the lowest classes, who have no place assigned to them in the Brahmanical system, have their own deities, and indeed are incorrectly called Hindus in the census. The great bulk of the residents of the Himalayan valleys are Brahmanical only in name; they are still nature-worshippers: every remarkable peak or lake or forest has its deity, to which sacrifices of goats are made: little temples abound, the keepers of which are not always Brahmaus, and such customs as polyandry exist.

But outside the Brahmanical fold are the millions of non-Aryan Pagans in Central India, and on the slopes of the Himalaya, who have been so strangely overlooked, as counted in the census as a kind of Hindu, with the grim irony by which we might imagine an Anabaptist reckoned as a Roman Catholic. For three thousand years they have fought a living battle against the Aryan immigrants, who have driven them from their ancient possessions, and have incorporated so many in the lower strata of their religious system. We are not informed as to the nature of their cult and ancient customs. Temples, priests, or literature, they have none; but from them we may imagine what the inhabitants of India were before the Aryan immigration. No doubt their days are numbered. Prosperity, education and civilization cannot co-exist with Paganism, and it will be an interesting sight to watch what proportion adopt the rival book-religions which are ready to receive them. Buddhism, Mahomedanism and Brahmanism have already absorbed thousands; it remains to see whether Christianity cannot enter the lists with success.

As the Jaina religion is an admixture of Buddhist and Brahmanical doctrines, and as the Sikh religion has the credit of being an attempt to blend Mahomedanism, and Brahmanism, so in these last days we have a new development, and an admixture of Christianity and Brahmanism which presents itself under the name of Brahmoism. We look with extreme sympathy and interest on those who, like Ram Mohan Rai, are tempted to try if they can remount the stream of time, and make a revival in the 19th century of the ethics and ritual of the Vedas. It is but an exaggerated form of the attempt of the Ritualist party in England to galvanize into life the sentiments of the Middle Ages, forgetting that time has passed on, and that the glass through which a religion is seen is the feeling of the age. But we have scant sympathy with those who, uniting with Unitarians, pillage freely the Divine Truths of the New Testament, and deny the Divinity of their Author; however, this is the latest and most interesting of the religious movements in India.

It may be asserted with confidence that through the long

animals of Vedic, Proto-Brahmanical, Buddhist, and Neo-Brahmanical periods, of the religion of India, independence of inquiry, extreme latitudinarianism, philosophic atheism, and unbounded tolerance have been the rule and the practice. We cannot but remark the eternal attempt to get rid of the trammels of caste: whether the reformers are Buddhist, or Lingaistic, or Sikh, the first social reform is to get rid of this artificial inequality, and to eat and drink together. In the shrine of Jagannâth, one of the great seats of the worship of Vishnu, no caste exists: for the time and place it is suspended. These facts are important subjects of reflection. Moreover, the lower and more degraded the caste, the stricter appear to be the caste-rules, and all breaches can be atoned by money-payments. The Sectarian and the Guru have always played the part of prophet in antagonism to the hereditary priesthood; and the modern conception of *bhakti* or faith to the spiritual adviser and to the special divinity, has accentuated this formidable liberality of sentiments, and this has been the case under most unfavourable circumstances. And now that education and entire freedom of thought and religion have become the inheritance of the people, and the veiled shrine of the Vedas has been exposed to view, we cannot but anticipate further expansion.

Let us reflect calmly and dispassionately what is our position as regards the followers of the Brahmanical religion. In our proud and insular seclusion we are too apt to look upon the professors of that religion as our inferiors, not only in accidental civilization, but in natural and intellectual capacity, and to brand as demi-savages a people who were highly advanced in civilization at a time when Julius Cæsar found the inhabitants of Britain still clothed in skins. In considering their shortcomings we must not measure them by the standard of the nineteenth century, but rather that of the sixteenth, when in Europe the floors were still strewn with rushes, and glass was rare: when printing was in its infancy, and spread of knowledge was checked by the absence of material; when Princes and Bishops rode through towns on jackasses, or were carried in litters on the shoulders of men; when he was considered a travelled man who had visited Paris, and a learned man who could read the Vulgate and write without much mis-spelling, and a wise man who could interpret the stars, and a just man who could sentence an old woman to death as a witch, and a dangerous man who dared to think for himself, and an irreligious man who denied the divine right of priests and kings, and the absolute perfection of the State religion. The strictures which are heedlessly passed on the natives of India apply with greater force to our ancestors. We indeed have only lately reached that level of Imperial toler-

ance in matters of religious belief which they if unmolested have ever professed and practised towards others, being by nature and by creed entirely free from the baneful lust of violent propaganda which has been the curse of the world since the break-up of the Roman Empire.

The consideration of religion from any point of view is an awful subject; one not to be lightly entered upon, nor superficially discussed. Not one person in a million chooses his own religion, or even his own distinguishing streak of a recognized persuasion. It is literally sucked in with his mother's milk; and the impression made upon his infant mind, still too weak to distinguish false from true, is made so deeply and durably, that nothing but a moral and intellectual convulsion, or deluge, can so shake or efface it as to give the judgment free play to choose again. These impressions are mixed up with the holiest ties of the family, and entwined with the golden thread of the affections. If we could catch the children of a nation alone, and remove them from the contact and influence of the elder generation, we might convert India in a quarter of a century. The profession of no faith can be thrown into the teeth of a believer as a scorn and reproach, for he is as his Maker and the circumstances which surround him in his infancy have left him. Nor is it a wonder that an ancient people should cling to the ritual of their ancestors, sanctioned by the observance of generations, and intimately connected with their household customs and their very existence.

We may be thankful ourselves for having been the recipients, or imbibers in infancy, of a faith of which we need not be ashamed in manhood, and to rest in which after the vagaries, the doubts, the intellectual longings of youth, are past and forgotten, we may turn back rejoicing. But we must not lightly tread on a religion, which existed long long before the great plan of human redemption was worked out: before the Mystery of Mysteries had been made clear to the understanding of the most unlearned: the written documents of which are anterior to the Psalms of David, and the professors and hearty believers of which and its developments exceed in number united Christendom. The reasons which still hold back such millions of souls from contemplating and believing what we confidently believe to be the only means of salvation, is one of those still-unrevealed mysteries which God only knows. We may well meditate on the words "when the fullness of time came," and ask "what fullness?" "for whom?" "for the whole world, or only the Roman Empire?" Why were the millions of India left out in the cold for so many centuries? At the time when the message came to Jews and Gentiles of Western Asia, there was no debased worship of Siva: the religion of the Brahmins was fresher, younger, and purer: the intellect of the

nation was in its youth, and more ready to receive impressions: it is too late, too late, they cannot enter now.

Nor should we despise that form of religion which inculcates on its professors the strict observance of outward form, and connects itself with the purifying of the person and the abstinence from things ceremonially unclean. Such was the snare of the elder religions of the world, and specially of the one which contained the seedplot of our own freer Faith. If the washing of pots and vessels, if the keeping of moons and festivals, if the purifying of the body, and the separation of tribes, were subjects not below the legislative consideration of the lawgiver of Mount Sinai for the instruction of the chosen people, we may spare the smile so ready to be raised by the contemplation of the minute observances of the devout Brahman. The sanction of ages and generations of such duration, that our annals are but as a span long in comparison, have given sanctity to these observances, and the inward spirit which they once possessed is not altogether gone.

It cannot escape the notice of those who think seriously of the subject how much the religion of a nation receives colour from the temperament of the people, their comparative state of advancement in knowledge and civilization, and, to a certain extent, the physical features of the country. The history of Christianity, past and present, may illustrate this assertion. However much it is the tendency of each age to consider their own views on the subject as final, and their conclusions as exhaustive, and the door closed upon all future inquiry, the coming age and future generation can laugh at such precautions; for by the law of progress each age will insensibly adopt its form, and remould its dogmas in the manner best suited to its present wants. We may fairly conclude that the advancement and degradation of the religious views of a people will follow their progress or falling back in general civilization; and as we can trace in the Vedas signs of a much higher and more elevated character than are now possessed, it may be true that the religion has deteriorated with the fall of the nation, and we may hope that their manifest advance in present civilization may in God's time lead to better things.

If the Brahmanical religion stuns us by its prehistoric antiquity, the Mahomedan surprises us by novelty: if the one religion repels by its cold immobility (which is, however, more apparent than real) the other awes by its avowed cosmopolitan propaganda. People talk of these two great faiths in one breath as pagan, forgetting that they are separated by a chasm of centuries, a dead wall of ideas, and the whole religious diapason. While we are disgusted with the idolatry of the Brahman, we are struck with the immaculate simplicity of the Mahomedan worshipper, who so many times a day proudly seeks

the presence of his Creator, bandies words with Him with a perfect belief in a future state, perfect ignorance of his own innate depravity, and need of a saviour, perfect confidence in the wisdom, power, and justice of God. We praise the vast tolerance of the Brahmanical system which, if left alone, will let all alone, and we censure the fanatic intolerance of the Mahomedan; forgetting that, until checked by rationalism and worldly policy, Christianity has been a greater offender.

And this faith is able to sustain under the trials of life and give peace at the last. A Pasha, degraded to poverty, said: "Allah is great and good: he gave all that he once possessed, and had a right to take it away." A son came to tell us of the death of his father who, when he felt that he was dying, held the Koran in his hand, covered his face with a sheet, and breathed his last with dignity and composure.

Mahomedanism has been deeply degraded by contact with the Brahmanical, Buddhist and Pagan religions, and local superstitions have grafted themselves on the exotic plant: but the Mahomedan never forgets that the inheritance of the world was promised to him; he remembers his past greatness, and looks with scorn at any attempt to reason him out of his convictions, and with eagerness at the prospect of making converts.

The young missionary who has been brought up in a complacent system of theology cannot comprehend this, but it is as well that at the outset he should try to do so.

The position of the non-Aryan pagans is different and more hopeful: they are much as our ancestors were when the first missionaries came from Rome to Britain in the time of the proto-martyr, St. Alban. Conscious of their inferiority to their neighbours, their ignorance, their savagery, their freedom from caste and any book-religion, they are willing to receive civilization and religion at their hands, and for centuries they have been slowly and insensibly moving on lines which must lead to Mahomedanism, Brahmanism, or Buddhism, according to their geographical position or the circumstances of the period. Thousands of their ancestors have preceded them on this process of peaceful absorption; here then there is room for the Christian missionary; a work for the simple earnest evangelist, who can bestow on a rude people the double blessing of civilization and Christianity.

We forget at what a great disadvantage this great people of India has been: no revelation came near them: they had to work out, unassisted, their own conceptions of right and wrong, solve the problem of a future state and judgment by the law that was in themselves. God, who, in sundry times and in divers manners, spake to other members of the Aryan and to the Semitic family never spake to them: they sate apart from the

great spirit-revival of the Augustan era. No message came to them, and they were left to themselves for another eighteen centuries. It is a mistake to suppose that a religion, which we are pleased to call false, necessarily arose from imposture or enthusiasm, or a combination of both. A more careful analysis of the origin of religion will show that other causes have helped, *viz.*, an honest hypothesis propagated to account for the great physical facts which surround us, for the mysteries of life and death, the idea of which presses on the thoughtful mind, and lastly a feeling after God : such an honest hypothesis strengthens the relaxed ties of moral duties by giving them a superstitious sanction, and satisfies the longing in the human heart to indulge in reverence and worship.

We owe our civilization to Christianity, and by its help we ceased to be savages. Through the dim light of the middle ages we look back with reverence, the result of the tradition of centuries, to Rome and Jerusalem. But the people of India have a civilization, and tradition, and literature of their own : they would ask the same question over and over again : "Why were we not told of these things thirty generations ago ? If they make up truth of universal application now, like the seasons and the celestial signs and life and death, why have so many millions lived and died without the chance of being saved ?" It is elevating to perceive how naturally devout the mind of man is : all old inscriptions in every country attribute worldly success to the favour of the gods : all the early religions appealed to the better side of human nature, and their essential strength lay in the elements of good which they contained. The footsteps of God can be traced in these early superstitions. No nation felt so earnestly after God, got so near him, as the Aryan. Poor unassisted human intellect felt its orphanage, and went groping painfully, devoutly, unceasingly, humbly, with a profound sense of sin and weakness, after its Creator : as far as we can judge from the documents, they were more worthy than the Jews of being the trustees of the oracles of God. A complicated and ancient religion, like the Brahmanical, is a congeries of human conceptions, human aspirations, human wisdom, and human folly. When closely examined, it appears to have its material and spiritual aspect, subjective and objective, pure and impure : it is at once vaguely pantheistic, severely monotheistic, grossly polytheistic, and coldly atheistic. The professors of this religion are proud, not ashamed, of their ancient worship. It satisfies their wants, and they do not wish to recommend it to others. They would say to the missionary : "Go to the cannibals, the dwellers in caves, the savages who eat raw meat, the men without temples and priesthood and literature and ritual and traditions : we have them all and are

“satisfied ; leave us in possession of an antient religion and civilization : if you have long lists of martyrs and saints, so have we ; if you have rituals, so have we—and of date compared to “which your oldest is as of yesterday.” As a fact no temple of any celebrity has been abandoned : vast sums have been expended on repairing old edifices and constructing new.

That Christianity in one of its forms, or in a new form, will eventually triumph, we cannot doubt : it has common sense, worldly wisdom, purity of morals, and elevated aspirations on its side ; it is in fact the highest development yet known of human wisdom, but it is sadly overlaid by the debris of the middle ages ; and if the grand old story is to be believed, a fresh start must be made from the Cross and the Sepulchre : the eternal truths of the Bible must be appealed to, not the perishable institutions of rival Churches. We await in wonder the effect of education, the press, and locomotion. Neither Brahmanism, nor Buddhism, nor Mahomedanism, nor the non-Aryan cults, have been exposed to the scorching glare of a dominant, hostile, and critical, civilization, until now. There can be but one issue of such a struggle for life. Brahmoism is but the advance guard, the first column of dust, which heralds the coming storm. Let us consider the consequences to the human intellect of the unveiling of the sacred books of India, Persia, and Egypt. Up to this time the scriptures of the Jews have had the monopoly of antiquity ; but we have now unquestionable evidence of the earliest risings of the human race, and we feel that we breathe a purer air where there is no priest-craft. We pity the thoughtful man who can have read the classic authors of Greece and Rome without feeling that man had made great progress in the path of morals, that Plato and Cicero, Juvenal and Seneca, had left us something worth giving before and independent of Christianity ; but now we have the full flood of Brahmanical, Buddhistical, Zoroastrian, Babylonian, Talmudic, and Mahomedan knowledge from independent sources. The translation of the Bible led to the Reformation : we may expect that the early documents of each religion will be studied : enquirers will consider the age, the spread, the dogmas of each religion, and the great question—how do they help men to live and how to die ? We are arriving nearer and nearer to the correct statistics of the population and religions of the world, and the sad thought oppresses us : Can it be that the Heavenly Father of all mankind, who numbers the hairs of the heads of his creatures, can have condemned such countless millions to uncovenanted perdition ; that not only has the one saving faith been never revealed to great regions, but large portions who once possessed it have been allowed to abandon it ?

We have passed that stage, when the people of India, or any

other non-Christian Asiatic people, can be painted in disgusting colours. Those who have lived a quarter of a century in intimate relations with them, know that they are neither better nor worse than Oriental and semi-Oriental Christian populations: there is the same proportion of rude domestic virtues, patriarchal simplicity, purity of morals, and respect for law and truth in the village communities, as is found elsewhere. The great towns in no part of the world are fair samples of a nation: if the lowest classes have failed to attain to a moderate degree of civilization or morality, we at least cannot throw stones.

What then will be the future of the Indian Christian Churches? That they will adhere to the narrow shibboleths of the Western Churches, no one who has pondered over the European development of Christianity can expect; and that is the great reason why the native and European Churches should be ~~separate~~ ^{separate}. The Church Missionary Society admits that oriental Christianity already shows signs of desiring for herself a Church with less of Anglo-Saxon rigidity, and modified to suit oriental notions. Lord Northbrook, the late Viceroy of India, expressed before another great Society in 1877 his opinion, that the people of India would work out some new development of the Christian religion: Professor Monier Williams, at the Congress at Oxford in 1877, expressed somewhat similar views, which we have ourselves long entertained. It will be well if the minor question of church-government only be opened. These new Christians will have the Bible in every vernacular, a thing unknown to the elder world, and it is possible that they may extract new truths, and re-mint, and re-coin, the solid ore, of which it is composed. We may expect new developments with a large admixture of Indian instead of Romanic and Teutonic heathen superstitions. In the *Church Missionary Intelligence* of February 1877, an apprehension is expressed of this danger; but if the new Christians cut back to the Bible, and use the same stones for their new fabric, what need of fear is there with regard to the mortar used for connecting the stones? If Christianity is the object, and not a particular church-system, it is well that the fabric should be built of indigenous, and not of foreign, materials, if it is to retain the attachment of the people; for the gift does not come to them, as to us, accompanied by the first germs of civilization and literature. Besides, the diversity of our own practice must engender still greater diversities in the native churches. Already we have a score of different forms of Christianity in India, and many of them mutually hostile forms; some, like that one represented by Mrs Carpenter, meeting Mahomedanism and Brahmanism on a common platform of the unity of the Godhead.

We have attempted to treat this great subject historically an

importantly; and we would invite to it the opinion of the young and that class of the educated classes. We can hardly picture to ourselves the existence of national life and civil polity without some form of belief, without some religious sanction to law! And yet where does the follower of the Brahmanical religion find himself? He has outgrown the geography, the history, the physical science, and religion of his forefathers. Education cannot co-exist with the observance of the ritual of religion in the degraded state at which it has arrived. All religion presupposes the idea of dealing with God face to face, the consciousness of weakness and sin, and the necessity of a rock higher than the suppliant. No mere animal ever got so far, and the most degraded types of humanity are found to possess some perception of such necessity. But the educated man must feel the necessity of a standard of virtue to assist him in fidelity, and some support in the hour of departure which he cannot avoid, and some hope in the future life, the existence of which he cannot deny. He must therefore make his choice.

In British India the missionary of every sect moves about with a freedom and security unknown in any other part of the world. No uncontrolled populace molests him in any way: no penalty attaches to conversion: the life led by Christians is the great stumbling block against the acceptance of Christianity: little there is seen of the new life which the inquirer is solicited to begin. The missionary should have knowledge of his own religion: not merely the Church-system and party-cries, but of the great story how Judaism sprang out of Semitism, how Christianity sprang out of Judaism, how it assimilated Aryan and non-Aryan elements, shook off its Semitic form, and became a great Aryan faith, based on monotheism, salvation by a mediator, and monogamy. Next to this knowledge he must have an accurate knowledge of the citadel which he intends to storm, whether Brahmanical, Buddhist, Mahomedan, or Pagan: next to these qualifications comes the grace of charity. The excited prophet denouncing the wicked city, and telling his hearers (as we have heard) that their gods are cow-dung: the one-sided moralist who inveighs against immorality as a speciality of the people of India, forgetting Europe: the chatterer about railways and telegraphs, and accidental civilization, will not convert men's hearts. It may fairly be assumed that all believe in a future state, all recognize the abstract advantage of virtue, and all seek salvation, that is to say if they think at all: if they do not think, they must be roused, not by abuse or contentious argument, not by boasting of European civilization and power (for the Gospel was true when all that was wise and powerful was against it); but in love, and earnestness, and truthfulness, the way must be shown.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

1.—VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Nishfala Tara. Written by Srimati Tarangini Dasi, resident of Konnagar, and published by Bhuban Mohun Ghosh. Calcutta : Printed at G. P. Rai and Co.'s Press, No. 21, Bahubazar Street. 1284 B. S.

THIS is a very curious and interesting little work. It is interesting for the simple reason that it is written by a young Hindu girl. Female authorship is such a rare thing in this country, that any instance of it, whether successful or unsuccessful, promising or unpromising, cannot fail to excite immense public interest, and possesses a significance as striking as the rarity of the phenomenon itself. An educated Hindu girl is yet something of a phenomenon or marvel in this country. For who does not know that, in spite of girls' schools and zenana-teaching, and *Banabodhini Patrikas*, and a dozen other means, appliances, and contrivances in Calcutta and elsewhere, the proportion of educated to uneducated Bengali girls can only be indicated by a fraction whose numerator must be 1 and denominator one of those dreadful figures used by astronomers to express planetary distances? But if to be simply educated is to be in such an infinitesimal minority, what must it be to become an authoress? Nothing short of being in a still more infinitesimal minority—of being lost, in fact, in another fraction, whose denominator must be something like the denominator of the first fraction multiplied by itself! Now, the arithmetic of society is an index to its tone, tune, and temper, and hence the peculiar interest attaching to publications like the one under notice.

We have also called *Nishfala Tara* a very curious work. And is it not a really curious sight to see a young educated girl throwing herself into the condition of a disappointed and broken-hearted lover of her own sex and age, and uttering, as if to herself and in a solitude of her own creation, those mysterious thoughts and sentiments and yearnings which unrequited love so seldom confesses to a profane and unsympathetic world? Woman's heart is a sealed box, which nothing on earth can open except her own sovereign will and pleasure. In this instance it has been opened by Srimati Tarangini Dasi. And that is why we call this work a curious one.

We are, however, sorry to say that we have not found much in this work which a woman alone could have given us. Srimati

Tarangini does not seem to speak from her heart. The language of the heart is always easy and unadorned ; it is free from mannerism ; it is devoid of laborious art. But Srimati Tarangini's language is studied, artful, instinct with the spirit of mannerism, sometimes even conceited. It is not a woman's language, and is owing, we fear, to the mischievous fascination exercised over youthful minds by a style of writing which now and then offends our tastes in the pages of that excellent periodical the *Banga Darsan*. Srimati Tarangini is really a promising writer, and success is sure to crown her literary efforts if she only throws away all meretricious models of style set by persons who do not belong to her sex, and seeks a style in her own true woman's heart. Her *Nishfala Tara*, with all its faults, indicates much mental power.

There is in this work a short essay on Progress, from which we make the following translation : " Everybody admits that Bengali society has made much progress. But before this is admitted, the point which should be considered is, in what way has Bengali society progressed. Society is formed by both men and women. But if the women continue to live a miserable life, immersed in ignorance and superstition, how can it be said the society has progressed? It might be said that the men have improved. But it could not be said that society has improved." Srimati Tarangini then goes on to say that her countrywomen ought to be more largely educated. Coming from a Hindu girl, this is very creditable logic, indeed, but it is not, we fear, quite correct. Hindu women do not form part of Hindu society in the sense that English women, for instance, form part of English society. The former live a strictly domestic life. They have a social life ; but it is of the most limited and imperfect character, and is, besides, confined among members of their own sex. The question of Hindu female education, therefore, requires a different sort of treatment. One reason why Hindu women ought to be educated is to be found in the fact that the men of this country are imbibing Western ideas and sentiments. Eastern ideas and Western ideas very often clash ; and one result of their encounter is immediate discord and ultimate divergence. This is illustrated by the growing disruption of the Hindu family system, the want of harmony between the orthodox and the educated classes of the Indian community, and the appearance of new forms of social and religious life on the outskirts of Hindu society. It is clear, therefore, that, if Hindu women continue to remain uneducated, the Hindu home will soon lose all its grace and charm and solid though somewhat antiquated grandeur, and become a veritable den of strife or misery or energetic selfishness. We will mention another reason. English education and English civil-

zation have produced one remarkable change in this country—a change of a truly organic character, and one which must lead to other changes equally organic and essentially revolutionary. It is the alteration of the mental tone, the mental cast, the mental colour of the Hindu. The historic Hindu is all religion—grave, inflexible, rigid, stern,—fond of looking inward. His modern descendant—he who has English ideas in his mind and English civilization before his eyes—is gay, flexible, elastic, pliable,—not fond of looking inwards. In the historic Hindu, religious faith crushed many things; in his modern descendant, religious negativism has educed many things. The mind of the historic Hindu was one-sided; that of his modern descendant is many-sided. One proof of this remarkable change is furnished by the greater sprightliness and secular versatility of the modern Hindu. This latter is decidedly more fond of conviviality than his stern ancestors—decidedly more fond of enjoying life for the sake of enjoyment. And it is this organic change in the temperament of the Hindu man which demands a corresponding change in the Hindu woman. For secular enjoyments have a tendency to degenerate when they are pursued outside of the domestic circle, and are neither created nor shared by her who is only another name for faith, purity, and love. If English education has given the Hindu an opportunity of framing an æsthetic scheme of life, the opportunity is sure to be lost—not to say that it is sure to close in absolute degeneracy of manners—if it is not extended to the women of his country. There are many other reasons. But we will not state them, as our sole object here has been to indicate the mode in which the question of Hindu female education should be discussed. All that we need say is, that there are very grave reasons on the other side of the question—that the question is in fact an extremely complicated one, and that, for this reason, we express no opinion of ours.

Mrinmayi; or, a Brief Exposition of Bhugal-vidya in accordance with the Sanskrit Siddhanta Shastra. By Govind Mohan Rai Vidyabinod. Calcutta: Printed at the Somprokash Press, Bhabanipur. 1284 B. S.

ASTRONOMY is one of those branches of learning which was studied with considerable success by ancient Hindus. They did not devote much attention to the physical sciences, technically so-called; but the mathematical sciences, such as geometry, algebra, arithmetic, and astronomy, owe a good deal to their genius and intellectual subtlety. European Orientalists have done something to acquaint us with ancient Hindu achievements in mathematical science. But their labours in this direction have not been so

enthusiastic or arduous as in the exposition of Hindu law, literature, religion, and philosophy. It is therefore extremely gratifying to us to find Hindu gentlemen engaged in the laudable and patriotic work of explaining those valuable branches of ancient Sanskrit learning which have not yet received their due measure of attention. Babu Govind Mohan Rai has deserved the gratitude of his country and the world of letters in general by the publication of *Mrinmayi*. Mathematical geography is one of those subjects of which the average orthodox Hindu is completely ignorant, and in which he entertains most superstitious and unscientific notions. He thinks the world to be a flat plane, supported by elephants, tortoises and serpents, and possessed of no movement, horizontal, vertical, circular, or elliptical. But his ancestors—at any rate the learned among them—thought otherwise. According to the learned author of this treatise, two theories have been held in India regarding planetary movements. The first of these teaches the earth to be the central planet, round which the sun and other planets move. The second makes the sun the central planet, round which the earth and other planets move in their several orbits. The first theory is taught in the earlier astronomical treatises like the *Surya Siddhanta*, the second, in the later treatises like the *Arya Siddhanta* of Arya Bhattacharya. The whole of this, the reader will remember, corresponds to the history of European astronomy. *Mrinmayi* also tells us, on the authority of Sanskrit texts, that the Indian astronomers held the earth to be a globular planet suspended in space, eclipses to be planetary shadows, and day and night to be the simple effect of the earth's globular form. The ingenuity with which these and various other points were established by ancient Indian astronomers challenges our admiration. And when we consider how slowly and recently Europe has arrived at these truths, the sentiment of veneration for the ancient Hindu intellect becomes too deep for utterance. We therefore regret with Babu Govind Mohan that the study of mathematical geography—which forms one important portion of Indian astronomy—should be so much in disfavor with Hindus of the present day. Hindu astronomy, he says, consists of two parts—*ganit* or *siddhanta jyotish*, which means mathematical astronomy and *jyotish* or astrology. The present professors of *jyotish* study the latter and almost entirely neglect the former. This, according to the old astronomers, is a thoroughly wrong and mistaken procedure. They say that astrology is simply a deduction from mathematical astronomy, and cannot therefore yield any substantial result without a profound study of the latter. It may be mentioned here as a very curious and noteworthy fact that according to Ganesh Daivajna, one of the ancient Hindu astronomers, astrology is a false and fruitless science.

In his learned preface to *Mrinmayi*, Babu Govind Mohan has displayed some amount of sensitiveness in discussing the opinion maintained by Mr. Colebrooke and other Orientalists, that the ancient Hindus improved their own astynomical science by borrowing from Greek and Roman astronomers. This opinion itself is based upon two facts—the existence of a Sanskrit astronomical treatise called *Romaka Siddhanta*, and the name *Yavanacharya*, which is found mentioned in Sanskrit works as that of a great writer on astronomy, and especially as the author of a treatise called *Tajik*. Now, it seems to us that Mr. Colebrooke's theory implies no disparagement of ancient Hindu genius, nor any denial of Hindu originality in the study of astronomical science. He simply speaks of the supply of wants; and surely there is nothing very serious in that. In the second place, we think Babu Govind Mohan's refutation is far from satisfactory. He has endeavoured to defeat Colebrooke by a reference to chronology. But we are sorry to say that the chronology he has adduced is not at all systematic, authoritative, or precise. It is a chronology without a single specific date, recognised or hypothetical. It would have been better if he had adopted the following line of argument: Gagacharya, one of India's most venerable sages, says—"It is the *ulich'chas* who are *yavana*. They deserve to be worshipped like *rishis* because they are fully proficient in astronomical science." Let us read in the light of this glorious liberality of thought and literary enthusiasm the following passage from the *Romaka Siddhanta*, a work which is believed to be a translation from some old European language:—"That is called *Tajik* which Brahma taught to Surya and Surya to Yavana." If this is not a modern interpolation, it is conclusive proof, as coming from a foreigner, that Yavanacharya was a pupil of some great Hindu astronomer. And the hypothesis of an ancient interpolation, it will be seen, would be simply ridiculous. For ancient India was far too liberal towards men of learning, Indian or non-Indian, to have been capable of doing them injustice or of borrowing without acknowledgment. At the same time it should be remarked that ancient India would have hardly thought it worth her while to translate foreign works into her own sacred language if she had not felt assured of some advantage to herself by doing so. The *Tajik* of Yavanacharya may well be believed to have been the outcome of Indian teaching, and its translation into Sanskrit might have been deemed desirable as the easiest means of securing a record of teachings which India had not herself recorded. And if the same thing could be said of the *Romaka Siddhanta*, there would be ground for rejecting Mr. Colebrooke's opinion. But so long as this is not said, the *Romaka Siddhanta* must continue to support that distinguished Orientalist.

It should not be inferred from what has been said above that Babu Govind Mohan Rai is a blind admirer of Sanskrit learning. Far from it. He has displayed throughout his admirable little treatise a spirit of liberality which cannot be too highly praised. He has freely confessed the shortcomings of Hindu astronomers, and fully acknowledged the progress which Europe has made in modern times in the study of astronomical facts and phenomena. He is besides a very sober and reverential writer—a writer of a somewhat antique type—and therefore appears venerable in our eyes. We sincerely hope and trust that he will be able very soon to publish his intended treatise on Sidereal Astronomy.

Suralokeh Bangor Parichaya. Part II. Calcutta: Published at the Valmiki Press, by Kafi Kinkar Chakravarti. 1934 Samvat.

PROFESSOR Tawney says in the preface to his translation of Bhartrihari that, unlike most Sanskrit works, that book is written in a manner which accords in some measure with European canons of taste. Now it is a noteworthy fact that what could not be said of more than one or two Sanskrit works could be said of hundreds written quite recently in the Bengali language. The fact is significant, because it is the expression of that remarkable change in the Hindu cast of mind which we have endeavoured to explain in our review of *Nishfala Turu*. We have said there, that the Hindu is no longer all religion, that he has become secular, and learnt to prize secular interests. The old mental stiffness is gone and has been replaced by a light, humorous, earthly temper. The Hindu has begun to write satire, sarcasm, criticisms on men and manners. The book under notice is written in this new style. Some eminent Bengali gentlemen, who have departed this world, are assembled in the region of the gods. The late Baboo Dwarka Nath Thakur has taken the presidential chair, and many of his countrymen are satisfying his patriotic curiosity with information of a very varied character regarding the present state of Bengal. It is an extra-mundane Durbar for the discussion of mundane matters—certainly a very happy and original conception. The departed worthies talk of many things: modern Bengali prose, modern Bengali poetry, old manners and new manners, master and servant, Young Bengal, Indian politics, &c., &c. We do not agree in all that these worthies say; but we must freely, and fully admit that their speeches are characterised by great good sense and patriotic warmth. The speakers introduced into the Durbar are one and all free from the spirit of personal vituperation—they all use gentlemanly language.

The writer of this book justly condemns the prurient taste for

imitation of foreign manners observable in certain strata of native society, and very rightly denounces the growing spirit of insubordination to old rules of domestic life and social intercourse. These two points have been discussed with very great care and earnestness; and the discussion furnishes satisfactory evidence of the author's intelligent insight into the matters on which he has undertaken to speak. The discourse on ভাষা is particularly important and interesting, and proves the author to be a thoughtful observer of the manners of his countrymen.

Nagvansāvali; or, *An Account of the Royal Family of Chutia Nāgpur*. By the Poet Beniram. Calcutta: Printed and Published by Kālī Kinkar Chakravarti, at the Valmiki Press.

THIS poem, written in Hindi, is stated in the preface to be as popular in Chutia Nāgpur as are the Purans in Northern India. It contains an account of the native rulers of Nāgpur, or, rather, their genealogy, interspersed with narratives of public events. Judiciously used, the book might yield some valuable result to the student of Indian history. The origin of the Nāgpur royal family has been traced to one out of eight serpents, named Pundarika, which escaped destruction at the great *Surpa-yajna* (serpent-sacrifice) of King Jaumejay. The poem is a mixture of legend and history. The Hindi of the poet is not always correct.

Kusum-Kauman. By Adharlal Sen. Printed and Published by Saradā Prasād Chattopadhyaya, at the New Bengali Press, No. 102, Grey Street, Shobhabazar, Calcutta. 1934 Samvat.

BABU Adharlal Sen is already known to readers of this *Review* as the author of two poems called *Menaka* and *Nalinī*. Of his new work we need not therefore say anything more than that it will not suffer by comparison with his two previous poems.

Another word: Babu Adharlal should not indulge in the habit of making such versions as the following:—

গগন চুম্বন করে প্রেমের গির্জার
উন্নত হৃদয়,
কুমুদিনীর প্রেমে হুমে মথুর
মথুর নিলয়,
লহরী চুম্বন করে দেব শশধর
সুখার আঁকর,
বিজলী করিয়ে বুকে চুমে লো কাদম্বিনী
উল্লাস-অন্তর,

কি ক'জি বল লো তবে এসকল চুবনে
 মরত ভুবনে,
 যদি তুমি হুমিলে না আঁমার অধর, লো
 ত্রিলোব-শোভনে ?

Now read Shelley and mark the difference—

“ See the mountains kiss high heaven,
 And the waves clasp one another ;
 No sister-flower would be forgiven
 If it disdained its brother :
 And the sunlight clasps the earth,
 And the moonbeams kiss the sea :
 What are all these kissings worth,
 If thou kiss's not me ? ”

A literal translation would have been better.

The get-up of the book is excellent. The work has been dedicated to the Hon'ble Louis Stuart Jackson.

2.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

The Indian Meteorologist's Vade-Mecum. By Henry F. Blandford, Meteorological Reporter to the Government of India. Calcutta : Thacker, Spink and Co., 1877.

THE title of this book does not do justice to its contents. It is in reality a thorough and exhaustive treatise on Indian meteorology. Doubtless a handy *vade-mecum* might be well made from it ; but the book, as it stands, is not suited from its size and weight to be the jungle companion of a rapidly-moving official in India, which is our idea of an Indian *vade-mecum*. The first part consists of complete and valuable information on the subject of meteorological instruments, but is almost entirely intended for the observers in the Government Observatories. Part II. commences with an essay on the Physical Properties of Air and Vapour, followed by a most interesting essay on the Physical Geography of India by the master of the subject. After this, the different characteristics of Indian meteorology are thoroughly gone into ; and the book closes with a chapter of “ suggestions for future enquiry.” Among the subjects suggested for enquiry are the effects of the Simoom in Sind and the great Indian deserts ; and also the movement of clouds which “ deserves more attention than has hitherto been given to it in India,” and may be easily observed with no other aids than an upraised pole or other clear mark and a pocket compass. Information on the amount of evaporation from broad water-surfaces is also wanted ; this requires very little

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No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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apparatus beyond what may be generally easily obtained on the spot. By interesting himself in such matters an officer in the Mofussil might often pass weary spare times even in a "horrid hole" with advantage to science and himself; and certainly, if he could have with him Mr. Blanford's book, he would require no other guide for meteorology in India.

Handbook of Common Salt. By J. J. Ratton, M.D., M.C., Surgeon, Madras Army. Higginbotham and Co., Madras, 1877.

THE author of this work having been deputed to examine for Government the salt works on the Mediterranean shores and elsewhere, is thoroughly acquainted with the modes of salt manufacture in Europe as well as in Madras; and gives full details as to construction and working of salterns and the selection of sites, in which he says from want of knowledge much time and money has recently been misspent. He considers that if undertaken on a sufficiently large scale, the manufacture of salt on the Coromandel coast might be profitably undertaken by European capitalists. Many curious facts come out; one of which is that although Bengal consumes a large amount of English white salt, in Madras there is strong prejudice against it, and an experimental shipload, after every attempt at sale at a loss, was re-shipped to Calcutta, and it is said another shipload was thrown overboard in Madras roads. The book is written in a clear, simple style, and at the present time of alterations in the salt tax, the information given will be found valuable and interesting to many; while the book will be essential to those civilians and officers who have anything to do with the vast salt trade in this country.

NOTE.—We are reluctantly compelled to hold over, to our next issue, the notices of a considerable number of new books and new editions sent to us for review during the past quarter.—EDITOR.

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ART. I.—MAHAJĀNI STATISTICS.

IN our General Administration Report which we send to Government at the end of every official year, there is a chapter devoted to statistics. During the last five years there has been a brisk demand for all sorts of statistics, till all the subjects of statistics were exhausted. I have furnished vital statistics, educational statistics, agricultural statistics; and land statistics, and in my general report submitted last year, I submitted an elaborate report and statements on the export and import trade of the city of Patna.

Being in charge of these inquiries for the last few years I was at a loss what to say in our present year's report; until I hit upon a novel subject which I find has never been reported upon before, *i. e.*, Mahājani statistics. Having ascertained in my preliminary enquiry that there were no fewer than 10 different kinds of monetary transactions carried on in the city of Patna, some of which are not known in other parts of India, I was all the more anxious to work the matter up thoroughly and lay before the higher authorities, in a readable shape, a minute account of the various kinds of Mahājani.

In January last, with the permission of the late Collector, Mr. A. C. Mangles, I set to work with the assistance of a couple of intelligent mohurirs from my Abkarree establishment. To commence with, I held a meeting of the leading Mahajuns in the city with the view of enlisting their co-operation in the way of furnishing accurate figures, and took the opportunity of disabusing their minds, and through them, those of the small Mahajuns, of any possible misgiving as to the motive of, these enquiries.

Having completed my enquiries last week, I give below the results.

The following table will show the various kinds of Mahājani carried on, the number of persons engaged, and the amount of capital employed within the municipality of Patna, comprised of seven thannahs with an area of 9 square miles and a population of 158900 souls.

"Patna (says Mr. Beverley in his last census report) is a place of great antiquity, having been identified as the Palibothra of the ancients. Under the Moguls it was the capital of the Sonbah Behār, and is sometimes known as Azimabad so called from Azim, the son of Arungzebe, who was made Governor of Behar and took up his residence at Patna. The English, Danes, Dutch, and French, established factories here at an early period and carried on an extensive trade in rice, opium, and cotton cloth." Patna is undoubtedly an emporium of trade. Our last year's report will have shewn that no less than 4,692,683 maunds of grain and other merchandize were exported and imported by this city during the year 1875-76. It affords great facilities for trading generally, being on the line of railway, and also on the river, with good roads for inland traffic. Its river frontage has also the advantages of being at the confluence of the Ganges and the Gunduck, with Revilgunga at the junction of the Dehwa and the Ganges a little to its west; which advantages are in themselves quite sufficient to render it one of the most important centres of Gangetic trade.

Denomination of the Mahājāni trade.				No. of persons engaged.	Amount of capital employed.
1	Kothiwalī	...	...	10	Rupees 6,33,000
2	Hundwī	...	...	43	" 16,76,000
3	Arath	...	...	14	" 10,65,000
4	Bima Kishtee	...	...	1	" 27,000
5	Kistā Ki-Patti	...	...	292	" 91,00,350
6	Girveen	...	...	258	" 15,84,250
7	Buhi Khātā	...	...	21	" 80,400
8	Tamassuk	...	...	154	" 3,781,800
9	Parchū	...	...	3	" 1,35,000
10	Sarrafi	...	...	31	" 80,600
Total				827	Rs. 90,17,900

But as some of the men engaged in Mahājāni follow more than one of varieties of the abovementioned transactions, the real number of persons so engaged is 557, as detailed below:—

No. of persons following only 1 kind of Mahājāni	...	351
Ditto	2	Ditto ... 149
Ditto	3	Ditto ... 50
Ditto	4	Ditto .. 6
Ditto	5	Ditto ... 1

557

Now I proceed to give a detail of the system and varieties of each denomination of the money trade.

9. *Kothi Wali* or Banking Firm. There are 10 cothies of this description in the city, with an estimated capital of Rs. 6,33,000, it being considered that Rs. 25,000 is the lowest sum with which a Bank could be started. Such firms principally are occupied in selling or purchasing hundees or bills of exchange at moderate discount. They supplement their resources by receiving into deposit various amounts of money from zemindars at 6 per cent. per annum and lending it out to others at higher rates of interest. Such firms are generally called by two names, one of them being frequently that of the deceased relative, father or brother, of the present banker. A Goomashta is put over the firm with unlimited control as regards the transaction of business. I would here give an illustration giving an accurate account of the dealings in banks of smaller magnitude.

Suppose A., a capitalist, starts a firm with Rs. 25,000 as his stock-in-trade. His first care would be to appoint a man in whom he trusts, as his Goomashta; say, he appoints B. as such on a salary of Rs. 300, per annum (this is the usual rate of salary paid in smaller banks). B., after his bank has attained some degree of importance in the place, supplements his capital by a sum, say of Rs. 25,000, deposited in his bank by the resident or non-resident Zemindars or shop-keepers. He will employ these consolidated resources in buying and selling hundees in the following manner: C., a grain-merchant comes to Patna to bring linseed or other grain for Calcutta. C. has no money with him but deals with a firm in Calcutta; C. is in want of Rs. 5,000 to buy the grain. He comes to B.'s bank, writes out a Hundee for that sum on the Calcutta firm belonging to D., payable at 40 days' sight. C. will cash his bill of exchange by paying to B. discount at Re. 1-4 per cent. or a sum of Rs. 62-8-0, and will receive the balance of Rs. 4,937-8-0; C. will on the same day send an advice to D. in Calcutta. Now it is optional with B. either to wait for a period of 40 days for encashment of the purchased bill or to sell it within the time to the Patna Branch, Bank of Bengal, or to any other Bank in the city at a discount varying from 12 annas to 1 rupee per cent., thereby earning a nett profit of from 4 annas to 8 annas per cent.

These firms, I need hardly state, have a sort of freemasonry relationship with the banks abroad in the N.-W. P., Bengal, Oudh and the Punjab (addressing each other as "brother.") Each of them, under an obligation imposed by the ancient usage of the country and by a feeling of mutual respect and regard for their common good, is bound to honor the other's bill of exchange whether payable on demand or after expiration of some time called *matiti*.

Suppose a merchant from Benares comes to Patna with his merchandize, sells it for Rs. 2000 and comes with the money to B.'s bank for deposit and takes a hundee for that sum on a Benares firm payable say in two days' time. B will charge from 2 to 3 annas per cent. as his commission or hundyawan and will give the Benares merchant a bill on the firm of E. at Benares payable on the 6th day. Now B. must allow the Bank of E. to partake of half the commission in recognition of the latter honoring B.'s bill in favor of the Benares merchant.

These Banks also derive large profit by means of *aruths*, in the following manner: Suppose a Gya merchant comes from that place with an aruth hundee (aruth hundee need not be drawn on cash payment, but it is so drawn generally on credit in favor of well-known merchants), on the Patna bank for a sum of Rs. 10,000, payable on demand. The Patna firm must cash it on the payment of a commission of 2 annas per cent. = Rs. 12-8. If the amount mentioned in the bill was advanced by the Gya firm to the merchant on credit, for which the former must have made a separate provision for interest, the whole of the Rs. 12-8 will belong to the Patna firm, but if the bill was drawn on cash payment at Gya, no discount will be charged at Patna, but the Gya firm will charge a commission and allow the Patna firm to take a share in the commission. Now the Patna bank may realize its principal thus: Suppose another merchant from Gya calls at the Patna bank with Rs. 10,000, the proceeds of his merchandize, and deposit the sum in the latter bank. The firm will charge him a commission of 2 annas and draw upon the Gya firm who owes him that sum on account of the previous bill of exchange.

These firms also lend money on bonds at 12 to 24 per cent. On the whole their nett earnings during the year vary from 6 to 12 per cent. on the capital employed.

The great crisis which sometimes overtakes these firms comes when there is a large drawing on them. If the amount so drawn is so large as to swallow up the whole of their stock-in-trade they are driven to the necessity of borrowing money from bigger firms, or capitalists, on hundees at 6 to 12 per cent. interest. If they fail in this attempt, they become bankrupts.

The larger firms in this city, which are but few, do not take in deposit other people's money nor do they raise money on drafts. They are looked upon by the smaller firms as the last resort to save them from impending ruin in hard times.

2. *Hundwi.*—There are 43 persons principally engaged in purchasing hundees in this city and selling them to other districts; I have already stated what profit can be earned by purchas-

ing, bills of exchange payable on 30 or 40 days' sight, the term of which has not expired. These men generally fix upon 2 or 3 places for which they will only accept the hundees, such as Calcutta, Benares or Mirzapore, and there they engage a Goomashtah for the purpose of either cashing the drafts or selling them to non-resident tradesmen from whom they receive in exchange a draft on the Patna Bank. I would give an instance : A. has taken a hundee for Rs. 1,000 from a Patna firm on Calcutta payable at 40 days' sight, but he sells it to B. in Patna within the time for Rs. 990 ; B. sends it down to Calcutta to his Goomashtah to realize the money or to sell it to a tradesman. The Goomashtah comes across a merchant from Patna trading in Calcutta who is in want of money. He sells to him the draft at, say 4 annas per cent. commission, and in exchange gets a hundee from him on his master or on a Patna firm with which he is in account. Now B.'s profit will be Rs. 10 + Rs. 2-8 = Rs. 12-8 by the purchase of the hundee.

3. *Aruth.* 14 persons are engaged in this branch of the money-trade. The business can be started with much smaller capital than what is required for the last two denominations. The first care of the Mahajan should be to build or secure a good pucca house in the centre of the grain-market. There he will house the *beparees* from the mofussil coming with their grains to sell them to large dealers or for the purpose of exportation by the rail or river. A commission of 1 pice per maund is charged for the goods so housed, but it often happens that the *beparees* borrow money from the owner of the aruth-house on the security of their goods before they are cleared. In that case the aruthdar freely advances the money at 12 annas per cent. and realizes the principal and interest from the sale-proceeds.

4. *Bima-kishtee.* There is only one firm of the kind in this city. It means "the insurance of boats." The owners of boats laden with merchandize insure the safe arrival of their boats to their place of destination by paying a certain per-centage on the fixed value of the merchandize ; the Bimadar agreeing to pay up the value (to be fixed by mutual consent) on the boat going down or otherwise perishing.

There were several firms of this kind in this city before the opening of railway traffic. The Bimadar has certain outposts called *choukees* at certain points in the river-passage where navigation is considered difficult or fraught with dangers. At each outpost there is a jemadar with a couple of boatmen and a pilot-boat—the *manjhees* going with the insured boats must first be approved of by the Bimadar before they embark. They are furnished with a list of outposts where they must halt and see the

outpost-jemadar who is enjoined not to allow the boat to pass until the pilot-boat has gone before it and ensures its safety, and when the dangerous reach has been passed in safety, the jemadar gets an acquittance to that effect from the manjhees of the insured boat and forwards it to the Bimadar; a capital of Rs. 27,000 is embarked in this business.

5. *Kist-ke-Pattā*. This is a petty trade in money, generally followed by the lower or middle class of mahajuns. The higher classes looking down on this kind of trade. The lower classes carry it on themselves, and the middle classes through their servants. No less than 292 persons are engaged in this business. The principal involved in the trade is to lend from 8 annas to 100 Rs. at 25 per cent. interest.

The kist-trade is subdivided as under :—

- 1.—*Rozha*, or daily payment.
- 2.—*Attwaryā*, or weekly payment,
- 3.—*Panch masi*, or 5-monthly payment.
- 4.—*Barah masi*, or annual do.
- 5.—*Paundra masi* or 15 months do.

If a man borrows 8 annas, he must pay 10 annas (or 8 annas + 2 annas = 10 annas) on the daily system, i. e., he must pay half-anna per diem for 20 days. The largest sum advanced under "daily payment" system is 2 Rs.

If a man borrows from 2 Rs. to 10 Rs. he has to pay the principal and interest at 25 per cent. by weekly instalments.

If a man borrows more than 10 Rs. but less than 20 he has to make good the principal and interest in 5 months by monthly instalments.

If a man borrows 20 Rs. and upwards up to 50 he has to pay up the principal and interest by monthly payments in 12 months and so on; the sum upwards of 50 and below 100 is payable in 15 months by monthly payment.

No bond is executed, a bit of paper is made over by the lender or his servant embodying the account, i. e., principal plus interest at 25 per cent. and as each day, or week or month's instalment is discharged, an entry is made on the papers to that effect by the creditor. Many leading mahajuns in this city owe their present prosperous and advanced position in money-lending to their previous occupation in this mode of petty dealing.

6. *Gerween* or pawnbroker's business. There are 258 men with a capital of Rs. 15,84,250 engaged in this kind of trade. They receive in pawn the following articles at the interest noted below:—

For gold ornaments they advance three-fourths of its price, at an interest from 12 annas to 1 Re. per cent., per mensem.

For silver ornaments they advance up to two-thirds of their value at 1 Re. to 1 Re. 9 as. per cent. per mensem.

For jewelled-ornaments they advance up to three-fourths of their price at 12 annas to 1 Re. interest.

For copper and brass utensils at half their price at 3 Rs. per cent. interest per mensem.

The same regarding shawls and other valuable clothing.

The pawnbroker makes a hard-and-fast engagement with his debtor as regards the due discharge of his debt or redemption of the articles mortgaged. According to the contract generally entered into the mortgagee sells the property outright if it is not redeemed within the stipulated time, and after realizing his principal and interest he makes over the residue of the sale-proceeds to the owner. No document of any kind is exchanged. An entry is made in the lender's book and a chit is made over to the pawnbroker. In case of petty pawnbrokery no writing of any kind is made. The majority of the pawnbrokers' customers are the ladies or women of the city, who, driven by necessity, resort to their shops, not unfrequently without the knowledge of their husbands. A good portion of the persons following this kind of trade are women; who have greater facilities for transacting their business by having access to the zenanah and throwing in the way of its inmates the temptation of receiving ready money for worn-out and used-up (though still valuable) jewellery.

The pawnbrokers are a constant source of suspicion to the Police who not unfrequently search their shops with more or less success for stolen property.

7 & 8. *Tamassooke* or *Bahi Khattah* or lending money on registered bonds or a *Bahi Khattah*. These are too-well-known forms of monetary transactions to require any elucidation at my hands. But the rate of interest sometimes charged is enormous, though in the majority of cases it is from 12 to 24 Rs. per cent. per annum. There are a certain class of money-lenders in this city, as elsewhere in this country, who enrich themselves upon the inexperience, intemperance, and extravagance, of raw youths, especially the heirs to large fortunes. I have myself seen, during the course of my official life here, bonds with 48, 60 and even 96 per cent. per annum, not to speak of the *salami*, a polite word for a premium at rates varying from 5 to 15 Rs. per cent, which is to be paid to the unscrupulous money-lender over and above the rates of interest given above.

9. *Parckun*. There are three shops with a capital amounting to Rs. 1,35,000. The business is done by receiving sicca rupees in exchange for one rupee by the payment of a premium varying from 4 to 7 Rs. per cent, and then selling the former

description of rupees to goldsmiths, or to parties wanting them, for making ornaments of purer silver at higher rates of premium. The same is done as regards gold mohurs of olden time. These dealers also receive and cash currency notes at a moderate discount. From the large amount of capital employed in this branch of the trade it would appear that a large quantity of sicca rupees are still in circulation and in possession of the public. The rate of premium at which the purchasers of sicca rupees re-transfer them to silver-smiths or to those wishing to make jewellery of purer metals is 12 Rs. per cent.

10. *Sarajee*—This is also a well-known trade. It is a dealing in pice. The dealer buys 100 or 50 Rupees pice at the Branch Bank of Bengal here at 16 annas, 6 pies the rupee and sells it to the public at 16 annas or he advances money to petty shopkeepers, such as Halvies, Modees and Abkars, to be liquidated in pice at the rate of 16 annas 6 pies the rupee, and then sells it to the public at 16 annas. No less than 31 persons are engaged in this trade; with a capital of Rs. 80,600. A dealer earns a profit of from 10 to 15 Rs. per cent a month by this transactions.

Caste and Nationality.

The law of Islam interdicting against taking interest or loan, is honored here in its breach, as the largest bankers in this city are Mahomedans. I give below the principal castes employed in the money-lending business.

Of the 557 persons following the various monetary professions there are 31 Mahomedans, 32 Brahmins, 33 Rajpoots, 46 Bahbhons, 31 Kirsts, 7 Bengalees, 24 Marwaries, 14 Agrawallas, 57 Kulwars, 24 Khettres and 68 Benias. The rest belong to lower classes, such as Gwallahs, Kahafs, Kandoos, &c.

SYUD AMEER HOSSEIN.

Deputy Collector of Patna.

ART. II.—RECONSTRUCTION.

THE thought is probably a familiar one to careful students of political phenomena, though it may possibly not have found expression in authoritative writings, that the serviceable institutions of human history are not those which adventurers of one kind or another have launched ready-made on more or less receptive societies; but rather those in which compromises, improvised by successive generations to meet contemporary difficulties, have gradually settled down into a composite whole. If this idea is not a mere theoretical conceit, but has practical susceptibilities, it may perhaps suggest a test to which the value of many English administrative experiments in India may be brought. Broadly speaking, all or nearly all the English exploitation of Indian political resources may be divided into two classes—one including all the efforts in which English officials have laboured to share the civilisation of England with the Indian populations; the other, all the efforts in which English officials have striven to ensure the happiness of the subject masses by laying the foundations of an alien rule in the affections of the people. Illustrations usually sit loosely upon general principles; but speaking loosely, the numerous colleges set up for the promotion of high education, the elevation of a money standard of respectability, and some phases of the scientific rule now being universally developed on all sides, may be regarded as illustrations of one branch of English effort in India; the subdivisional system, as it is called, and various indirect approaches to the panchayet system, and certain overtures to the native aristocracy, as illustrations of the other. Of course there is an obvious defect in these illustrations which will at once have arrested the attention of the thoughtful reader. In one sense, English officials in India are adventurers, pure and simple, along the whole line, or perhaps it would be more exact to say over the whole surface, of the Indian Administration—as well in Calcutta, where the Council of the Viceroy manufactures laws, as in remote rural communities, where youthful Magistrates endeavour to give practical expression to the benevolent intentions underlying them; and no portion of a system of government, which is so essentially foreign, so exclusively and effectually imposed on the people from without, can perhaps yield a complete analogy to constitutions which have been slowly worked out by the internal agonies of a people. But India has never, at least within historic ages, been a free and self-governing country; and its English rulers may be said to have come as

near to the ideal standard of unselfish beneficence, and as much into theoretical harmony with the best interests of the people, as it is possible for foreign rulers, exposed to the peculiar temptations fostered by conquest and race-antagonism, to come; and no outrage on reason or history seems to be involved in any general classification of Indian Administrative problems under the two heads of problems which represent uncertain heroic enterprise, and those which in some sense correspond with gradual spontaneous growth.

One necessary consequence of the conflict of western ideas with the prevailing conditions of oriental societies, and it is the first which all real statesmen among Anglo-Indian officials should recognise and prepare to deal with, may be described as a revolution in the political and social conditions obtaining in India, the natural tendency of which has been to disintegrate all the political fabric, and to involve the social fabric in its ruin. Now the idea, sometimes expressed by the more advanced metaphysical students of our times, that there is discoverable in the intellectual attitude of the present generation a distinct transposition from an organic to a critical mood, hits off what is probably the greatest vice in all the license of modern experiment, the vice, namely, which incites men of intellectual energy to encourage the destructive, while neglecting to utilise the constructive, faculties of the mind. Decay being, as Hegel rather dimly, it must be confessed, prepares us to believe, the only road to progress,—or, as Macdonald, using greater license, has more vividly put it, “the pangs of death” being “throes of life”—destruction which omits to lay a foundation for the constructive faculties of men, as falling leaves lay up vegetable mould, represents an obvious miscarriage in political experiment. The after-births of the great French Revolution afford an illustration of the accuracy of this reflection; and while the English Commonwealth, which rose out of Cromwell’s efforts, furnishes a contrast to the inconsequence of the French Revolution, the contrast has been a good deal broadened and deepened in recent times by the inanity of the Positive heroism, which, dating from that Revolution, has sought a refuge in ideal stupidity whenever it has not found active employment in crime. Even when there are no more bishops to murder, or palaces to destroy, in the way of sacrifices to communism, it will still in all likelihood be possible to write essays and catechisms on the uses to which women and cheese can be put in the Comtist economy.

In India the work of constructive experimentalists has been very much hampered by the two-fold fact, that great activity is expected, *ex officio* so to speak, from Indian officials, by English sentiment; and that the practical fruits of all such activity are expected to conform to English ideas of excellence. It is natural,

if it is deplorable, that the ultimate verdict on the value of all administrative empiricism in India should rest with an English rabble which, though, its moral sympathies are probably rightly directed in the main, is yet intellectually incapacitated from understanding many of the delicate issues which habitually arise in India, and whose decisions may therefore be reasonably received with suspicion. Under the pressure which has been put upon the Indian Government—not exclusively, it must be confessed, by this English rabble, but by this rabble and the remainder of the English public—some of the most honest Indian officials, even when they have recognised the fact that their mission is one of construction, have not uniformly realised the deeper truth, that, in order to be effectual, and, indeed, to escape being futile or mischievous, the bulk of their labour must be reconstructive.

Now the question of the proper sphere and particular aims of reconstructive empiricism in Indian administration is one which may well engross the thoughts of the highest class of Indian officials. It is in fact a question, in the successful practical solution of which the success of English rule in India appears to be involved.

If the sentiment of nationality is not a mere objective device of politicians, but a subjective reality in the consciousness of those individual units of whom village communities and empires are alike composed, it is an obvious reflection that the chances of success of any government which pretends to build up a nation, while at the same time trying to secure the happiness of its people, must be in exact proportion to the faithfulness which it, or its responsible agents, study the natural bent of the individual mind—so far as there may be a general type of it, which can be studied to practical purpose—and subordinate, not merely the foreign ideas of the government, where it happens to be foreign, to the indigenous code of political utilitarianism, but also the interests of centralised bureaux, in which governments are prone to uplift themselves against mass interests, to those of rural communities generally. According to this standard of duty, if it is correct, the main concern of a government ought to be with rural communities, rather than with town populations, or even princely houses in the interior—except in so far as these, under a foreign government, represent a bulwark of national sentiment; and judged by this standard, the English Government of India, though it must be acknowledged to have paid some attention, in a blundering way, in the past, to princely houses which do after a fashion represent national sentiment, must also, it is to be feared; be acknowledged to have been rather neglectful of those rural

communities in which the national sentiment of India finds its ultimate, and, in many respects, its most important expression. As the object of these remarks, however, is not to indulge in useless censure, but to suggest methods of future usefulness, it is more to the point to say that the sphere of reconstruction in India seems to lie in rural communities and in princely houses; and that the particular aims of a sound reconstructive policy may perhaps be best described as consisting in a determination to discover and perpetuate any conditions under which person and property in rural communities are most likely to enjoy security; and to foster the useful properties, and whatever may seem useful in the ornamental properties, of the native aristocracy and gentry.

Taking these various matters up in the order of their importance we have to consider, in the first place, the best means of ensuring protection to life and property in the rural communities of India. There is no one, perhaps, possessing much Indian experience of any value, who seriously doubts that this object would most successfully be accomplished by reducing the unit of administration to dimensions which would admit of the effectual supervision of the whole extent of each such unit by some agent who could be unreservedly trusted. At present the unit of administration in India is the sub-division, but it is superfluous to say that it must be almost indefinitely contracted before it can satisfy the condition just hinted at above. A sub-division of the most modest kind covers a vast extent of country, for the most part innocent of proper roads. In Bengal, Sir G. Campbell's refinements upon the older arrangements have somewhat improved matters in the interior, but it would be a figure of speech to say that finality in this branch of reform has been reached or even approached. The limits of a sub-division must evidently be drawn a good deal closer before the chances of success in administration can be said to have been properly arranged. And then, when this arrangement is completed, the hour will only have struck for the arrival of the man, who will still remain to be invented, or at least discovered. The model Indian sub-division needs for its supervision an officer who can be trusted, not merely in fair weather but in extremities. England is holding India by means of a small band of civilians and soldiers, who, if they were cut up and divided amongst the masses, would not yield half a trowser-button to every Indian village, not to speak of the villagers who multiply in every village; and it is desirable occasionally to realise the truth that the continuance of British supremacy in India depends upon the continuous assertion of that moral supremacy which every Englishman in some sense, and every

English official in a very important sense, typifies in the country. There are various reasons for fearing that, if the sub-divisional system is ever to be a complete success in India, not only must it be re-arranged on a smaller pattern, but in the majority of cases, though not in every case, the superintending officer ought to be an Englishman. In any case he should be a gentleman, a man who knows no fear, and who is strong enough to justify his fearlessness. At present the supervision of the interests corresponding with the diminutive jurisdictions which a proper extension of the sub-divisional system would call into being, is practically, if unconsciously or unintentionally, entrusted to inferior native officials of doubtful intellectual capacity and more than doubtful moral strength; and the question naturally cuts into the discussion at this point, whether the country could afford the expenditure which the employment of a vast band of trustworthy and energetic officials—inferentially Englishmen by preference, or at any rate true native gentlemen—would entail. The finances of India seem to be in a peculiar condition, and it is probable that, while large sums of money are expended on the maintenance of central offices of supervision and account, any additional expense for rural establishments would be impossible. If, however, after excluding from consideration the small bunch of offices which may be regarded as essential to the maintenance of an imperial system, the bulk of central offices may be correctly described as offices of supervision or account, or as offices for the compilation or registration of returns, it may well be asked whether the old adage, that prevention is better than cure, does not suggest a resort to arrangements at the foundations of the administrative fabric, which would render corrections or special precautions superfluous at its surface. Even if the comparison which has sometimes been drawn between the English Government of India and the Irishman's house, which was commenced at the top, is a travesty of the reality, the resemblance is sufficiently close, on one side of the analogy at all the events, to yield a footing for the reflection that a good deal of the post-audit, so to speak, of Indian administrative effort might be dispensed with, if the original expenditure of energy and governing power were in safer and more wisely directed hands. To English rulers of India it is perhaps a natural idea that no manipulation of Indian political mysteries can be quite safe which is not in the hands of Englishmen, and is not also gathered up at its ends, like reins, in certain powerful central offices. But it does not appear to have occurred to most people that the extension of sub-divisions, if it could be provided for financially, would not require the withdrawal of the other end of the administrative reins from the hands of Englishmen; and the fashionable official preference

for native officials of questionable capacity in subordinate offices has hitherto simply prevented any searching consideration of the question of the wisdom of the preference shown for numerous centralised offices, on its real merits. If England were bound by supreme political considerations to imperfectly educate a number of middle-class natives and to provide employment for them in certain offices, their fitness for which on one ground or another was more or less doubtful, the present arrangement would perhaps be unimpeachable. If, however, the English Government of India is bound to do its very best for the great body of the people, by providing for them the very best kind of subordinate officials, English or native, whom it can procure in England or India, and to avoid all waste of power, which means waste of money, at either end of the administration, while yet conserving all true and healthy national sentiment by means such as those which are taken into consideration further on, then a serious justification of some administrative arrangements into which the Government of India has actively and intelligently drifted in the past is hardly possible. For if the subdivision of rural communities into smaller units of administration, which would enable the officer in charge of each unit to ride through its whole extent within twenty-four hours, would be at all likely to result in the suppression of all organised crime, and in the extinction of much crime that is purely impulsive; and if the simplification of details of expenditure would at once result in economy and obviate the existing necessity for elaborate book-keeping statistics, there could be no defence of any system of expenditure which maintained a superfluous, if highly-paid Judge, Secretary, Board-member, or Examiner in presidency-towns merely to correct the mischief done by inferior officers in the Mofussil. The obvious alternative would be to maintain half-a-dozen, or whatever the proper number might be, of efficient Mofussil officers, in place of each highly-paid official who could safely be dispensed with in the capital. Let us take a simple illustration of this argument. If a High Court Judge practically supervises the judicial work of about three districts, and his salary were broken up into ten sub-divisional salaries for ten officers, who were sold off to live amongst the people, and that Judge's office were thereupon abolished, would the people of the three districts, supposing the sub-divisional officers to be men of the right sort, gain or lose by the change? Every one knows, of course, that all High Court Judgeships could not be resolved in this fashion, for there are important judicial and administrative duties to be performed by High Courts which in all likelihood could never be dispensed with; but any one who has given any careful attention to the subject must be aware that a system

of modified decentralization, if carefully carried out, would yield, by the process of doubling up and otherwise, provision for the maintenance of all really necessary central appointments as well as of those actually needed in the interior. If an extension of sub-divisional offices lessened the real work of the High Court, the Revenue Board, and the Secretariats, in time, the abolition of one or two Judgeships would not necessitate the extinction of all, any more than the breaking up of a Secretaryship or two would involve any violent departure from the system of maintaining a healthy central control over the extremities of the administration, which is an essential feature of our foreign despotism. It is easy to see that the doubling up of savings at head-quarters would enable the Government to preserve all that was indispensable of central control and revision, while yet providing an improved subordinate executive agency in the interior. The prejudices of the Indian services are of course, and naturally, enlisted on the side of well-paid centralised appointments; and we are all familiar with the plausible political arguments which can be made to do duty on behalf of the prejudices of cultivated men; but men who can break away from the trammels of personal interest will, probably, find easy approaches to reforms which, without ruining all or even much that is precious to the official mind, would recognise in a fair way the claims of the great masses in the interior. As these remarks are intended to be suggestive rather than exhaustive, no account has been made in them of the numerous re-adjustments of the existing executive machinery which would open up of themselves, as it were, in the course of any intelligent system of modified decentralization that might enlist the sympathetic efforts of Englishmen of culture, experience and influence in India. For instance, the idea has often been advanced, in at least one Indian newspaper, if not in others, that divisional commissionerships are more or less out of date, and that a re-distribution of territorial jurisdictions would enable the Government, while providing for a new set of district officers, remunerated on a sliding scale and capable of accounting for all the work to be done, to dispense with all existing divisional commissionerships; and certainly the conviction that improved communications and the gradual opening out of the country have radically changed the character of these offices, converting what were at one time diminutive Lieutenant-Governorships into clumsy half-way houses for district returns, ought really, wherever such a conviction is honestly held, to help us to give a fair consideration to the arguments, neither few nor weak, which have been offered in support of the idea.

After all, however, administrative reforms such as these which have here been suggested, are only the moulds which might

shape such national life as might be induced to flow into them; though it is perhaps an argument in their favour that they seem rather more likely to woo and foster the real life of the people—that which ebbs and flows through the rural communities—than the excessively centralized administration which now promotes a kind of political apoplexy at the large centres of government, leaving the extremities more or less cold and dead. A people whose homes were carefully guarded from crime and other forms of oppression would soon begin to learn the first lessons of civilization. The panchayet system, now a mockery in most of our Adaptations of it, would probably revive and send forth branches into the upper air, on which true loyalty and patriotism could be cultivated, as it is unreasonable to talk of cultivating them now on our sham systems of Municipal Government. And at any rate the protection, which England now pretends to afford the masses in the interior, and honestly enough endeavours to bestow on them in a mistaken way, would probably for the first time be really felt and universally enjoyed. Who can tell what shapes of beauty and usefulness the answering thankfulness of an awakened nationality, called to renewed life under the generous labour of an unselfish administrative system, would thenceforward take; or what strange and holy impulses that nationality, directed by a healthy system of mass education, in place of the mischievous and artificial higher education of existing colleges, would create? There is no limit to the hopes which a mind looking quietly into the depths of a renewed national sentiment might reasonably indulge, not with the vagueness of the quack who invents a new mixture of old materials and insists that it must overcome all the diseases of life, but with the calm hopefulness of that best of all scientific observers, the reasoning moralist who cannot help feeling and believing that a foreign Government will take an alien subject-population further on the right way when going with the natural impulses of national life than when working against them.

That the general influence of English rule in India has borne down with merciless, if often unsuspected, severity upon some important impulses of national life will become apparent to any one who attempts carefully to study the general condition of native princes and chiefs, and the general feeling of the better class of native gentlemen towards the Government of India and towards Englishmen generally. Was it absolutely necessary that all native society should have been revolutionised in order that India should be civilized? That it has been revolutionised by the education which England has introduced, and by the means which have been taken in the past to fill up many offices under the State, is patent

to the most careless observer. As we stand face to face to-day with the consequences of all these experimental arrangements of a troublesome past, what are the reasons for supposing that the Government or the masses would have fared worse, if, instead of pitchforking into high office, and into the social importance which necessarily attaches to high office, men of inferior birth and doubtful intellectual capacity, the Government had selected the sons of native gentlemen and required them to be polished up for its use in an honourable service? That there are already some men of this stamp in the service of the State may be true; and no priggishness can perhaps be more contemptible than that which affects contempt for men of doubtful social standing, who have by force of character broken through all intervening barriers and made a place for themselves on the surface of society. But, as every one knows, the great bulk of the men who float on the surface of such native society as that which congregates in our capitals and larger cities have been chosen for advancement because uneducated English clamour has called for concessions to native sentiment, and Indian Governors, at a loss how to act in a position of some difficulty, have selected the men who were found to be most handy for the purpose. That they were so handy is only of course the fault of the Government so far as its own action has made them so; but it is a painful comment on the tendency of English rule during the past fifty years, that the conditions under which men of insignificant capacity and inferior social standing have come in for many of the honours that happened to be going a-begging, should also have shut out the class of men, whom it was the interest of the Government and of the masses specially to cherish. The irony of fate could scarcely be more cynically asserted than in the political dispensations under which accident has, in certain cases at all events, decided whether some men should serve as khansamahs round tables or find a seat for themselves at rather more august boards; and whether certain other persons should be high dignitaries of State, or engage in trade, or be clerks. The bitterness of these things is not for men but for measures; and it is surely one of the plain interests of this alien rule to enlist on its side the gentlemen who are sighing away their lives for the most part in rural retreats, and to turn to our own use the immense influence which these gentlemen are known to wield over the masses. The use that can be made of independent native chiefs is far too large a subject to be dragged in near the end of this Article; but the circumstance that, amidst many inducements to loyalty, and much personal consideration from Viceroys, the principal native houses retain a feeling of bitterness, which is not wholly explained away by the necessary unrest of all true patriotism under a foreign

government, may well lead the Government to consider whether it cannot make wiser arrangements in the future than those which it has made in the past for gathering up and binding together the straggling threads of national sentiment and national life in India.

It has casually been hinted in the course of the foregoing remarks that, even on the lower rungs of the official ladder—at the points at which the unit of administration brings our alien rule into the closest contact with the heart of the people—it might be possible, and perhaps easy, to ensure the cordial co-operation of real native gentlemen with English sub-divisional officers selected from the great English middle-class. It hardly requires proof that the fact of the English conquest of India removes what might otherwise have seemed inharmoonious in the association of respectable middle-class Englishmen with members of the native aristocracy and gentry in a common task. The official records of Indian administration are full of evidence of the readiness with which, willingly or unwillingly, the most respectable native gentlemen have uniformly recognised the fact of Indian subjection by the deference which they have paid to every official Englishman who has anywhere represented the principle of English supremacy. And it is scarcely doubtful that, if native society had not been entirely revolutionized, and prominence had not unduly been given to an inferior class of natives, native gentlemen of birth and position would now have been willing to commence official life as sub-divisional officers, or even as assistants to such, provided that such occupation afforded them some reasonable expectation of slowly rising in the official ladder, in exactly the same way as that in which a covenanted civil servant has always risen, to positions of high responsibility in the service of the State. And this assumption might have been the more unhesitatingly made if, on the one hand, natives of inferior social status had not already been elected for offices in which their preferment has amounted to an insult, or at least a wrong, to the best social and political instincts of the country, and if, on the other, some more rational distinction than the existing one had from the first been drawn between executive and ministerial functions, and between the persons amongst whom such functions were ordinarily allotted. It is perhaps a little incongruous that for the fulfilment of the same duties in the same district two officers of very different status and on very different salaries should, not as an exception, but as rule, be chosen. But whatever reforms in this branch of past administrative miscalculation may be in the womb of the future, it is probably evident to most thoughtful observers that the miscalculations of the past have resulted in a disposition of official responsibilities—

and in fact in a consequent disposition of the expectations of native society—which it would be impolitic, even though it were possible, to ignore. Whatever might have been the attitude of the native aristocracy towards any scheme which, in the dawn of British supremacy in India, had associated the sons of native noblemen and gentlemen with our best English officials, as well in remote district work, as in the sometimes more responsible Secretariat or Diplomatic work to which the other leads up in the natural course, the fact that natives of inferior position have hitherto been pitched, or worked into positions of great responsibility in our capital cities and elsewhere, not only makes it a rather hopeless task to attempt to persuade the sons of native noblemen and gentlemen to be content with insignificant careers in remote rural outstations, but also forces on the Government the obligation of providing for such members of old and honourable houses careers of usefulness in prominent central offices in our capitals—careers which they will at once readily accept, and in which they will at once assert their unquestionable superiority to all those of their countrymen of inferior birth and position who may have come to the surface otherwise than by the assertion of innate worth. This task, if it be looked at seriously, is one of some difficulty and of much delicacy. Supposing the cry often raised in India for the larger employment of natives in high office to be reasonable, it may be admitted at once that the setting aside of a certain number of honourable appointments for native gentlemen must at once silence all such clamour. If the sum total of such appointments were larger than that of all similar offices previously conferred on natives, and especially if some high appointments such as have never before been conferred on natives, were thrown into the list, the Government would enlist the sympathies of the world on its side in its painful labour of killing out an unhealthy disaffection. Supposing an allotment of honourable appointments of this kind to have been made, the Government, as has occasionally been pointed out in the Indian Press, would be in the position of an earnest benefactor, possessing all the courage of its convictions, and only claiming the right to confer its bounty on the kind of persons whom the same political conscience, which had induced it to grant the boon, also pointed out as the persons who were best fitted, in the interests of the subject-masses, for the custody of those boons. The position of the Government, in the face of the subject-masses, would be simply unassailable, even though it proceeded to the length of abolishing competitive examinations, as means of testing the efficiency of native candidates for official employment. The Government of India owes a duty to the subject-millions of this Empire which can never be fulfilled by weak concessions to the

middle and lower-middle class of natives whom our defective system of high education has brought to the surface; and a Government which of its own free grace resolved on enlisting on its side the sympathies of the native aristocracy, and conciliating the natural prejudices of the masses, by conferring on such native gentlemen as it considered worthy of the trust, a larger number of responsible and honourable offices than had ever before been conferred on natives of the country, could afford to laugh at the selfish clamour of those who might feel disposed to question, without being able to impugn the justice or expediency of the method of selection adopted.

It would be unfair to deny that the task of selecting officials for prize appointments is beset with strange perils; and the manner in which the India Office orders, forbidding the jobbing away of appointments in this country, are sometimes openly and unblushingly disregarded, no doubt serves to show that these perils are by no means imaginary. At the same time, it can hardly escape even those who denounce occasional jobbery in the Public Works Department that the sphere of pure jobbery is reduced to very narrow limits in all cases in which the selection is confined to native gentlemen; and all relevant analogy favors the supposition that, where the selection practically rests with some high official, whose past career has for the most part been in India, and who during that career has furnished ample guarantees of official and personal rectitude, the selection made will in most cases be free from all serious objection. Nor can it for a moment be doubted that almost any kind of selection that may be made by experienced English officials in India, under the general control of an English Viceroy of good family, himself an heir of enviable traditions, must result in the choice of a better body of native officers than any which, in the existing conditions of Indian society, could be the outcome of competition. Those who have gone thus far with the argument of this paper, will perhaps have little difficulty at its close in gliding insensibly into the conviction, or in allowing the conviction to take full possession of them, that, if high office is to be conferred by selection on native gentlemen, a hundred reasons point to the sons of native princes, chiefs, nobles, and gentlemen of old family, and not to the sons of successful traders, money-lenders and land-jobbers, as the persons on whom the selection ought to fall. The point in fact hardly admits of any serious discussion. We have only to look back upon the days when rebellion swelled as a volcanic fire under the whole surface of the British administration in Northern India. If a chain is no stronger than its weakest link, the days of our worst weakness may well be recalled, through its blood and fire, in order to the asking of the solemn question whether it were not better for

us that the hopes of native princes and gentlemen of influence should be bound to British rule in the person of young men of courage and manliness. Youths who shall govern and hunt with our own sons in the days of peace, so that, when war arrives, if it should ever arrive again, or serious troubles arise, as they often arise without a word of warning on the Indian horizon, the intimacies formed in peace may urge them to fight side by side with us, or stand by us in the courage of patient stillness, until the evil, whatever form it may assume, be overpast. In the course of the writing of this imperfect paper, the rumour has stolen on public ear that the present Viceroy is engaged with some scheme for giving high employment to the sons of native noblemen. If the fact that some scheme of this kind has for many years been advocated by the present writer in the Indian press makes it unnecessary to affect any awkwardness about the publication of this paper at the present time, the distance between individual efforts to mould public opinion and administrative action is yet so great that nothing can deprive Lord Lytton of the credit of conceiving and enforcing a grand reform.

W. C. MADGE . . .

ART. III.—THE LAW OF HOMICIDE IN ENGLAND AND INDIA.

A Digest of Criminal Law. By Sir James Fitz-James Stephen, K. C. S. I., Q. C. *Indian Penal Code. Sections 299-304 A.*

THERE appears to be some misapprehension prevailing in India, as to what the law relating to homicide really is as laid down by the Penal Code: and it may be worth while, though the subject involves some technicalities, to consider as shortly as possible its merits and defects, and to compare it with that obtaining in England. Recent cases have brought the topic into prominence, and provoked a good deal of acrimonious discussion. I shall, however, confine myself strictly to an exposition of the law, as I believe it to exist, and to a few suggestions for its amendment.

The Indian Penal Code has the reputation of being one of Draconian severity; and it must be allowed that its framers seem successfully to have attempted the task which Virgil's Sibyl shrank from—

*Omnes scelerum comprehendere formas,
Omnia poenarum percurrere nomina.*

But its provisions, as I shall show, are certainly more favourable to homicides than those of the English law, for many cases which under the former law are only culpable homicide not amounting to murder would under the latter be classed as murder; many cases, again, which under the Indian Penal Code are hurt, or grievous hurt, as the case may be, would be manslaughter in England. The English law does not recognize the subtle distinctions, to which I shall presently refer, drawn by the framers of the Penal Code, between different kinds of intention and knowledge; but occupies itself more with the character of the act than with the state of mind of the offender.

The gist of all crimes is either an unlawful intention or culpable carelessness on the part of the wrongdoer. This being granted, the question further arises how far is he to be considered responsible—for what he intended only, or for the consequences of his intention? And, if for the consequences of his intention, must they be the ordinary consequences only? It is with regard to acts of personal violence that this point presents most difficulty. In many branches of criminal law the intent of an offender can be sufficiently inferred from his conduct, but, where blows are struck and serious or fatal results ensue, it is often not easy to say how far those results were intended or contemplated. The consequences of a blow can

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hardly be accurately gauged even by those who see it dealt, and will vary so according to the state of health of the person struck, that the exact amount of damage meant to be inflicted can in many cases only be gathered from previous circumstances, the relations between the parties, the motives for the act, and so forth. The precise degree of guilt therefore to be attached to acts of violence if the intention only be regarded, is more embarrassing to those engaged in administering criminal justice than in the case of other offences. The difficulty is felt more in India than in England, for, while the Penal Code makes, as I have said, various subtle distinctions between intention and knowledge, and tries to get at what was passing in the offender's mind before and at the time he commits the act, the English law does not trouble itself much with these refinements, but lays down as a general principle that every sane man is presumed to have intended the necessary, or even probable, consequences of his acts. The Penal Code appears to be based very much on the maxim *in jure non remota causa sed proxima spectatur*, and only deems a man responsible for what he intended or may reasonably be held to have foreseen. The above maxim, though good in civil cases, is said ordinarily not to hold in English criminal law, which in general will make a man able for all the consequences that directly flow from his original wrongful act. It is accordingly laid down in the books that, if an action, unlawful in itself, be done deliberately and with intention of mischief, or great bodily harm to particular individuals, or of mischief indiscriminately, full where it may, and death ensues against or beside the original intention of the party, it will be murder. The principle upon which the Indian Courts proceed is probably the justest in theory, and certainly so if punishment be regarded only in relation to the person punished. As intention is the gist of crime, a man is guilty of precisely what he intended or knew was likely to happen and of no more. The ultimate consequences may be much more serious than he contemplated, but so much the worse for his victim. This fact cannot increase the offender's moral guilt. This is the principle on which it is assumed that Providence will one day mete out rewards and punishments to mankind, and seems fair enough according to human lights. But, if it is applied in criminal law, and if intention is really the only important consideration, ought not attempts to murder to be equally punishable with death as murder itself? Providence, moreover, it must be remembered, has advantages on its side in these inquiries denied to human tribunals. It was forcibly remarked by a Chief Justice in an old case, that "the thought of man is not triable, for the devil himself knows not the thought of man." This was perhaps rather a bold ruling as to the limita-

tion of the powers of the Prince of Darkness, who is probably on a par as regards this point with spiritualists and clairvoyants. Still, in the case of judges and jurymen, the saying holds good, and intention must almost always be a matter of inference.

The object, however, of human punishment is not to avenge the crime, but to prevent the criminal and others through his example from repeating the offence. "Crimes," says Beccaria, "are only to be measured by the injury done to society: they err, therefore, who imagine that a crime is greater or less, according to the intention of the person by whom it is committed." This proposition is perhaps rather too broadly expressed, for though crimes are to be estimated, not by their moral guilt, but as offences against society, the state of mind of the offender is an important ingredient to be taken into account in apportioning the penalty. In applying this principle to cases where life is taken through an act of violence, we see that the highest injury is here done to society; and the consequences, though unpremeditated and unforeseen, may be good ground for increasing the rigour of punishment. At the same time it would be impossible to punish such a result as severely as, if it had been designed; and it therefore seems that the intent of the offender and the character of his act must both be duly considered in order to completely satisfy the demands of justice. This is, in practice, done by English Judges in passing sentence in that large class of cases coming under the vague denomination of "manslaughter." This term is unknown to the Indian Penal Code, which only looks at the offence intended to be committed, so that where it is clear that hurt only is intended, though the hurt, owing to some unforeseen circumstance, is the cause of death, the offender is guilty of hurt only. I do not think he ought to be charged with any higher offence, though, in passing sentence, the result may fairly be taken into account. If A and B are struck precisely similar blows with the same intent, and, in the case of A, no harm beyond slight bodily pain ensues, while, by reason of his state of health which is unknown to the striker, B dies from the effect of the blow, some difference, it seems to me, may rightly be made in the punishment of these two offences. It is said to be one of the benefits of the criminal law, that it provides a legitimate satisfaction for the passion of revenge, and, where life is taken, be the intent what it may, some reparation is required by society which can only be effected by a substantial (though not necessarily severe) punishment.

Murder, in English law, is unlawful homicide with malice aforethought. Malice, says Sir James Stephen, who is perhaps the living authority on the subject, means wickedness, and is to imply all the states of mind specified in the Indian

definitions of both murder and culpable homicide, and even others of a less degree of guilt. But though, owing to the old distinction still obtaining in England between felonies and misdemeanours, a man who shoots at a fowl with intent to steal it and kills a bystander is legally guilty of murder, he would be only punished for his intent, the law practically requiring as strict evidence of intention as does the Penal Code in cases of murder.* But an intention to cause such bodily injury as is likely to cause death, or knowledge on the part of the offender that he is likely by his act to cause death, states of mind which, where death ensues, make the crime under the Penal Code only culpable homicide not amounting to murder, render the offence in English law murder *pur et simple*, though sentence of death might be commuted according to the circumstances of the case. But the difference between the two systems comes out mainly in cases of what in English law is termed voluntary manslaughter, and these are the kind of cases which of late years have acquired an unhappy celebrity in India. The word manslaughter is not, as I have said, used in the Indian Code, which, as it stood originally, contained no provision even for death caused by simple negligence. Manslaughter is a vague term of wide import, and so far as it implies death unintentionally resulting from an unlawful act intentionally committed, is not recognized as an offence under the Penal Code. The English law, as I have said, looks both at the unlawful intention and the result. It views the killing of one man by another with the strongest possible reprobation, and where a blow is dealt, followed by fatal results, does not stop to enquire too anxiously the precise amount of harm which the offender intended to inflict. The issue being of so serious a nature, the bringing it about is often, irrespective of intention, punished very severely, the rigour of the sentence depending more on the means by which the death is caused, than on any very nice scrutiny of the mind of the wrong-doer. Thus the causing death by firearms or cutting instruments is punished generally far more heavily than the causing death by a stick or a fist, but even in these latter cases English judges will pass sentences, which under exactly similar circumstances might be unlawful in India, because they regard more the character of the act done than the precise intention with which it is accompanied. In conse-

* Lord Bacon's rule holds good at the present day: "In capital causes, *in favorem vite*, the law will not punish in so high a degree, except the malice of the will and intention appear; but in civil trespass-

ses, and injuries that are of an inferior nature, the law doth rather consider the damage of the party wronged than the malice of him that was the wrong-doer." Bac. Max. Reg. 7.

quence, the punishment for manslaughter varies immensely in England, where a very large discretion is left to the judge, who has to entertain the questions both of the moral guilt of the offender and the injury done to society by his act. I will now apply the foregoing principles to three cases which have recently occurred in India, where a European has brought about the death of a native. I will take first the Fuller case. Mr. Fuller, as everybody now knows only too well, struck a blow with his open hand on his syce's face and pulled his hair. The man fell down and shortly after died, the fall having ruptured his spleen which was in a very unhealthy state. The blow appears to have been the original cause of death, but there was no evidence of any intention on Fuller's part to do more than cause simple hurt. He was therefore tried rightly under section 323, though opinions may differ as to the propriety of the sentence. If the principle of the Penal Code prevailed in English law, his offence would have been that of a common assault. As it is, he would probably have been tried in England for manslaughter and been more severely punished.*

Heenan's case was tried before the Calcutta High Court a few months ago. Mr. Heenan on returning late one night from a house which he had no authority to visit at such an hour, was seized by a native servant of the master of the house. The native was quite unarmed, but Heenan had with him a loaded

* Sir B. Peacock in his last speech on the Penal Code Bill seems to have anticipated the Fuller case. He said: "If a man gave a slight blow to another who had a diseased spleen and who died in consequence of that blow; if he knew that the man was labouring under such a disease and that the blow was likely to cause his death, he ought to be punished for murder. But if he was ignorant of the man having a diseased spleen and gave him a box on the ear and death ensued, it would not be right or proper to hang him, and this Code therefore made provision accordingly. It was true that a man had no right to jeopardize another's life, but still he ought not to be punished for an act which he (Sir B. Peacock) would not say might be tantamount to an innocent act, though it was something like it." *Proceedings of the Legislative Council for 1860*, p. 1259.

The assertion of an anonymous writer in the 'Independent Section'

of the last number of this *Review*, that no section of the Penal Code meets cases in which a person who, unknown to the striker, having an enlarged spleen, dies from the effect of a slight blow, is misleading. I submit that such a case is met, and sufficiently met, by section 323 which relates to causing hurt, and awards a maximum punishment of one year's rigorous imprisonment and a maximum fine of Rs. 1,000. A heavier punishment would surely be revolting for an act which Sir B. Peacock would characterize as if not tantamount to an innocent act, something like it. There is no need for magistrates to "strain the law." The law on this point is clear, and the only question is the propriety of the sentence. To meet this offence the writer referred to proposes to add a section which is perfectly superfluous. He proposes a year's imprisonment or a fine or both which is exactly the limit of punishment for causing hurt.

revolver which he fired twice into the servant's body, who died shortly after of his wounds. He was indicted under section 299 of the Code for culpable homicide not amounting to murder, that is, for causing death (1) with the intention of causing such bodily injury as was likely to cause death, and (2) with the knowledge that he was likely by his act to cause death, and also under section 326 for grievous hurt. It is, however, questionable whether Heenan's intention or knowledge was not high enough to come under the definition of murder, for a man who fires in close quarters a loaded pistol into another, may be taken not unreasonably to have intended such bodily injury as was sufficient in the ordinary course of nature to cause death (which is murder.) The result would, probably have been the same, as the provocation received must, under exception (1) to section 300 have reduced the crime to culpable homicide not amounting to murder of which (2) he was actually convicted. In England he would probably have been tried for murder and convicted of manslaughter. An intention to inflict a fatal injury might fairly be presumed here, the mitigating circumstances being the amount of provocation received.

The third case to which I will refer is that of Macgregor, also tried the other day by the Calcutta High Court. Macgregor, who was employed in an Assam tea-garden, struck a lazy and sickly coolie some blows with a cane. The man fell down and died very shortly afterwards. The post mortem examination of the body exhibited very slight traces of the beating, and the doctor's opinion was that death had resulted from the weakly state of the coolie and had not been accelerated by the blows. The depositions forwarded to the High Court contained statements of a much severer beating than was proved, and Macgregor was in consequence indicted under the last two clauses of section 299, it being one of those cases which just fell short of the amount of intention or knowledge required to make the offence amount to murder. The jury, however, adopted the doctor's opinion and convicted the prisoner of simple hurt only, with which he was also charged. In England, from the depositions, I think he would have been indicted for murder, and if the jury had taken the same view as here, convicted of a common assault.*

* Sir James Stephen would assimilate the law of manslaughter very much to that prevailing in this country. "The crime of manslaughter might I think be properly subdivided into three different offences punishable with different degrees of severity. That is to say, manslaughter, which but for provocation, would have been

murder, manslaughter by the intentional infliction of bodily harm neither likely nor intended to kill which might be called by some such name as killing by a common assault, and manslaughter by negligence, which might be called killing by negligence." Digest, Introd. p. XXXVII.

I now propose to offer a few criticisms on the sections of the Penal Code which define murder, culpable homicide, &c. The Code apparently divides unlawful killing into four heads:

(1). Murder.

(2). Murder *prima facie*, but reduced to culpable homicide not amounting to murder by the case falling under one of the exceptions to section 300.

(3). Culpable homicide not amounting to murder as defined in section 299.

(4). Rash or negligent killing.

The sections commence with a definition of culpable homicide.

This is defined as the causing death by doing an act with three specific kinds of intention or knowledge. The next section goes on to say that culpable homicide is murder if the act is done with four specific kinds of intention or knowledge, one of these intentions being exactly the same as that mentioned in the section defining culpable homicide. The other kinds of intention or knowledge are rather differently worded to those in the preceding section. An unnecessary confusion is here introduced. If murder is to consist of culpable homicide, plus something else, the definition of the intention or knowledge required for culpable homicide only should not be changed, but the aggravating circumstances that increase the crime to murder should be succinctly enumerated. The following comparison of the sections will show how defectively they are framed, and will point out the fine distinction drawn between murder and culpable homicide.

Sec. 299

Sec. 300

A person is said to commit the offence of culpable homicide "if he causes death by doing an act with the intention of causing death;"

Culpable homicide is murder if the act by which the death is caused is done with the intention of causing death;"

[Here the intentions required both for murder and culpable homicide are precisely the same, and so far there seems to be no distinction whatever between the offences.]

"or of causing such bodily injury as is likely to cause death;"

(a) "or of causing such bodily injury as the offender knows to be likely to cause the death of the person to whom the harm is caused ;

(b) "or of causing bodily injury to any person, and the bodily injury intended to be inflicted is sufficient, in the ordinary course of nature, to cause death ;"

[The difference here intended is, I apprehend, this: as regards (a) to convict him of murder where his act is not *prima facie* murderous, the offender must be fixed with the knowledge that the particular person injured was likely to die from his act. If he knows that the person assaulted is in a very bad state of health, he would be guilty of murder. This knowledge too would be inferred more readily where the victim was a young child or delicate woman. In the absence of such guilty knowledge, the same blow would make the crime culpable homicide only. Clause (b) seems to follow the maxim that every man is responsible for the natural consequences of his acts. But if the person killed was in a very unusual state of health, unknown to the offender, and, in consequence, the wound took a fatal turn, the latter would probably only be guilty of culpable homicide. In a recent Bombay case the facts were these: The prisoner was proved to have kicked his wife and struck her several blows with his fist on the back. The blows seem to have caused her no serious injury. She fell on the ground, and the prisoner struck her two or three times in the face; one of these blows was violent and delivered with the closed fist; it took effect on the girl's left eye producing contusion and discolouration. The skull was not fractured but the blow caused an extravasation of blood on the brain, and the girl died in consequence on the spot or very shortly afterwards. The High Court held that in the absence of any proof of intention to cause death the prisoner could not have been convicted of murder, though it held that extravasation of blood was likely and might easily be caused by such blows as above described. It ruled that the injury received was not sufficient, in the ordinary course of nature, to cause death, and convicted the prisoner of culpable homicide not amounting to murder. These findings seem to me rather hard to reconcile, for if such a fatal result as extravasation is likely and might easily follow particular blows, must not the blows be "sufficient in the ordinary course of nature" to cause death? In England the offence would have been clearly murder I think.]

"or with the knowledge that he is likely by that act to cause death;" "or if the person committing the act knows it is so imminently dangerous that it must, in all probability, cause death, or such bodily harm as is likely to cause death, and commits such act without any excuse for incurring the risk, causing death or such injury as aforesaid."

[Here the character of the wound and the weapon used must be the chief tests between murder and culpable homicide only. If

the act be committed with firearms or other dangerous instrument, the offender will more probably be fixed with a knowledge of all the consequence of employing it than in the case of a severe blow from a fist or stick. The last part of the clause just quoted appears unnecessary. Previous sections of the Code have laid down that it is no offence to do an act which the person doing it knows to be likely to cause death, if it be done for the purpose of preventing death, &c., (*e. g.* a surgical operation undertaken in good faith) and any other mitigating circumstances seem provided for by the exceptions to section 300.]

It will be seen from the above that the distinction taken between culpable homicide only and murder is a very nice one, and it is certainly clumsily expressed. In England a fatal result attended by any of the above conditions of mind, would make the crime murder,* and it may be questionable whether the subtleties of the Code on this point do not often bring about a miscarriage of justice.

The decisions on these sections are not very satisfactory. Some judges appear not to recognize the above distinctions at all, but to consider all the kinds of intention or knowledge before specified, sufficient to make the crime murder, unless reduced by circumstances, enumerated in the exceptions, to culpable homicide only. Thus Mr. Justice Loch laid down in a case before him (6 *W. R.*, p. 86) "All culpable homicide is murder unless it is accompanied with one or other of the exceptions given in section 300 of the Penal Code."

On the other hand it is clear from the remarks of Sir Barnes Peacock (5 *W. R.*, C. R., 44) who, as is well known, is chiefly responsible for the Code in its present shape, that its framers intended a distinction to be drawn between the last two clauses of the culpable homicide section and the last three of the murder section. The Chief Justice then instanced the case of a man driving furiously along a narrow, crowded street. "He might know that he was likely to kill some person, but he might not intend to kill any one. In such a case if he should cause death, I apprehend he would be guilty of culpable homicide not amounting to murder, unless it should be found as a fact that he knew that his act was so imminently dangerous, that it must in all probability cause death or such bodily injury, &c., as to bring the case within the 4th clause of section 300." Such a case as this would, in the Code as now

* In *R. v Desmond*, Barrett and others, Lord Chief Justice Cockburn said: "If a man did an act, more especially if that were an illegal act, although its immediate purpose might not be to take life, yet if it were such

that life was necessarily endangered by it, if a man did such an act, not with the purpose of taking life, but with the knowledge or belief that life was likely to be sacrificed by it," that was murder. Stephen's Dig. p. 146.

amended, probably come under section 304 A which provides for death being caused by a rash or negligent act, to which I shall presently refer. Again, Sir Barnes Peacock said in 8 W. R., p. 51

"The present case falls within section 299: it does not fall within any of the exceptions to section 300. Still it is not necessarily a case of murder. It does not follow that a case of culpable homicide is murder because it does not fall within any of the exceptions in section 300. To render culpable homicide murder, the case must come within the provisions of clauses 1, 2, 3, or 4 of section 300."

How fine the distinction between sections 299 and 300 is, may be seen from Mr. Mayne's note to them which I think put the case justly.

"When the positive intention to cause death is negatived, the difference is a mere question as to different degrees of probability that death would ensue. When death must have been known to be a probable result, it is culpable homicide. When it must have been known to be the most probable result, then it is murder."

The exceptions to section 300 are classed under five heads. Culpable homicide is not murder under the following circumstances: (1.) Grave and sudden provocation with certain qualifications. (2.) Excess in exercising in good faith the lawful right of private defence. (3.) Excess in exercising in good faith his legal powers on the part of a public servant. (4.) A sudden fight and absence of premeditation. (5.) Voluntarily suffering or taking the risk of death in the case of a person over eighteen years. These call for little remark, except the last. In England they would reduce murder to voluntary manslaughter. But the fifth exception is contrary to English law. Under this it is not murder to kill a grown up person with his own freely given consent or in a fair duel. The clause is believed to have originated to meet the cases of Hindoo widows who were burnt by their own consent with the corpses of their husbands. Though the perpetrators of such acts have been punishable since 1829, they were never treated as murderers, and the Law Commissioners concluded that they ought not to be so treated. But Hindoo widows are never burnt now-a-days in British India, and the policy of the clause is, I think, doubtful. It allows a defence to be raised, that the deceased consented to his own death, which might not be so improbable among ignorant Orientals worked on by superstitious fears. Anyhow it is a defence in support of which evidence might be easily manufactured and not easily refuted. There is a curious case on this point in Sutherland's *Weekly Reporter*, Vol. VI p. 51. The prisoner was convicted on his own confession of the murder of his wife, and was sentenced by the Session's

Judge to death. It appeared that the prisoner and his wife were both young people (she was 20) and bore a good character, were in no want of money, and had no quarrel. Four months before the prisoner committed the offence they lost their only child, a boy of five years old, and his story was that, in consequence of their overwhelming grief at this event, he and his wife determined to kill themselves. He asserted that he made several tests of his wife's sincerity in this matter by striking at her with an axe but purposely missing her, and that as she never flinched but repeated her request that he should kill her before killing himself, he accordingly did so by striking her three blows with an adze. Instead, however, of making any attempt on his own life, he called his brother and requested that the police might be sent for. There was no reason to doubt the prisoner's story, and the High Court held that his offence was culpable homicide, not amounting to murder, and sentenced him to fifteen years' transportation. Justice was in this case fully satisfied, I think, but cases might occur where a man might purposely persecute his wife till, through sheer weariness of life, she consented to her death; his offence here, morally, would be one of the worst of murders, but, unless her consent could be proved to have been given "under fear of injury," he could not be capitally punished. There is a very extraordinary case in Vol. XII of the *Weekly Reporter*, where two prisoners who called themselves *gooroo*s and snake-charmers, claimed to be in possession of a charm for curing snake-bites and persuaded certain ignorant coolies to allow themselves to be bitten by some deadly snakes (*korait*s) which they produced. Three of the coolies died in consequence, and the prisoners were convicted of culpable homicide not amounting to murder, and causing grievous hurt. The High Court on appeal refused to interfere with the sentence (five years' imprisonment), one of the Judges holding that the deceased had given their consent, the other maintaining that the consent was not such as the law allowed, and doubting if this offence was not murder *pur et simple*. In English law, as I have said, it is no excuse that death was inflicted with the assent of the deceased. Even if two persons mutually agree to commit suicide and one only accomplishes his object, the survivor will be guilty of murder in point of law, though now-a-days he would certainly not be hanged. For reasons given above I think it questionable whether death inflicted by consent ought to be removed from the category of murder, as under the Code, capital punishment does not necessarily follow upon a conviction for that crime, and if the other alternative, transportation for life, were too severe, the local Government could always commute the sentence.

In England, on a conviction for murder, sentence of death must be passed; but the Penal Code allows, as I have said, the alternative of transportation for life. I am inclined to think it a pity that this alternative is not also allowed in England, as there are murders and murders, and if the judge had the power of taking into account certain mitigating circumstances, the need of reference to the Home Secretary might often be avoided. In India, where, especially, religion *tantum potest suadere malorum*, murders are frequently committed from motives of queer superstitions, motives freed from the ordinary feelings of revenge or from lust of gain; so that it is difficult to hang a man who sacrifices his son to Mahadeo, because wealth did not accompany his birth, and then tries to cut his own throat as a protest against his deity's injustice (7, W. R. 100); or another who, because a 'diviner' fails to cure his son, puts him down as a wicked wizard and knocks him on the head (6, W. R. 82.) And as the Indian Code allows a sentence of transportation for life in cases of murder, it is doubtful whether there is any use in retaining the minute distinctions between culpable homicide and murder laid down in sections 299 and 300. Some of the judges, as I have said, disregard them entirely; others often find undoubted murderers guilty of culpable homicide only, stretching the definitions of the latter offence so as to include those who take life with the worst intention and most guilty knowledge. For instance a man who stabs another in a vital part with a knife is not unfrequently brought in as guilty of doing the act with the knowledge that he is likely to cause death (culpable homicide only) whereas such a man must really know that it is so imminently dangerous, as in all probability to cause death, which makes the crime amount to murder. But if it is thought desirable to retain the substance of the present law, it would surely be worth while to draft it more clearly. It seems to me that something like the following would better express the intention of the legislature. For Sec. 299—

"Whoever causes death by doing an act with the intention of causing such bodily injury as is likely to cause death, or with the knowledge that he is likely by such act to cause death, or with the intention or knowledge specified in section 300 but subject to any of the exceptions therein mentioned, commits the offence of culpable homicide not amounting to murder." Sec. 300.

"Whoever, except in the cases hereinafter excepted, causes death by doing an act with the intention of causing death, or 2dly with the intention of causing such bodily injury as he knows to be likely to cause the death of, the person to whom the harm is caused, or 3dly with the intention of causing bodily injury to any

person, the bodily injury intended to be inflicted being sufficient in the ordinary course of nature to cause death, or 4thly with the knowledge that the act by which the death is caused, is so imminently dangerous that it must in all probability cause death or such bodily injury as is likely to cause death, commits the offence of culpable homicide amounting to murder.

Exceptions," &c.

The wording of section 304 which prescribes the punishment for culpable homicide not amounting to murder, is also open to exception, though I think its meaning is pretty clear. It runs as follows:—

"Whoever commits culpable homicide not amounting to murder shall be punished with transportation for life, or imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine, if the act by which the death is caused is done with the intention of causing death, or of causing such bodily injury as is likely to cause death; or with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, or with fine, or with both if the act is done with the knowledge that it is likely to cause death, but without any intention to cause death, or to cause such bodily injury as is likely to cause death."

A graver or less penalty is here affixed according as the offence falls under the former or latter part of section 299 (which defines culpable homicide). Nothing seems to be said as to the punishment for offences committed with the intention or knowledge which would make the crime murder, if not reduced to culpable homicide only under one of the five exceptions before quoted. I am aware that Sir Barnes Peacock has laid down that the first part of the section applies *only* to cases which would be murder if not falling under one of the exceptions in section 300. But if this be so, and it seems to me, *pace tanti viri*, doubtful, the language of the section is unhappy. The words are precisely the same as those in the section defining culpable homicide, and must surely be taken to comprise the second species of intention mentioned in that section. It is the case of murder reduced by one of the exceptions that seems to be unprovided with punishment, but the fact is the intention and knowledge specified by the murder section include those specified by the culpable-homicide section, and where the latter are mentioned they involve the former for purposes of punishment.

The fourth species of killing provided for by the Code is causing death "by doing any rash or negligent act, not amounting to culpable homicide." This contingency was overlooked by the original framers of the Code, and a section was inserted by

Mr. Fitzjames Stephen to meet cases of what English law terms "manslaughter by negligence". In passing this Mr. Stephen said:

The Judges had adopted a plan for evading the law, which though ingenious and perhaps necessary, was he thought objectionable. They convicted prisoners who had caused death by a rash or negligent act of causing 'grievous hurt' by a rash or negligent act. Mr. Stephen had heard a judge direct a jury that to cause death was to cause grievous hurt and more. This he thought was perfectly good sense, but as the Code defined grievous hurt to mean eight specified injuries he thought it "very questionable law." It is true that grievous hurt means any hurt endangering life, but as hurt is defined as 'bodily pain, disease or infirmity' the offence of carelessly administering a painless poison or of negligently causing death by drowning would seem to be unprovided for without this section. Its meaning, however, has been greatly misunderstood. It does not apply, as most authorities often seem to think, to cases where an unlawful act is intentionally committed and a fatal result unintentionally ensues. It applies where death ensues from an act done carelessly or negligently. It is, however, often worked as if it were intended to be a general substitute for "manslaughter."

Thus Macgregor's case was originally committed under this Section, and the following instances were recently supplied in a report on the subject from the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces.

One Sawat quarrelled with his wife who threatened to go to her mother's house, where, according to Sawat's own confession, he got angry, caught hold of the hair of her head and struck her three blows on the back. She fell on her face and died. The *post-mortem* examination showed that her spleen, which was greatly enlarged, had been ruptured. The Magistrate found that Sawat had committed "death by negligence."

A man who struck his mother with a wooden shovel and so caused her death was convicted by the magistrate of causing death by a rash act.

Another case was one of witch-murder. Five persons were accused of seizing three women as witches, two of whom they merely ill-treated, kicking them with kicks and fists, the third however (the mother of two children, one an infant still suckling) they so beat with sticks all over the body that bones were broken. She was unable to walk straight, and ten days afterwards she died from the effects of the injuries thus received. The accused was convicted of causing death by a rash or negligent act.

In a fourth case the facts were these. A police constable, was tried for having, while investigating a theft supposed to have been committed by one Fogi, gone to Fogi's father's house and occupied

himself during the best part of the night in so torturing Fogi's father and mother for the purpose of extracting information, that Fogi's father died the following night and his mother was considerably injured. The Magistrate committed the prisoner on a charge of culpable homicide not amounting to murder, but the Commissioner having altered it into one of causing death by a rash and negligent act sentenced the accused to two years' imprisonment.

None of the above cases can be said to be "rash or negligent." The unlawful acts were all intended, and the question to be considered was, how far the consequences were intended or foreseen. If the consequences were designed or probable, the offence was murder or culpable homicide: if not, the offence was hurt or grievous hurt as the case might be.*

It will be seen that the Indian law on these subjects by imposing on the judge the necessity of closely scrutinizing the intention of the offender relieves the former to a certain extent of the responsibility involved in passing sentence. No one who peruse the reports of manslaughter cases in the *Times* can fail to be struck with the widely-discrepant sentences awarded by judges on states of facts very similar to each other. It is true that a news paper report is always more or less imperfect, but it is certain that the large discretion confided to judges at home is not always exercised very satisfactorily. Too much is left to the feelings and temperament of individuals, so that a perfectly fair trial, and this is what a prisoner seldom fails to obtain, is often marred by an unequally proportioned sentence. This, however, is a difficult subject. It is comparatively easy to frame general law defining crimes which the nation will assent to, but people will differ endlessly as to the precise amount of punishment to be awarded on a given state of facts. Still the legislature that leaves as little as possible to the caprice of the judge must so far be allowed to be the best, so that though I think the Indian Code, on some of the points on which I have touched has drawn a too fanciful distinction, it is on the whole a most satisfactory guide on these matters than the English law.

* From the fact that the Judicial Commissioner of Nagpore has misconstrued a section of the Penal Code, the anonymous writer in the Independent Section of the last number of this *Review* has drawn two conclusions: (1) that the law is defective, (2) that all Indian appellate tribunals are incompetent. The first conclusion is, I submit, erroneous,

the second of course absurd. I ought, however, to apologize to my readers for dealing seriously with a gentleman who calls the record of an inferior court *qua* record, "hearsay evidence," though I am willing to admit that it is not unusual for the record in many cases to contain plenty of hearsay evidence.

One word in conclusion. It is a common subject of complaint by journalists that acts of personal violence are frequently punished with much less severity than offences against property, and it has been urged in excuse that the former are often committed on the spur of the moment while the latter are generally the result of some previously concerted plan or 'malice aforethought.' There are two reasons which lead people to acquiesce in this view: first, the sacred character of property in the eyes of Englishmen, in spite of Christian doctrine to the contrary. Their sentiment, it is to be feared, is too much akin to that of the Roman noble in Juvenal's day.

*Decernat, quodcumque volet, de corpore nostro
Isis, et irato feriat mea lumina sistro,
Dummodo vel circus teneam, quos obnego nummos.
Et phthisis et vomice putres et demulium crus
Sunt tanti!*

And of course if men are seriously of opinion that it is better to be knocked on the head than to have their pockets picked, something may be said for the existing state of things. Another reason is, that legislators and the upper classes of society generally entertain but little dread of bodily ill-usage while they suffer frequently enough from unlawful attacks on their purses in various shapes. But if the principle be sound that crimes are chiefly to be measured by their injury to society, it can hardly be doubted that as between acts of violence and acts of larceny the former should be the more heavily punished. For, granted that property is as dear as life, since under existing arrangements you unfortunately cannot enjoy the former without the latter, it appears that the first duty of a well-organized State is to take thought for the bodies of its citizens, in order that they in turn may have an opportunity for taking thought what they shall eat and wherewithal they shall be clothed, and in what manner they may best lay up for themselves treasure upon the earth.

W. E. H. FORSYTH.

ART. IV.—ISLAM AS IT IS.

II.—ITS NATIONAL ASPECT.

SCHLEGEL in his Philosophy of History, has said that History is but the 'recital of the struggles of mankind since the Fall, towards the attainment of that perfection which the Biblical Narrative teaches us we originally possessed. The natural impulse of man, when undegraded by youthful contact with vice and immorality, is upward and onward. He may indeed be "prone to sin," and "the imaginations of his heart" may be wholly evil, but the aspirations of his soul are for better things than those by which he is surrounded. Sin and Misery may and do step in to contaminate that purity of soul and thought which is the birthright of every man, and the daily circumstances of life blot or dim the lustre of the aspirations which would lead him upward, but it is seldom if ever that the soul becomes so wholly enshrouded in the misery of evil, that it never turns with a longing heart back to the memories of its first and best impulses. Men in general are controlled and ruled by their surroundings. The well-born, well-fed, well-clothed and well-taught son of a thriving and industrious merchant, has but few ideas in common with the ill-begotten, ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-taught son of a felon father. The one learns to glory in the triumphs of civilization and progress, the other learns to revel in the sloths of sin and shame. As it is with individuals so, in a measure, must it be with nations. For as the circumstances which attend a man's birth and life develop his good or bad qualities, so must the general circumstances of a nation and the character of its people affect its growing generations; and hence it is, that the introduction of civilization among a barbarous people is a task illimitably more difficult than its propagation when once its first principles have been successfully inculcated.

If we look around the world at large, we may contrast the peoples who inhabit it; and from the contrast we obtain a division of mankind into two classes, the progressive and the nonprogressive. We look at Europe and America and we find peoples who are ever struggling to attain perfection, mental, social and political. We look at Asia and Africa and we find peoples resting quietly satisfied with their positions and their attainments, content to follow in the footsteps of their predecessors, than the most ancient of whom they are but little wiser and no better. All the human race are ever and anon subject to sudden or permanent impulses which spring from ambition, or the restless craving for

progress which is man's natural inheritance and which fully develops itself wherever the force of early education or surrounding circumstances is not enough to quench it, and it is these impulses and the manner in which they affect any particular people that marks a people as a barbarous or a civilized nation. Among barbarians the progressive impulse limits itself to personal ambition, and finds its results in wars, mutinies and personal prowess. Among civilized nations the progressive impulse takes a higher range, and the welfare of humanity becomes the object of its ambition. Untouched by the elevating power of civilization, man, as a barbarian, is but little advanced before the brute creation. He lives, he moves, but his condition is one of inertia. His life and his movements are no more than the swaying of the trees in the changeful winds, productive of no results save the hastening of their own destruction from the wear and tear of the constant, though futile, motion: and, as the trees, when no longer impelled by the fluctuating winds, return to motionless inactivity, so does the soul of uncivilized man, when for the time unimpelled by the force of personal ambition or uncontrollable circumstances, return to its inert condition, nothing changed from what it had been before. But while the winds exert their powers upon the rooted trees in wanton play, let them but breathe upon the pyramids of canvas which form the swelling sails of a stately ship and their force is no longer wasted, but wafts the vessel on her onward course; and when they fail they leave her, motionless indeed, but far advanced upon her way; so the progressive impulse operating upon civilized man, urges him onward, ever onward, and, should it cease to operate for a time, leaves him nearer to his ultimate destination than he ever was before: and as the seaman spreads all his canvas to catch the favouring gales, so civilized man puts forth all his energies that he may profit to the utmost from the influence that is urging him onward. What should we say to the mariner, who, while a favouring breeze was blowing would roll up his sails and drop his anchor, and refuse to profit by it? Would we not brand him as a fool, a madman or yet worse; and, adjudging him unfitted for his post, replace him by another? And what then should we say to the rulers of a people who resisted the progressive impulse of their subjects, forbid them to profit from compliance with its teachings, and insisted on the establishment of an unqualified conservatism? Yet this is what Islam has ever been represented to be, an unalterable conservative law, an annulling power deadening the spirit of motion in its subjects, the furled sails, and dropped-anchor of the vessel of human progress. If this estimate of Islam be the true one, it is a life- and vigour-destroying power, staying

what is at once man's best and noblest impulse, and reducing him to the level of a barbarian. How tame and poor is the spectacle of a ship riding at anchor in a harbour, but how grand and imposing the sight of the bounding barque, with her canvas clouds bellying before the blowing breeze. And so with man: all his beauty and his glory springs from his power of motion, and whatever tends to counteract or impede that motion should stand accursed of men and doomed to extinction. Let us see if this be the fate which the inexorable decree of justice should accord to Islam as a national system.

The religion of a country, that is to say, of the class or section of the people who possess the power of directing the course of its legislation, must ever exercise an important influence upon the welfare of the country, inasmuch as religious scruples and dogmas necessarily affect the laws, and must tend either towards the advancement or retardation of the commercial, social, and political prosperity of the people. History, ancient and modern, possesses many instances of this, and I might, did space allow, call attention to the influence which religion has had upon the laws of European nations, and show how the laws thus affected have influenced the material prosperity of the countries concerned. It will, however, be sufficient for me here, to point to the laws and customs of the Hindoos as based upon their religion. The laws of caste prohibiting the free intermixture of the Hindoos with other peoples, and confining them within the bounds of their own country, must infallibly, had they not been overruled by the enlightened legislation of the Anglo-Indian Government, have retarded the progress of the people towards commercial success; while their isolation from free intercourse with other nations must have deprived them of the power of benefiting by the advancement of civilization and knowledge in other lands. Had not the English nation assumed the control of India, where would the Hindoos have obtained the telegraphs, railways, printing presses, tramways, and other inventions which stud the land? Even at home we have an instance of the effect of religious ideas upon material prosperity, in the strong and vigorous opposition shown in Scotland when it was first proposed to run trains on Sundays. But if religion thus occasionally steps in to mar or retard the worldly prosperity of its professors, it not unfrequently acts in the opposite direction, and lends assistance to the cause of social and general progress. Of this the best as the brightest example, will be found in the results which have often arisen from European, and more especially English, missionary effort; and I believe I am correct in ascribing somewhat similar, if far less widespread and beneficial, results to the labours of the Mahomedan missionary

traders of Africa. The religion of any given people being thus powerful for their material good, or evil (in a degree equivalent to its interference with their social or commercial customs), it will be at once perceived that a religion like Islam which professes to supply the whole of the laws by which its followers are to be directed in their daily life, whether with regard to spiritual or worldly affairs, must have an important influence upon the material prosperity of a country where its tenets have been accepted by the dominant party. If such a religion be based upon the absurd theory (never so ably advocated as by the poet Pope), that "whatever is, is right,"* and ordains a policy founded upon principles of uncompromising conservatism, it needs but little demonstration to show that its followers will be incapable of developing their power of progressing with the advancement of civilization among other nations; and this is the charge which is so frequently brought against Islam.

The Koranic Code being accepted by all Moslems as the decrees of the Divinity, no appeal is allowed from decisions based upon its authority—"There is no appeal from Cæsar." The *Sunnat*, or traditions of the sayings of the Prophet, are used to explain, confirm, or supply the deficiencies of, the Koran; but they cannot be used to contradict, annul, or alter any of its commands. Similarly, the decisions of the four Imams, Abu Hanifa al Noman, Malek ibn Ans, Mahomed ibn Edris al Shafei, and Ahmed ibn Hanbal, and the *ulema*, or council of the learned, who in the present day decide all questions of law or faith, cannot be used otherwise than in conformity with the general tenor and special commands of the Koran. Hence, from a correct study of the Koran itself, we not only gain an insight into the numerous details of Mahomedan law which it contains, but we get a key to the principles on which the whole body of the Mahomedan law is founded. Recognizing this fact, the majority of English writers on the subject of Mahomedanism have fallen into the error which I have exposed in my Article on *Islam as a social system*. Totally forgetting the wide scope allowed to the personal or collective opinions of Mahomedans, when called upon to decide what is or is not in accordance with the Koran, our authors have decided all questions for themselves in strict compliance with their own views as to the spirit and object of the Koran. How erroneous are the opinions

* Pope's *Essay on Man*, which is wholly devoted to maintaining this theory, should not, as is so often done, be put into the hands of Indian students, without a warning. If not beyond their understanding, it tends

to confirm their national character of "letting well alone; the very point against which every true well-wisher of the Natives of India should direct his strongest influence."

thus obtained, I have shown, I think, when speaking on the subject of the *Jehud*. Christians entering upon the study of Islam with the knowledge of the Prophet's avowed hostility to their creed, and regarding Mahomedans somewhat, if not altogether, in the light of hereditary and natural foes, find the pages of the Koran strongly confirmatory of the views they hold, and not unnaturally their studies serve but to convince them that one of the chief characteristics of a "true believer" is a deadly hatred to Christianity and Christians; and they dwell with emphasis on such passages as "have no fellowship with unbelievers," quite forgetful of the fact that their own Bible contains a similar decree. The same mode of treatment has been extended to the consideration of all the more important questions connected with Islam as a national system, and hence the erroneous judgment which so many of our authors have formed on such subjects. As I insisted in my former Article, "we must not judge Mahomedanism or Mahomedans by the strict letter of the Koran, but by the interpretation which the Mahomedans themselves put upon it. Would it not be considered absurd for a Mahomedan to take the Bible or New Testament, and, framing from it a code of laws, political and social, according to his own conception of its meaning, declare that code to be the one by which all Christians were guided, and that any estimate of Christianity or Christians not founded on it must be incorrect? Yet this is what many English writers have done in treating of Mahomedanism.

If then we are to judge Islam by a rational standard, we may practically throw the Koran, the four Imams, and the *ulema* and *muftis* on one side as unessential to the object in view, and turning to the people themselves seek to ascertain from them their views, and, these obtained, we may with justice draw therefrom opinions as to the capabilities which Islam as it now exists possesses for the development of civilization and social or national progress; and undoubtedly the best way to do this is to look at the strides which Islam has recently been making towards civilization in the different countries under her sway.

As in my first Article, so in this, I confine myself when speaking of Mahomedans or Mahomedanism to the *sunnees* or orthodox sects, and, in doing so, it will be remembered that I treat of the great body of Islam, comprising, the Turks, Arabs, Africans, Hindostanis, Bokharese, Afghan, Beloochee and Tartar and Malayan Moslems, and omit only the Persians, and a few scattered and nationally unimportant sects and races. It must, however, be remembered that orthodox Islam is divided into four sects called after the four Imams, whose names I have given above. Of these four sects, an Arabian author has justly said that the Hanifees

are the "followers of reason," and the other three the "followers of tradition," (i.e. with regard to their interpretations of the Koranic law). From this statement it may be inferred that, even within the limits of orthodox Islam, varying opinions will be not only possible, but certain; and such is undoubtedly the case. Yet here again an existing fact steps in to lighten the labour of investigation and the knowledge that the supreme power in Turkey, Egypt, and Arabia is invested in the hands of the Hanify sect, and that that sect probably comprises nearly three-fourths of orthodox Islam, limits the enquiries we have to make to that sect. The fact that the Hanify sect is by far the largest of any of the Mahomedan sects, is in itself somewhat of a refutation of the common European estimation of Islam, for it shows us that the largest and most important body of Mahomedans so far from accepting the guidance of bigoted and narrow-minded traditions look to *reason* as the proper source from which must come all solutions of questions undecided by the Koran or Sunnat. It would be an agreeable task to trace the gradual progress of civilization in the East under the influence of Mahomedanism, in detail; but to do so with either accuracy or completeness would require more chapters than I can here devote pages to its consideration; and I can at most but point out some of the leading features in the progress towards civilization which Islam is undoubtedly making, and glance at the chief obstacles which have to be overcome before the followers of the Prophet can enter upon the great race, unfettered by the bonds which now keep them back.

That the former exclusiveness of Mahomedans has to a great extent become extinguished, is evident from the number of Mahomedans who now visit England and other European countries, whether with the object of completing their studies and education or for the purposes of trade or pleasure; and that these travellers bring back with them on their return to their native land, a greatly-increased liberality of feeling, and a largeness of thought, unknown among their co-religionists in former days can scarcely be doubted. Much good is thus done, for the returned traveller is invariably looked up to as an authority, not merely on questions directly connected with his journey, but on almost every point liable to dispute. Such men are therefore capable of assisting largely in the development of the innate desire for progress which the accounts of the advantages of civilization that they bring with them naturally awakens in the breasts of their fellows, and it cannot be kept too constantly in mind that no effort, and no expense tending to fix upon the minds of Orientals visiting Europe, the great advantages of peace, liberty and education,

can ever be wholly lost. It may be that no direct results of a beneficial nature may be evident, but they exist none the less; for the most unfavourable accounts which such travellers can give of the countries which they have visited, will be sufficient to stir abroad the knowledge of the existence of better and more satisfactory social conditions than those to which they are accustomed.

Under the Sultans railways have been constructed both in Turkey in Europe and in Asia Minor; and though the lines as yet in work represent but a poor display of energy, they must ultimately lead to others of greater value, commercially and nationally. Down to the present day the system of working these lines, if the most trustworthy accounts which I have been able to collect may be depended upon, has been sufficient to paralyse much, if not all, of the good which might be expected from their construction; but, though in this respect deficient, there is reason to hope that the present Sultan when once his hands are released from the present wars will turn to with a good will to forward the social progress of his people. Much, very much, might be done by the English Ambassador were he a man of sufficient tact and energy, for he might easily inculcate a better knowledge of the first principles of political economy than the Turks yet possess, and thus lead to the abolition of the "penny wise and pound foolish" system that has steadily tended towards the ruin of the Ottoman Empire. Before leaving the subject of Turkey in Europe, I may call attention to the testimony of modern travellers in that country, to the perfect freedom of travel and comparative good order which has prevailed under the later Sultans, meaning by good order, the freedom the travellers alluded to experienced from outrage and insult, theft, &c.*

It is as yet but a few years since the Turkish flag was hoisted in Yemen as that of the sovereign power; but already the Turks have done much to civilize the unruly Arab chiefs and their tribes who formerly divided the dominion of that territory among themselves. Prior to the Turkish conquest, no traveller's life was safe from attack in any part of Yemen; bigotry and fanaticism excluded all races, creeds and nationalities (except Arabs and a few Jews) from entering Arabia Felix, and the history of our occupation of Aden teems with murders and fanatical outbursts. No doubt several travellers, Cruttenden, Haley, Mills and Mun-

* Since writing this I have visited several of the Red Sea Ports, and (more especially at Hadeida) I was much struck with the good order that prevailed and the evident progress of the people. Necessarily Turkish Arabia is yet behind even Indian civilization, but if its present career be unchecked it will soon contrast favourably with many parts of our Indian Empire.

zinger, Neibuhr, Von Wredde, and others have successfully penetrated and explored different parts of Yemen, Hadramat and 'Oman, but to the present day Southern and Eastern Yemen, Western Hadramat and Nejran, are all but unknown to Europeans, not so much from the dangers, as from the impossibility of getting admittance into the country. With the extension of the Sultan's armies over the territory of the semi-barbarian chiefs, everything is rapidly becoming changed. Caravan routes are protected, something like regularity is observed in imposing dues and customs, learning (though not perhaps of a very high order, yet including many subjects heretofore entirely neglected by the people) is encouraged; murder, robbery, and other crimes are punished, and last, though most important of all, religious toleration is being introduced. Thus, in Taiz, Yerin, Sanaa, &c., there are now many Greeks; and, within the last four years, Herr Levy, a German, has visited Taiz as a *Christian* without molestation, and has given a highly satisfactory account of the manner in which he was treated by all with whom he fell in contact. Among other interesting features of the Turkish occupation of Yemen, is the construction of four telegraph lines, and the production of a work described as most able and learned on the physical, political and general geography of the captured territory by a Turkish Pacha, who was in command of a portion of the invading army. Space forbids that I should dwell upon these evidences of progress any longer, and I will therefore but call attention to the establishment of the Allygurh Mahomedan College, as an evidence of the desire for progress which is beginning to stir the Indian Mahomedans. The extensive use now made of the printing press in India, in the production of books and newspapers, also calls for mention, and among the latest literary productions of the Indian Mahomedans, I would point to the *Turju-man-i-Turki, wa Arabi wa Farsi*, lately compiled, printed and published in Bombay by a native Mahomedan. The matter, style and "get up" of the book reflects the highest credit on all concerned in its production. The printing of Korans, whether in the original Arabic or in other Oriental tongues, is likewise an evidence of the facility with which the Mahomedans accept the advantages of civilization independent of any consideration as to the source from whence they spring.

I must now conclude this Article by a brief reference to the obstacles in the way of Mahomedan progress in India. These are few in number but powerful in effect, and chief among them is the general poverty of the Indian Mahomedans. This leads them to curtail the educational curriculum of their children both from their inability to meet the necessary out-lay and in order that they may

earlier put them in a position to earn their bread. To this assertion I am prepared to hear the reply, that the Government educational system refutes the former assertion, but the fact is that Mahomedans shun the Government schools upon the grounds, that their children are there subjected to instruction of a Christianizing tendency, and that the time occupied by the secular studies of a Government school, leaves the students no time available for the study of the Koran, &c., studies which being considered in the light of a religious duty by every Mahomedan, are regarded as far more important than any studies tending merely towards the earthly welfare of their children.

Islam in India, like Hindoosm, is just now in the first throes of a violent revolution. As yet the outward surface of Indian native society is but little disturbed, and, hence, Europeans generally neither see nor suspect what is actually occurring. Both the Hindoos and Moslems are dividing into two hostile sections, the old and the new. The old still stirred by recollections and traditions of the past, conservatist and unappeaseable; the new, impregnated with a spirit of tolerance and a growing desire for progress which shows itself as yet principally, if not wholly, in open contempt for the old party. Disloyalty is not a feature of either party, though it is present with both. In the older party, it is confined to a passive contempt for, and hatred towards, the English and their innovations. With the young party it shows itself in wild and vague anticipations of the height which native learning and ability may reach, and an egotistical depreciation of Europeans. A feeling of this kind is not so much to be suppressed as guided aright, thus treated it will prove the most valuable ally we can have in forwarding the progress of civilization in India. The empty shallow conceit of young India may be ridiculous, but a generation or two more will see it settle down into a manly, earnest struggle for a well-won supremacy, and when once this takes place, India and her sons will quickly take a foremost place among civilized nations. We growl at the slow progress hitherto made, and not perhaps altogether without reason, but we must not forget that our own civilization dates but a few years back, and we should remember that the first steps in the great race are the most difficult. At the start, old and long-cherished predilections have to be overcome, ancient associations have to be rudely broken and cast aside, and that which was dear and beloved resigned for ever. Once accomplish this, once rend the curtain of old associations which hides the brilliant glories of the future, and the hesitating crowds, who now halt between two opinions, will rush to the struggle with an enthusiasm which will inevitably lead them to success.

ALFRED H. BROWNE.

ART. V.—WARREN HASTINGS IN LOWER BENGAL.

PART II.—(*Continued from the CALCUTTA REVIEW, No. CXXX, for October 1877.*)

HASTINGS remained in England for nearly four years. Those were not the days of furloughs and of leave-allowances, and he drew no pay while he was at home. All he had to depend upon were his savings, such as they were, and any share of trading profits which he might receive from Mr. Sykes and his other partners. These resources were scanty and uncertain; and it is pretty evident that Hastings suffered from the *res angusta domi* while in England, and that his stay there was not of a pleasurable character. Probably it was to this period of his life that he referred when he described his having been exposed to chances of want only relieved by occasional and surely providential means. On 28 March 1768 Mr. Sykes writes to Clive: "Your lordship knows my regard for Mr. Hastings and the intimacy which we have maintained for so many years. I have now brought his affairs nearly to a conclusion, and, sorry I am to say, they turn out more to the credit of his moderation than knowledge of the world. He is almost literally worth nothing, and must return to India or want bread. I therefore make it my earnest request to your lordship that, even if you cannot consistently promote his reappointment to the Company's service, you will at least not give any opposition thereto." A few months later (24 November 1768) the same faithful friend writes to another correspondent: "I hope and trust Hastings will before this have by the instrumentality of his friends secured an appointment in the service. He has managed his cards very ill, and, between you and me, I never saw such confused accounts as he left behind him." Such was the state of Hastings' finances in 1768, and we have already seen* that he had to borrow money to pay for his passage home. Yet, if we are to believe his biographers,* he was so reckless as to embarrass himself still further by extravagant liberality to his relations, for we are told that he gave a thousand pounds to his sister, Mrs. Woodman, and settled £200 a year on his aunt Mrs. Elizabeth Hastings. All through life Hastings was careless and extravagant with his money and the result was that he always was in difficulties. Only one year before his death, in April 1817, we find him making a present of £150 to his niece, and making the cheque payable on June 20th lest if presented

* C. R. No. CXXX, p. 25.

immediately it should be found that he had overdrawn his account! Lord Macaulay invites us to contemplate with admiration the honourable poverty of Hastings; but, considering the immense sums which must have passed through his and his wife's hands, and the liberality of the Court of Directors towards him, I think that honourable poverty is hardly the proper phrase, and that his name must be included in the long list of Anglo-Indian spend-thrifts.

We have hardly any record of Hastings' mode of life in England, but it is clear that his activity of mind did not altogether slumber. He assisted his friend Vansittart in preparing his book, and he formed some acquaintance with Dr. Johnson. He also propounded a scheme for encouraging Persian literature in England, and it is to this that Dr. Johnson refers in one of his letters to him. Hastings did not, however, as Macaulay implies, propose that Oxford should be the seat of the College. His suggestion was that it should be established at some seminary to be founded by the East India Company. Nor did he intend to take a personal share in the tuition. "I formed a plan," he says, "for such an institution, but I never offered nor intended to supervise it. I was not qualified for it. Indeed, my intention was to obtain professors from India."

Hastings' re-appointment to India was partly the result of the good offices of Lord Clive. I have already quoted Sykes' application to him on Hastings' behalf. In reply Clive writes, "Mr. Hastings' connection with Vansittart subjects him to many inconveniences. The opposition from the Directors prevented my obtaining his return to Bengal in Council. Indeed he is so great a dupe to Vansittart's politics that I think it would be improper that he should go to Bengal in any station, and I am endeavouring to get him out to Madras high in Council there in which, I believe, I shall succeed." Clive had been acquainted with Hastings for many years and was well disposed towards him. Yet he seems to have gauged his intellectual nature very imperfectly, for we find him writing as follows to Hastings when the latter was made Governor of Bengal. "With regard to political measures, they are to be taken according to the occasion. When danger arises every precaution must be made use of, but at the same time you must be prepared to meet and encounter it. This you must do with cheerfulness and confidence, never entertaining a thought of miscarrying till the mistake actually happens; and even then you are not to despair, but be continually contriving and carrying into execution schemes for retrieving affairs; always flattering yourself with an opinion that time and perseverance will get the better of any thing. From the

little knowledge I have of you, I am convinced that you have not only abilities and personal resolution, but integrity and moderation with regard to riches; but I thought I discovered in you a diffidence in your own judgment, and too great an easiness of disposition which may subject you insensibly to be led when you ought to guide. Another evil which may arise from it is that you may pay too great an attention to the reports of the natives and be inclined to look upon things in the worst instead of the best light. A proper confidence in yourself and never-failing hope of success will be a bar to this and every other ill that your situation is liable to, and, as I am sure that you are not wanting in abilities for the great office of Governor, I must add that an opportunity is now given you of making yourself one of the most distinguished characters of this country. I perceive I have been very free in delivering my sentiments, but to make an apology were to contradict the opinion I profess to have of your nature and to doubt whether you would receive this as a token of my esteem." (Berkeley Square, 1st. August 1871.) The last sentence of this letter is neatly turned and the whole letter shows, if other proofs were wanting, that Clive was something more than a rough soldier and could express his thoughts well and vigorously. But what are we to think of the conception of Hastings' character which it contains? It is quite opposed to that which Macaulay has taught to us, and Clive does not seem to have had a glimpse of the *mens æqua in arduis* which controlled the slight and diminutive body. Surely "the great pro-consul" must have laughed in his sleeve to find himself cautioned against diffidence in his own judgment and a tendency to allow himself to be led when he ought to guide. Probably Clive was misled by his dislike of the views which Hastings shared in common with Vausittart and also by Hastings' habitual reserve.

Hastings' appointment was to Madras as second in the Council there. He set sail in March 1769, joining his ship (the *Duke of Grafton*) at Dover. Apparently it was the custom in those days to embark and disembark at Dover. Thus we find Francis landing at Dover at 4 o'clock in the morning (19 October 1781), going to bed for a few hours and then getting to Harley Street by ten at night. What befell Hastings during the voyage out is well known to the readers of Macaulay's essay. With his career at Madras I am not concerned, and I shall only refer to one incident of it which is interesting, as showing the activity of his mind. He had been struck by the inconvenience caused by the want of a pier at Madras, and, on 7 April 1770, he wrote to his brother-in-law, Mr. Woodman, asking him to get estimates for the construction of a causeway which should extend beyond the surf. He

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gave measurements and asked him to show the paper to Brindley and also to Smeaton and Mylne adding, "I believe it is usual to consult these people on subjects of this kind and to fee them for it." At the same time he begs his brother-in-law not to mention the place for which the pier was required, a condition which one would think would deprive the estimates of any practical value. It is difficult to see what other reason Hastings had for this secrecy than the principle which, according to Mr. Thornton, he acted on throughout life, of surrounding all his acts with mystery. The mention of Brindley reminds us that Woodman was the Duke of Bridgewater's steward and was therefore in a position to consult the great engineer.

Hastings was appointed* Governor of Bengal in 1771, but he did not become Governor-General till two years later, that is after the passing of the Regulating Act. In a letter, written on the voyage from Madras to Calcutta and dated, "Bay of Bengal 10th February 1772," we have the following fling at Scotchmen. "A very powerful bias to politics and a most unconquerable aversion to those who have more power than themselves, have gained the Nabob (of Arcot) a formidable party in the Scottish inhabitants of this colony (Madras), who to a man almost are partisans of the Nabob or discontented with the Government." He ends a long epistle by saying "If you find this letter very tedious or any part of it not very intelligible, be so good as to lay it to the account of an uneasy stomach and confused head, the inseparable companions of a sea life in a small vessel."

Hastings arrived at Calcutta on 17th February 1772, on which day Hancock writes to his wife: "Mr. Hastings is arrived this day; he is thin and very grave but in good health." At this time Mr. Cartier was Governor of Bengal, and Hastings did not take

* I presume that his appointment was partly the result of the disaster of the *Aurora* Frigate. This ship was carrying out the three supervisors, Vansittart, Forde and Scrafton but was lost in the Indian Ocean, never having been heard of after its leaving the Cape in December 1769. Had the supervisors arrived Hastings' occupation would have been gone or at least his power would have been greatly crippled. He was therefore like many other great men indebted a good deal to luck for his opportunities and his fame. We may also reflect that however sad the death of the gallant Forde was, the

loss of the supervisors was no misfortune to India. Their appointment was the result of what Hastings called an unnatural coalition. Forde and Scrafton were Clive's men and were sent to diminish the power of Vansittart. It could therefore hardly be expected that they would act harmoniously, especially when Scrafton and Vansittart had been on such bad terms that they had once met to fight a duel. Scrafton seems to have been no friend of Hastings and said, according to Francis, that Hastings was not made a supervisor because he had too many crooked lines in his head.

over charge from him for about two months (13th April). In a letter to Dupré, he says that he employed the interval in informing himself of the nature and state of the revenues, and formed a set of regulations for their management for the ensuing five years, the first proposition being to let them for that term in farms. It was immediately approved (by the local Board I presume) and a Committee was appointed. In the meantime orders came out to arrest Mahomed Reza Khan. (letter of 8th October.).

Elsewhere he says "I found (on arriving at Calcutta) the Government largely in debt, contracted in a time of peace, an income not equal to its expenses, the authority shared independently between the Governor and Council, the Military Commander, and the two Revenue Boards of Moorshedabad and Patna. To add to my embarrassment, Mr. Gregory by the instigation of Nandkumar* had impressed the Court of Directors with a belief that Mahomed Reza Khan and Shitab Roy had contributed to the effects of the famine and had laid waste the country in the year 1769 by buying up the grain, withholding it from the merchants, and reselling it at enormous prices."

Hastings' unwearied pen was probably never busier than during the early months of his stay in Calcutta. No doubt he was stimulated by the attainment of high official rank and he must have been cheered also by his return to Bengal for which, as he tells the Directors in one of his letters, he always had a partial attachment. His indignation, too, was stirred by finding that all real power was in the hands of the Mofussil officers. In March 1772 he writes to Dupré: "Will you believe that the boys of the service are the sovereigns of the country under the unmeaning title of Supervisors or Collectors of the Revenue, administrators of justice and rulers, heavy rulers, of the people. They are said to be under the control of the Councils

* Nandkumar was one instigator but the action of the Court of Directors was not dictated solely by his representations. A letter of Huzuri Mull, a brother-in-law of Omichand and an old influential inhabitant of Calcutta, seems to have influenced them considerably. I may here point out that the very name Huzuri Mull and still more, two cases reported in Sir E. Hyde East's notes of cases decided in the Supreme Court, show, conclusively, what a blunder Macaulay made in speaking of Omichand as a Bengali. The case,

No. 128 Sri Cower and Hecra Sing *vs.* Bolaki Sing and others 17th July 1793 p. 230 and that of Doe Defn. Juggomohun Mullick, and others p. 43 of same volume prove that Omichand was a Sikh. By his will of 1165 B. S. (1758-59) he left part of his property to the Sikh divinity Guru Govind, and a few days before his death he declared his intention of going on a pilgrimage to Amritsar. Huzuri Mull (called in the reports Hungry Mull and also Huzzoy Mull) died in 1190 B. S. (1783).

of Revenue at Murshedabad and Patna who are lords of these capitals and of the districts annexed to them, and dispose of the first offices of state, subject (as it is said also) to the Governor and Council, who, you may take my word for it, have neither power, trust, nor emolument, but are honoured only with responsibility. This is the system which, it seems, my predecessor was turned out for opposing, and I will be turned out too rather than suffer it to continue as it is." He writes in a similar strain to Mr. Purling and designates the younger servants of the Company, as pro-consuls, thus anticipating the name which was one day to be applied to himself. The Presidency (*i. e.* the Central Government) he describes as being literally devoid of all power or authority beyond the narrow limits of Calcutta. "Such is the present system of the Government of Bengal in which the trust, power and profit are in the hands of its deputies, and the degree of each proportionate to their want of rank in the service. The effects of such a system may easily be conjectured. I cannot affirm this nor do I give credit to universal report or the daily clamours with which I am stunned from crowded suppliants for justice. Where an excess of power is lodged in the hands of an individual, I must of course conclude that an ill use is made of it. It will be the case in 99 instances though one in the 100 may escape it, because every dependant of the great man shares his authority and has an interest to make him inaccessible to the complaints of those who suffer by their abuse of it. The obvious remedy, for these evils is to redeem the authority of the Government by abolishing the Board of Revenue, recalling the supervisors, and bringing the collections to Calcutta. But this is impracticable, the Company's orders forbid it, and, with the recent example of my predecessor, who was dismissed, and two other members who were removed for opposing the establishment of this system, I have not the courage to touch it. Such palliations, however, as may secure the Company's revenue, and alleviate the disorders of the country, I hope to be able to apply. The rest must depend upon the future regulations of the Court of Directors." "I solemnly declare," adds the writer, "that I speak my real judgment when I say that the lowest of the supervisors is a man of more trust, dignity and consequence than the Governor of Bengal."

The fullest exposition of the state of the country and of Hastings' views about its administration are continued in a letter to Sir George Colebrooke (father of the Sanscritist) dated 26 March 1772. It is very long but too important to be omitted. Hastings begins with the remark that he is sorry to say that the feelings of humanity and the principles of honor are become more necessary qualifications for the administration of the Company's

affairs than great abilities. He then proceeds as follows: "The Government of this country consists of three distinct powers, the supervisors, the Boards of Revenue at Moorshedabad and Patna, and the Governor and Council at Calcutta. The order in which I have named them is not accidental but consonant to the degree of trust, power, and emolument which they severally possess. The supervisors were originally instituted for the purpose of inspecting into the collections, the execution of justice, the government and the capacity of the several districts of the two provinces, and to report their observations from which the Board were to form a Code of Regulations for the better government and improvement of the country. This design was at least laudable; if it produced no good it could do no harm but it is long since the original * institutions have ceased, which perhaps is yet a secret to the Court of Directors, for the same set of men continue in the same district still retaining the title of supervisors to which the idea naturally connects itself that they are employed in collecting materials of speculation to be hereafter reduced to practice for the increase of population, the advancement of the culture and manufactures, the enlargement of the revenue, and the equal administration of justice to the inhabitants of the provinces." No—the supervisor is the sovereign of the division over which he presides, he farms out the lands to such persons as he judges most deserving a preference in the distribution of them, or to those whom he chooses to favour, he collects the rents, he is the chief Magistrate, and he is absolute, and it is an universal consequence of despotism that every inferior agent is equally despotic with his principal and most commonly will govern him also. The Banyan is in fact the soul of every supervisorship. Such at least is the universal report of the country, and I believe it, because I think it impossible that it should be otherwise. All the business of the district passes through the hands of the Banyan to his master, he chooses and nominates all the other servants and of course has it in his power to shut out all access to the supervisor. No complaints, therefore, or applications can come before the latter without permission of his *maire de palais*. I do not assert that this is the case but I have already received complaints from all quarters which agree in this description, and I think it impossible but such effects must follow from such causes."

* This was really true. Mr. Verelst's supervisors had been abolished and collectors substituted for them, but the change was never reported to the Directors. See "Constitutions of 14 May 1772" quoted by Mill as a note.

The Bengal Administration Report for 1872-73 tells us (page 40) that the supervisors were appointed by Hastings in 1769, forgetting that he was not then in India.

“Were the *Banyan* the appointed tyrant of the country there would be less danger of his abusing his power to a great excess, because, being responsible and having no dignity or consequence of his own, he could be easily called to an account for his conduct and made to suffer for it. But as his master is the responsible person he is encouraged to go to what lengths he pleases with the certainty of impunity, and I am sure he will go to all lengths because he has no tie or principle to restrain him. The best have none, but these are commonly the lowest of the people who have fixed themselves to the supervisors when they came first into the country and have risen to promotion with them. The supervisor is often supported by strong connexions either in the Council or the Court of Directors and they are placed both by their pretensions in the service and the manners of their country so nearly on a level with those who should be their judges that they are secure from a very rigorous scrutiny into their conduct and totally exempt from the terrors of punishment. Still permit me to recur to what I have said before, that I do not pretend to assert facts, only report what I hear and which I think must be in the natural course of things. I am told also that the trade in every district is engrossed by the supervisors but more especially rice and the other necessities of life. It is certainly in their power to engross them, and you may judge whether they do or not. I beg leave to refer you to the list of the covenanted servants for the ages of these rulers of the land and for their length of standing in the service, at the same time in justice, let me add, that they are in general, the best of the Company’s servants, and such as I am acquainted with among them I know to be men of worth and ability. The supervisors are made accountable to the Boards of Revenue at the two capitals, that is, they receive orders from them, make reports to them, and send them the amount of their collections and the accounts. The Board of Revenue hath likewise the government of the city and the management of the lands adjoining to it, that is, they are the supervisors of these districts, but in this charge the Naib Subah is joined, and, as far as I can learn, is the acting person. This is the state of the Board of Revenue at *Murshedabad*. I do not know whether that of *Patna* differs from it. These Boards are accountable to the Presidency, that is, they transmit their accounts and receive their orders from thence, founded on such materials as the Presidency is furnished with from them. It will be difficult for me to tell you what are the duties of the Government. I can only speak from what I have seen. I have been here now six weeks and I have joined with the Board in inspecting raw silk and piece goods, in despatching a vessel to England, and nego-

ciating the terms of a contract which did not take place with the dadney merchants, in censuring a captain of a ship for turning out his chief mate, in attending to a violent contest in which I have happily no share, about a dismissed alderman of the mayor's court and in receiving from the General of the army the report of orders which *he* had given for the disposition and movements of the forces and of the political measures which *he* had thought proper to pursue. Do not take my word for the abstract of the acts of this Government but be pleased to peruse our records of the interval which I speak of. I am much mistaken if you find the rest more important. A member of the Board lately declared to me that he could not send an agent into the country for the purchase of a single article in it without applying to the supervisor for his permission, and, if it was granted, it was looked on as an encroachment. I have not yet been able for want of leisure from daily avocations and perpetual interruptions, which in my present situation I can only avoid by flight, to study the orders the Company have given concerning the mode of administering their affairs, but I will not believe that they meant to invert the principles of government, to give all trust, power and emolument to the inferior members of the service, and to charge the first personages with the responsibility alone."

"The remedy which I would recommend to this distraction is obvious and simple. It is not to introduce fresh innovations but restore the Government of the country to its first principles, to recall the supervisors, nor suffer a Christian to remain in the country beyond the bounds of the factories, to abolish the Boards of Revenue, to bring the collections to the Presidency, and to make it the capital of the provinces; it is the capital of the British dominions themselves, and as the British power supports and rules the country, that part of it, wherever it be, whence the power issues, is the natural seat of Government. To substitute any other in its stead, is to surrender the order and authority of Government with it, and to lay the sure foundations of anarchy and universal rapine. These are the remedies which naturally present themselves for the present disorders. Many other regulations will be necessary, but not one perhaps which the original constitution of the Mogul Government had not before established and adopted, and thereby rendered familiar to the people. But it is not necessary to mention them because none of them can be now carried into execution. All that can be attempted at this time will be to alleviate the effects of the present system, to change as much of it as shall be found hurtful to the country or prejudicial to the interests of the Company, and to

establish such partial or temporary regulations as the letter and evident spirit of the Company's orders shall admit of, for the ease of the inhabitants and the improvement of the revenue. The same expedient will serve for both."

He then refers to the Company's recommendation that the lands should be farmed on long leases and says: "This is undoubtedly the most effectual and easy way of receiving and ascertaining their value. But what farmer will dare to offer proposals if the supervisor's Banyan is to be his competitor, or what offers will be made by any without consulting the pleasure of the supervisor and his minions, and without allowing large discounts from the rent for fees and the losses which are to be expected from the exactions and violences of sepoys, and the perpetual intervention of higher authority?" In a subsequent letter to the same correspondent (20 April 1772) he writes: "The Board have agreed to farm the land on long leases. I have conversed with the most experienced members of the Board. They all confirm me in my former sentiment, &c. But in one point I find them all agreed. That the wisest laws and the most rigorous restraints, with the most determined resolution to support them, will not be sufficient to cure the evils of the present system while the original source of these remains. In a word, that nothing but the abolition of the supervisorships will free the people from oppression, or induce those who may be willing to farm the land, to bid their due value for them. I look in vain in the orders of the Company for their appointment or confirmation. Nay, it is a doubt with me whether their office is known at home, since their original commission has been long since abolished, and powers granted them which were never dreamt of in their first institution."

He concludes his letter by a reference to the Military Department of the Company's service in which he has the following happy illustration. "Your military establishment is the spring of government, the civil power forms the wheels which restrain the force of the former and enable it to give an equal and permanent motion to the whole machine. If you weaken or loosen the wheels, the force of the spring will prevail irresistibly for a few moments and the machine will stop for ever, for I know not the artificer that can set it a going again."

In the letter to Dupré already quoted, Hastings describes the proceedings of the Committee of Circuit, but these can best be studied in the report to the Directors printed in the appendix to Dr. Hunter's charming *Annals*.

He then goes on to speak of Nandkumar and says: "This man never was a favourite of mine, and was engaged in doing me many ill-offices for several years together. But I found him

the only man who could enable me to fulfil the expectations of the Company with respect to Mahomed Reza Khan."

After describing that it had been arranged to bring the collections to Calcutta, he says: "Thither too we have brought the superior courts of justice, we have established two at the Presidency for appeals of civil cases, and for the inspection and confirmation of all proceedings in capital cases; and two inferior courts, of the like kind, in each district. By this arrangement the whole power and government of the province will centre in Calcutta which may be now considered as the capital of Bengal. The establishment of the courts of justice in Calcutta was almost an act of injustice, the criminal judicature being a branch of the Nizamat. But it was so connected with the revenue, and the Mahomedan courts are so abominably venal, that it was necessary. Unfortunately a new judicature and a new code of laws are forming at home and on principles diametrically opposed to ours, which is little more than a renewal of the laws and forms used of old in the country with no other variations than such as were necessary to give them their due effect and such as the people understood and were likely to be pleased with." The over-worked official then breaks out as follows: "Here I now am with arrears of business of months and some of years to bring up, with the courts of justice and offices of revenue to set agoing, with the official reformations to resume and complete, with the *Lapwing* to despatch, with the trials of Mahomed Reza Khan and Rajah Shitab Roy to bring on without materials and without much hope of assistance, *on ne pend pas des gens qui ont un million dans leur poche*, and with the current trifles of the day, notes, letters, personal applications, every man's business of more consequence than any other, complainants from every quarter of the province hallgoing me by hundreds for justice as often as I put my head out of the window or venture abroad, and, what is worse than all, a mind discomposed, and a temper almost fermented to vinegar by the weight of affairs to which the former is unequal, and by everlasting teasing. We go on, however, though solely in hopes of support at home and of an easier time here when proper channels are cut for the affairs of the Province to flow in. So I persevere; neither my health nor spirits, thank God, have yet forsaken me. I should have added to the list of things to be done, an inquiry into the trade in salt, betel-nut, tobacco and rice carried on by the principal persons of this Government, which their commands have directed me to prosecute, a mark of distinction on which my friends in England congratulate me. Such partial praises tend to destroy every other that I am possessed of by arming my hand against every man and every man's of course against me!

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In another letter to the same correspondent, dated 6th January 1773, he enumerates his reforms.

No. I. *Settlement of the Revenue.* Who was it that said that he had given such laws to his people as they were capable of receiving, not the best that could be formed? On a similar principle we have suffered one capital defect to remain in our constitution, I mean the collections.

No. II. *Arrangement of the Nawab's household.*

No. III. *Arrangement of the officers dependent on the Khalsa or Court of Revenue.*

No. IV. *Administration of Justice.*

"We have been very unfortunate in the time which we have chosen for our judicial improvements, for we cannot undo what we have done; and if the Lord Chief Justice and his Judges should come amongst us with their institutes, the Lord have mercy upon us, we shall be in a complete state of confusion here and we shall be cruelly mauled at home especially if the Parliament should lay hold of our Code, for we have not a lawyer among us. Necessity compelled us to form some establishment of justice; we chose the best we could; and if this shall not be found so perfect as more time and more knowledge must have made it, it is yet capable of receiving improvements and is a good foundation for a more complete system of judicature. Is it not a contradiction to the common notions of equity and policy that the English gentlemen of Cumberland and Argyleshire should regulate the polity of a nation which they know only by the laces which it has sent to Great Britain and by the reduction it has occasioned in their land tax.*"

15th January 1773. "Mahomed Reza Khan's trial is still suspended. He has many friends; it is difficult to collect materials in support of the charge against him. I verily believe him culpable, and some of the charges I think I can clearly establish, but I want both time and assistants for such a work."

2nd February 1773. Refers to the Sanyassies, and reports that Captain Thomas had lost his life in an unequal attack upon a party of these banditti with a small party of Pargana sepoys.†

31st March. Mentions Captain Edwardes as having been killed in an engagement with the Sanyassies.

2nd March. "Shitab Roy has escaped with credit, indeed I scarce know why he was called to account. The Nabob is a

* Alluding, I suppose, to the Act passed in 1769 whereby the Company became bound to pay £400,000 a year into the British Exchequer. † From a letter of Mr. Purling dated 29 December 1772, it appears that the fight took place in a plain by Shamgaunj in the Samppur Pargana of the Rangpur District.

mere name and the seat of government is most effectually and visibly transferred from Murshedabad to Calcutta which I do not despair of seeing the first city in Asia if I live and am supported for a few years longer."

9th March 1773. "This service wants men of abilities who have no pretensions to desert it, for every man capable of business runs away to the collectorships or other lucrative situations where, I fear, their talents are perniciously applied more to the improvement of their own fortunes than the Company's benefit."

On the same date Hastings writes to Dupré. "I have hopes of being able to effect another reform which will also contribute much to the freedom of trade by *recalling, all the gomastahs, and providing the investment by Dudney contracts* or ready money purchases; to declare the weavers free to, work for whom they will and to support them in this freedom. You will guess why I have marked the sentence at the top of this page. Different circumstances require different and even opposite measures. The Company and their collectors and chiefs of factories are the only merchants of the country; they force advances of money on the weavers and compel them to give cloths in return at an arbitrary valuation which is often no more than the cost of the materials, so that the poor weaver only lives by running into debt to his employers and thus becomes their slave for life.* The collector's trade with the money which they get in the districts much affects the circulation as well as commerce of the country. By the mode proposed the investment will be dearer but the trade of the country will be restored, and indeed this country has wonderful resources for it."

I shall close these extracts with two relating to the great famine. On 3 April 1773 he writes to Colebrooke: "I mentioned in some of my former letters that I proposed to form an estimate of the loss which the country had sustained in its inhabitants by the famine. The accounts which I have received are formed on such different plans that I cannot reduce them to one form or establish the proportional loss with accuracy but I sent you an abstract of the materials which have been sent me and from them you may judge of the effects of the dreadful calamity. I do not believe they are over estimated at one half. The increase in Rungpore, as explained to me by Mr. Purling, the collector, was owing to the annual overflowing of the Teesta about this time of the year which preserved the districts from the effects of the general dearth, and by the plenty which

* This is a sad picture of the commercial resident, and hardly agrees with Dr. Hunter's representation of him as the Vishnu or beneficent divinity of the Hindu triad.

prevailed occasioned a resort of people from other districts, multitudes of whom perished but others still remained and became inhabitants of the country; the violence with which the collections were kept up, notwithstanding this desolation, and particularly in the assessment which you will find under the explanation of the term: *najay* (*nājāi*) in our first letter from the Board of Revenue; a tax, in a word, upon the survivors to make up the deficiencies of the dead, prevented the instant effects which it must have been expected to produce on the collections, though its influence has operated to the prejudice of the present settlement. This is now completed and it must be the work of the ensuing four years of the general leases to repair the damages of the country."

Unfortunately the enclosures of this letter are not forthcoming. Possibly they are to be found in the archives of Calcutta or London, and it would be worth while to make a search for them. The principle of "*najay*" referred to in the letter and which Hastings graphically explains as taxing the living to make up the deficiencies of the dead, is a well-known one in Bengal finance, and is, or used to be, common in many zemindaries. In certain matters landholders always insisted on the corporate existence or solidarity of their tenantry and made those who remained in their homesteads pay for those who had died or deserted, became "*palataka*," as the phrase is. Hastings' letter also shows us how it was that the country had not recovered even after three years from the date of the famine but was almost in a worse condition. The assessment had been violently kept up, the diseased body politic had been obliged to work as if in health and the result was a collapse."

The other letter which I shall quote was written on 10th October 1771 to Hastings' predecessor, Mr. Carter, by the committee of Kumaon. "It gives us pain to dwell on the dreadful calamity that has so often been laid before you as the cause of the large deficiencies in the public revenue since September 1769, but it is certain that they are in the present case to be in general imputed to no other source, for the later effects of the calamity, we mean the mortality among the ryots which began to rage from the months of March and April 1770, and lasting for the whole season of cultivation swept off incredible multitudes of people." To these extracts may be added two from Mr. Hacock's letters. In the first, after saying that he himself had been ill of a fever, he writes—

"The diseases which have been and continue to be very fatal here are chiefly owing to putrefaction occasioned by the prodigious number of dead bodies lying in the streets and all places adjacent." This mortality is the effect of a most terrible famine

which has half depopulated Bengal, (7 September 1770). On 6th December 1771, he writes. "The famine which you mention was greatly increased by the infamous avidity of some of our countrymen at the head of affairs as residents in the country. The love of gain still prevents grain and the necessities of life being as cheap as they ought to be from the present plenty. This will always be the case so long as it may be in the power of every resident to monopolise all the grain in the district under his charge." It thus appears that there was some truth in the strictures of Dow* and Bolst, though Hastings in more than one place complains of their injustice to the Company.

Of Hastings' private life at this time, we have the following accounts from the Hancock letters. On 19th April 1772 Hancock writes "Mr. Hastings is well and has been in the Government six days during which time I have seen him twice. His residence at Madras has greatly increased his former reserve, and he seems inclined to break through many Bengal customs. This is not much relished by the present inhabitants of whom I gave you a description in a former letter.

"There is a lady, by name Mrs. Imhoff, who is his principal favourite among the ladies. She came to India on board the same ship with Mr. Hastings, is the wife of a gentleman who has been an officer in the German service, and came out a cadet to Madras; finding it impossible to maintain his family by the sword, and having a turn to miniature painting, he quitted the sword and betook himself to the latter profession. After having painted all who chose to be painted at Madras, he came to Bengal in the latter end of the year 1770. She remained at Madras and lived in Mr. Hastings' house, on the Mount chiefly I believe. She is about 26 years old, has a good person and has been very pretty, and wants only to be a greater mistress of the English language to prove she has a great share of wit. She came to Calcutta last October. They do not make a part of Mr. Hastings

* Dow seems to be one of the forgotten worthies of Indian history. He was born at Crieff in Perthshire and died in India in 1779. There is a short notice of him in the *Bio-graphie Dramatique* and in the *Biog. Universelle*. Bolst or Bolts was a German by the father's side. He entered into the Company's service and was afterwards dismissed and finally deported from India. His work on Indian affairs contains much valuable information, and he appears to have been one of the first who

made Bengalee types. There is a note of him in the *Biog. Universelle*. Unfortunately his book is very badly arranged and is uncommonly tough reading. In one passage he has a gleam of humour. He is writing of the mortality among Nabobs, and suggests that when the next Nabob dies, he should be succeeded by one of the State elephants; "they being an animal of great show, very long-lived, readily tractable, and not so expensive to maintain as the pageant parts of the human race."

family, but are often at his private parties. The husband is truly a German. I should not have mentioned Mrs. Imhoff but I know everything relating to Mr. Hastings is greatly interesting to you." It appears from this that Macaulay is not correct in saying that both the Imhoffs accompanied Hastings to Calcutta. I also fail to see in any part of the transaction the patience of delay and the love unconquerable by time which he ascribes to his hero. A letter of Woodman to Hastings about 10th December 1771 further shows that Imhoff had returned to Europe by that time, so that he could not have long troubled the lovers with his presence. Mr. Imhoff, Woodman goes on to say, had presented Mrs. Woodman (Hastings' sister Anne) with Hastings' portrait done by him, and that it is a great likeness, and that he (Woodman) had immediately paid him part of the £500 for which Hastings had drawn upon him, that the remainder would be paid within the month, and the other £500 when due. We may presume that Imhoff had returned in order to facilitate the action of divorce which his wife had instituted against him; for on 30th January 1774, Woodman writes that Imhoff had gone to Germany and was expected to return from thence in a few days. However, a German named Haering, who published an essay on Warren Hastings, (Berlin 1844) says that according to German accounts Imhoff had not agreed at first to the separation, and that at all events he did not return to Germany a rich man.

Imhoff we are told was a Baron, and the probability is that he was of good family. Most likely he was descended from Baron Gustavus William Imhoff who was Governor-General in the Dutch East Indies, and was a man of distinguished merit. He was Governor of Ceylon in 1736, and made himself noteworthy by his encouragement of printing, &c. He had a quarrel with the then Dutch Governor-General and was sent home to Holland, but was sent back as Governor-General in 1741. He went to Batavia and died there in November 1751. He was the author of a work on the affairs of the Dutch East India Company which is printed at the end of Dubois' *Lives of the Dutch Governor-Generals* which was published at the Hague in 1763. This Imhoff was born at Leer in East Friesland (Hanover) and it is probably there rather than in Franconia that we should look for the records of the divorce suit. Francis in his journal speaks of a Mr. Johnson as having arranged the divorce and insinuates that his brother was in consequence rewarded by Hastings with an army contract. Johnson got the contract for three years, Barwell wanted to give it him for five. "Hastings sometimes has qualms, Barwell never," (Journal of 9th October, 1777). Macaulay's statement that Mrs. Imhoff was born at Archangel was derived, as Earl Stanhope

has pointed out, from the anonymous translation of the *Seir Mutakhereen*.

I return now to Hastings' public career. The extracts from Hastings' demi-official correspondence give a vivid picture of the state of the country when he assumed the Government. They show that there was no central government, and that the country was at the mercy of a few boy-Collectors and their native servants. Such a state of things could only be beneficial to civilians of the money-getting and commercial type, of which a brilliant (?) example was to be furnished a few years later by Lindsay of Sylhet. It was at this period that Hastings was at his best. Whatever else he was, he was a man of great energy and ability, and an unwearied worker. He had now a great opportunity, and it is only doing him bare justice to say that for a time he used it worthily and with a single eye to the public good. His talents never were so usefully exercised as in the first three years of his Bengal administration. He was then untrammelled and he was not goaded into misconduct by opposition, by unworthy favourites and perhaps by remorse and despair. During these years also he had to do chiefly with Bengal which he knew, and not with the North-West of which he was ignorant. It was at this period that he curbed the power of the mofussil rulers, reformed the administration of justice, restrained the dacoits and sanyassis and staunched the wounds which previous mismanagement had inflicted on Bengal. These times too were illustrated by the successes of Captain Jones against the Bhooteas; though it may be doubted if the treaty with Kuch Behar with its naive mixture of knight errantry and calculation be one of the trophies of Hastings' rule.

That Hastings himself felt the inspiration of the moment is shown by passages in his letters. "I have caught the desire of applause in public life," he writes to the Directors, and to his friend Mr. Sullivan he says, "I wish to merit reputation, and as I am happily placed in a scene in which with the aid that I have acquired, I know myself capable of attaining it I would sacrifice every consideration to so tempting an object. God forbid that the Government of this fine country should continue to be a mere chair for triennial successions of indigent adventurers to sit and hatch private fortunes in." These words have the true ring about them, and remind us that, in Macanlay's phrase, Hastings was a statesman and not a buccaneer. Of a truth there is always something ennobling in intellect and breadth of view, and perhaps no really able man was ever wholly corrupt.

Even the malevolent Francis was forced to admit that Hastings had other springs in his character than avarice and that for a time he was clean-handed. In 1776 he wrote, "Hastings himself in

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whom vanity, I think, is a prevailing passion, could not but take some relish for the excessive praises with which his conduct and abilities were extolled. He would not, I am persuaded, have sacrificed such a repute to any trifling pecuniary advantage, though when once immersed, he plunged deeper than any of his predecessors." This is small praise, but it comes from Junius, and a bitter enemy. It at least shows that Hastings stood on a higher level than the sordid Barwell, who was the Colonel Charteris of India and a rare combination of lust, avarice and cowardice.* Alas, how could Hastings keep pure while in continual contact with so much pitch? How could he abstain from bribes and presents when he was surrounded and supported by the Barwells, the Middletons, the Grahams and the Kanti Babus?

One thing for which we must always admire Hastings is his power of steady work. Francis bears testimony to his industry, and it is evident that he never was an idler or a mere pleasure-seeker. In March 1773 his friend Hancock writes: "Mr. Hastings has recovered but is very thin, owing, I believe, to his great application to business."

Another admirable point in Hastings, and which, indeed, was essential to his being a working man was his temperate mode of life. There is little or no trace of sensuality in his character. Even the Imhoff episode does not indicate this, for the lady was neither young nor very fair, and her attraction seems to have consisted in her sentimentalism and her wit. Francis describes her in 1777 (the year of her marriage) as turned of forty and with grown-up children by her first husband. Hastings' attention to the laws of health appears in his correspondence. "Thus, before his arrival at Bengal, he writes to Mr. Hancock about the goodness of his health and says, "I attribute much to the dry air of Madras but more to temperance: which necessity has now almost rendered habitual to me." There is a striking passage on this subject in a letter to his wife, dated 20th November 1784. He describes there his mode of life and says: "I eat no supper, go to bed at ten, abstain wholly from wine, and every other liquid but tea and water. I ride every morning, and gently, and use the cold bath as often as I ride and will oftener if I am prevented from riding. If this will not do I will diet myself on pish-pash, or bread and water, or live like Cornaro on the daily subsistence of an egg, but I will have health in some way though I may forego all the blessings of it. Blessings! What blessings will it yield me? Let me have but existence and freedom from pain, with the full exercise of my mental faculties, and I desire no more till I see the last sight of

* See Thompson's *Intriguers* of a in the life of Francis to Barwell's Nabob, London 1780; and the reference duel with Clavering.

• Warren Hastings in Lower Bengal. 291.

Saugor island" The translator of the *Seir* also bears testimony to Hastings' simple mode of life. Governor Hastings, he says, always wore a plain coat of English broadcloth,* and never anything like lace or embroidery, his whole retinue a dozen of horse-guards. He had two chobdars; his diet sparing, and always abstemious; his dress and deportment very distinct from pride and still more so from familiarity.

It was these things which gave him his superiority over the card-playing and licentious Francis, and which enabled him to let out all his opponents. And that he felt this, is shown by a letter written to a friend in 1786 when the long warfare with Nandkumar and the Councillors was at an end, and which breathes the spirit of Miriam on the shores of the Red Sea. "My antagonists" he writes, "sickened, died and fled.† I maintained my ground unchanged, neither the health of my body nor the vigour of my mind for a moment deserted me."

Another merit of Hastings was his love of literature. These three things, industry, temperance and a love of letters were I think his leading virtues, and the most valuable lesson which we can learn from his life is the length which these virtues will carry a man. I do not think he was an honest man. Neither do I think that he was supremely able. He certainly was not as clever or so imbued with leading principles as Francis, that prince of pamphleteers" as Burke called him, and who was the first to suggest and to contend for the principle of a permanent settlement.‡ Nor was he a genial and loveable man. But he was always ready and fit for work and he was seldom run away with by his passions. Had he not been industrious he could never have conducted the affairs of British India, and had he not clung to his early scholarship and kept up literary tastes he might have ended his life as wretchedly as Clive.

Somehow when I reflect on Hastings' character and achievements, he appears to me to belong by nature more to the East than to the West. He was a great Anglo-Indian; almost, I might say, a great Bengali, rather than a great Englishman. He

* He must have been a salaman-

† How true this was is shown by the following figures:—

Nandkumar hanged August 1775.

Colonel Monson died September 1776.

Colonel Clavering died August 1777.

Francis wounded August 1780.

He returned to England 1781.

‡ Macaulay represents Francis

as confessing that Hastings was

superior to himself as a controversial-

ist. I doubt very much if so great a master of literary style would make such an admission, and I have not been able to find it. Francis somewhere says that it was useless to contend with Hastings as he kept possession of all the official papers, a very different thing from acknowledging a literary superiority; and I think this is all that Francis meant to admit. Hastings was certainly no match for Francis as a writer of English.

himself would have scouted the comparison, and it will seem strange and ludicrous to many, that I should find a likeness between the favourite type of Anglo-Indian energy and the despised Bengali—between the eagle Hastings, the descendant of Vikings, and the swamp-born serpent Nandkumar. Yet there was a resemblance, and it was long ago detected by that keen observer Sir Philip Francis. "Hastings," he wrote, "has so long resided in Bengal, that in many respects he may be considered as a native. He has all the craft of a Bengali united, however, with a degree of vanity and impatience of control which sometimes throws him off his guard. His reserve, whether natural or acquired, is so excessive, that I firmly believe he never reposed an entire confidence in any man." In truth, Hastings had both the virtues and vices of the Bengali. Like him, he was patient, temperate, fertile in expedients, and liberal even to excess to poor relations. Like him, too, he was vain and fond of titles (witness his assumption of the arms of the house of Huntingdon) subtle, unforgiving, and ruthless in the carrying out of his designs. Even the profound attachment to Daylestone as his place of birth has an Eastern air about it and reminds us of the desperate manner in which a Bengali clings to his "khanabári." The chief thing perhaps which distinguished him from the Bengali was his personal courage, but even here it may be doubted if his courage in Saraj-ul-Dowla's camp, or under the big tree on the Maidan, was greater than that of Nandkumar in the scaffold.

I now recur to the main subject of this essay, namely, the history of the feud between Hastings and Nandkumar. We have seen that the two men crossed one another's path as early as 1758. After Hastings' departure for England in 1765, they did not meet again till 1772; and then the old enmity was not long in breaking out. They were brought into contact on this occasion by the order of the Court of Directors to enquire into Mahomed Reza and Shitab Roy's conduct in the famine of 1770 and to make use of Nandkumar in the investigation. Hastings had little relish for the inquiry which was held too long after the occurrences to be searching or to lead to any practical result. However, he obeyed orders, had Mahomed Reza and Shitab Roy put under arrest, and proceeded to examine witnesses. In one report he stated that Mahomed Reza had brought forward no less than 100 witnesses in his defence and that Nandkumar had also called great many. It appears from passages in his correspondence that Hastings was at one time of opinion that Mahomed Reza really was guilty. However, the upshot was that he and the board acquitted him. This result was communicated to the Directors on 24 March 1774, but the formal report of the trial does

not seem to be forthcoming. Perhaps some future enquirer may be able to unearth it. One consequence of the failure of the prosecution was that the accused, Nandkumar, fell into disgrace. He had undertaken to prove that many and grave delinquencies had been committed by Mahomed Reza who had superseded him in the contest for the dewauship and he had failed. This of course was a heavy blow, to him and must have embittered his feelings towards Hastings. According to his petition of 8 March 1775 the acquittal was simply the result of bribery, and as Hastings stifled all inquiry into Nandkumar's charges we may fairly presume that he did receive money on the occasion. It seems probable, however, that it was the common Bengali case of taking a bribe on the right side, for it is difficult to see how Mahomed Reza's guilt could have been proved or what punishment could have been imposed on him if convicted. While the enquiry, however, was going on Hastings took a singular step which showed that he was anxious to have a truce with his old foe. This was the appointment of Nandkumar's son, Gur Das, as dewan of the Nabob's household. It was in July 1772 that Hastings made this appointment. It was opposed by Messrs. Dacres, Lawrell, and Graham on the ground that it was in reality the appointment of Nandkumar. They objected to him on account of his hostility to the Company and adduced documents commencing as far back as 1762 in proof of his dangerous character. In 1764 it was shown that he had been pronounced guilty of carrying on a correspondence between the Shahzada and the Governor of Pondicherry, and in another it appeared that in 1764 the Government had directed that Nandkumar should be kept in his own house under so strict a guard as to prevent his writing or receiving letters.

Hastings, as President, drew up a minute in reply. He said : "The President does not take upon him to vindicate the moral character of Nandkumar. His sentiments of this man's former political conduct are not unknown to the Court of Directors, who, he is persuaded, will be more inclined to attribute his present countenance of him to motives of zeal and fidelity to the service, and repugnant perhaps to his own inclination than to any predilection in his favour. He is very well acquainted with most of the facts alluded to in the minutes of the majority, having been a principal instrument in detecting these, nevertheless, he thinks it but justice to make a distinction between a violation of a trust and an offence committed against our Government by a man who owed it no allegiance nor was indebted to it for protection, but on the contrary was the actual servant and minister of a master whose interest entirely suggested the kind of

policy, which sought by foreign aids and the diminution of the power of the Company to raise his own consequence and re-establish his authority. He has never been charged with infidelity to the Nabob, Mir Jaffir, the constant tenour of whose politics from his first accession to the Nizamat till his death corresponded in all points so exactly with the artifices which were detected in his minister that they may be as truly ascribed to the one as to the other. Their immediate object was beyond question the aggrandisement of the former though the latter had ultimately an equal interest in their success. The opinion which the Nabob himself entertained of these services and of the fidelity of Nandkumar evidently appeared in the different marks which he continued to show him of his favor and confidence to the latest hour of his life. His conduct in the succeeding administration appears not only to have been dictated by the same principles but if we may be allowed to speak favourably of any measures which opposed the views of our own Government and aimed at the support of an adverse interest, surely it was not only not culpable but even praiseworthy. He endeavoured (as appears by the extracts before us) to give consequence to his master and to pave the way to his independence by obtaining a Firman from the King for his appointment to the Subahship, and he opposed the promotion of Mahomed Reza Khan because he looked upon it as a supersession of the rights and authority of the Nabob. He is now an absolute dependant of the Company on whose favour he must rest all his hopes of future advancement. To conclude: at a different season and under other circumstances the President would acquiesce in the arguments which have been urged against his recommendation, and he should be very sorry to see Nandkumar become the Minister of a rival power because of his abilities. He thinks they may be most usefully employed in the service of our Government." (Minute of 28th July 1772).

Hastings summed up the matter in his report to the Court of Directors and drew a distinction between the appointment of Gur Das and that of his father. The former he said was young and inexperienced, and though unexceptionable in other respects was inadequate to the real purposes of his appointment. His father on the other hand had all the abilities, perseverance, and temper required for such ends in a degree perhaps exceeding any man in Bengal. These talents had hitherto made him obnoxious to Government, and it might be thought unsafe to trust him with an authority so near the Nabob whom he might inspire with his own ambition and assist with the means of carrying it to the most dangerous extremes. "This might be the case," he said, "were Nandkumar immediately and formally entrusted with the charge and therefore it was proposed to confer it on his son who was

of himself incapable of making a bad use of it, and to allow of his acting under the influence and instructions of his father, who holding no office under the Nabob, and being a subject of our Government, may be removed without éclat or the least appearance of violence whenever he shall be proved or even suspected to abuse his trust and apply it to designs hurtful to the interests of the Honourable Company.”

Macaulay gently sneers at Hastings' fancied master-stroke of policy in rewarding the able and unprincipled parent by promoting the inoffensive child, and in truth the device seems pitiful enough. It is just such a “benami” transaction as would occur to a Bengali pettifogger or to one who had by long association become Bengalised. I am not sure, however, that Hastings' real object was not to keep a whip-hand over Nandkumar for his own ends. If this was the object, the means were appropriate enough. On 16th April 1773, the Court of Directors write approving the appointment of Gur Dass and complimented Hastings on subordinating his private feelings to the public good. They wrote; “The use you intend to make of Nandkumar is very proper, and it affords us great satisfaction that you could at once determine to suppress private resentment when the public welfare seemed to clash with your private sentiments relative to Nandkumar.”* At a later period, namely, when Hastings was examined as a witness in Nandkumar's trial, he vindicated his countenancing and employing him by saying that he had orders from his superiors to do so. This is true, for the Court wrote to him on 28th April 1771 to make use of Nandkumar, and it shows the strong and secret nature of the man, that with this letter in his possession he chose to suppress it, and to bear the reproaches and probably the ridicule of the members of his Council. He evidently knew, better than to play all his cards at once. But what seems to be worthy of remark is that Hastings' explanation does not hit the real point. It is quite satisfactory as explanatory of his employment of Nandkumar and his appointment of his son, but it does not alter the terms of his minute on the latter occasion. The minute was a secret thing intended only for his Council and the Directors. There was no occasion to say anything false in it, nor do I believe that it contains any falsehood, yet the paper contains what is really very high praise of Nandkumar. It credits him with abilities, temper and fidelity; and seems to argue that because Nandkumar was faithful to one master he will be so to another.

* After all this correspondence it is amusing to find Mr. Impey censuring Macaulay for ignorantly and apparently stating that Hastings pro-

moted Gur Dass (p. 87 of his letters to his father). This shows the value of Mr. Impey's information and opinions.

We can therefore estimate at its true value Hastings' vituperations of Nandkumar after the latter became his accuser. Then it was that Nandkumar became a "miscreant" in his eyes, and a wretch whom all the Council knew to be one of the basest of mankind.

The peace between Hastings and Nandkumar, if such it might be called, was not of long duration, and the old animosity broke forth more virulently than ever. To the old feelings of dislike with which Hastings regarded Nandkumar, he now seems to have added indignation for what he considered his ingratitude; so that Nandkumar was in the position of an enemy who had been treated with kindness and had repaid it by fresh acts of hostility. In a letter of 24th March 1774, Hastings says of Nandkumar that he is at a loss to discover the secret springs which govern his mysterious conduct. He then goes on to express his fears that the Directors should blame him for slackness in the conduct of the enquiry into Mahomed Reza Khan's conduct, and adds, "I must declare I have another motive for my fears—the dark and deceitful character of Nandkumar whose gratitude no kindness can bind, nor even his own interest disengage him from the crooked politics which have been the study and practice of his whole life. Of this I have many very extraordinary proofs. I shall instance only two as most expressive of his real character. Before my departure from Fort St. George, when my appointment to this Presidency was known, a messenger, expressly deputed from Mani Begum, came to me there with letters from her entreating my protection in the most earnest terms, both for her house and for the people of Bengal against the tyranny of Mahomed Reza Khan, and referring me for further information to Maharajah Nandkumar, from whom I received similar addresses on the same subject and by the same hand. The Begum has since solemnly disowned her having ever written such letters or authorized such a commission. A very short time after the elevation of his son to the high office which he now possesses, as Dewan to the Nabob, Nandkumar sent drafts of letters to the Begum which he recommended her to write to me enumerating the many encroachments which had been made by the English Government on the rights of the Nizam and reducing them for the behoof of the Nabob. Copies of these drafts communicated to me by the Rani to Mr. Middleton and by other channels are actually in my possession. I trust to his own genius to furnish you with neerer proofs in the representations which he may at this time convey to your knowledge."

I cannot see that either of these instances proves Nandkumar's turpitude. The first is just as likely to have been the

result of the Begum's faithlessness or timidity as of Nandkumar's lying. It is quite possible, and even probable, that the Begum authorised the communications to Madras and then denied that she did so. The strain of the letters was innocent enough. The second instance of Nandkumar's perfidy seems only a continuation of that long and unswerving attachment to the house of Mir Jaffir for which Hastings punished him in 1772. However, Hastings deeply resented it, and such was the state of feeling between the two men when the curtain rose on the last scene in their long conflict. This occurred in March 1775, when Nandkumar charged Hastings with bribery; and to this part of the story I now address myself.

Nandkumar commenced his attack by presenting a letter to Francis on the morning of the 11th March. Macaulay speaks of his doing this with great ceremony, but Francis' account of the matter shows that the ceremony was on his part and was occasioned by his anxiety to show that the thing was done openly and without preconcert. On the same day Francis laid the letter before the Council. It was opened and read* and found to contain a number of charges against Hastings. It was ordered that the Persian original should be translated. Some conversation took place between Francis and Hastings, in which the former stated that he did not know previously the contents of the letter further than that he believed it to contain charges against Hastings.

Nandkumar's letter bore date the 8th March. It was addressed to Warren Hastings and the Councillors, and was a very lengthy document. It began by describing Nandkumar's services during the war with Mir Kassim, then it detailed the evil deeds of Mahomed Reza. Coming down to recent times it said: "When Mr. Hastings arrived from Madras and entered upon the Government, he promised me his friendship, and engaged me to assist him in regulating and adjusting the business of the country. The part I acted upon this occasion will hereafter appear in the course of this narrative. When General Clavering and Colonel Monson and Mr. Francis arrived from England, appointed Councillors for the government of this country, the president, Mr. Hastings, introduced many of the natives, who had employment in the country, to these gentlemen and likewise gave permission to many others to pay their respects to them. I begged of the Governor that he would introduce me. The Governor answered me, I was well assured I had a friendship with his enemy that acted as a messenger from me to these gentlemen. You

*The original petition was in Persian, but apparently Nandkumar had enclosed a translation along with it.

have contracted, said he, a friendship with my enemy ; procure an interview by his means, and he concluded with this menace : " I shall pursue what is for my own advantage, but in this your trust is included : look to it." I replied with begging that he would not give credit to the slanders of Mr. Graham * against me, who was my enemy. The affair remained for some time in this state. Afterwards the Governor sent Mr. Elliot with me to introduce me to General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis. I continued after this to pay my respects from time to time as usual to the Governor, and sometimes to the other three gentlemen. On Tuesday the 29th of Poos † I waited upon the Governor and found Mr. Graham and the Governor in conversation together. When Mr. Graham had taken his leave the Governor called me to him and said, " I am certain that you are acting the part of an enemy towards me. I shall, hereafter, be your enemy here and shall not cease to be such even in Europe. You must not come near me from this day, go and do me the utmost evil in your power." I begged him coolly and impartially to consider the justice of this declaration, and told him that till he had I should take care not to visit him. I left him upon this, conceiving that what he had said proceeded from a gust of passion and that he would not seriously determine upon effecting my ruin. Since then Jagat Chand, ‡ whom I have educated from a child, and patronised, and who even now enjoys the office of Naib to my son Rajah Gour Das, with the most abandoned unscrupulousness has been seeking to injure me and Rajah Gour Das. He has now come to Calcutta without order of Council and contrary to Rajah Gour Das' desire, and he has never yet even been to visit me. This person is admitted to hold counsel with the Governor, and Mohun Persad, whose villany and lying intrigues are known to both the English gentlemen and the natives throughout the city, who is my inveterate enemy, and whom the Governor formerly turned out of his house and forbade him to appear there again, is now recalled into his presence, is presented with pân by him, and assured of his protection."

" Mohun Persad is admitted by the Governor to private conferences both in town and at his gardens, and he likewise frequently comes to Jagat Chand's house and holds consultations with him. What title from rank or fidelity have these to such intimate connection with the Governor? What other title have they than their enmity and malevolence to me? I have no power in this country. Mr. Hastings is the superior of all. The good-

* Resident, I think, at Burdwan.
He is said to have carried off the young
Rajah from his mother's house.

† January 1775,

‡ Naudkumar's son in law?

ness of God is the only defence I have against the declared hatred of such an enemy. I esteem my honor, dearer than my life, and I am not insensible of the injury my character may afterwards suffer from the discoveries I am about to make, but greater disgrace attends my silence and I am left without a choice. I shall therefore request your attention to the following account of some few parts of the Governor Mr. Hastings' conduct in the course of his government. When Mr. Hastings arrived in Bengal from Madras and entered upon the administration of affairs, he told me that he was well assured of the embezzlements and malpractices of Mahomed Reza Khan and Rajah Shitab Roy, and desired that I would assist him in the intention he had of removing them from their employments, and prepare a statement of their respective accounts. He further added that he would cause me to be appointed by the Council, Amin for the whole country, and that Mahomed Reza and Shitab Roy should appear before and render to me accounts of their provinces. "I will delegate to you," said he, "my whole power and influence!" Depending upon this declaration I readily lent the assistance in my power, and Mr. Hastings having summoned Mahomed Reza and Shitab Roy to Calcutta, directed me to draw up an account of their embezzlements, which I accordingly did and gave to him."

The letter then goes into a detail of Mahomed Reza's defalcation in the Nizamat, and in the Dacca provinces, and says they amounted to upwards of three crores of rupees. "I likewise brought to him persons who were preferring their complaints against Mahomed Reza Khan on account of injuries committed by him in the purchase and sale of grain. Mahomed Reza Khan upon this sent a messenger to me proposing a present of 11 lacs to Mr. Hastings and two to myself, and that these inquiries should be stopped. I acquainted Mr. Hastings with this proposal. He made answer that he could not suspend an inquiry for the amount of crores of rupees for such a sum, and that it was proper the Government money should be recovered and added that he should not release him from confinement till the points in question were decided upon. He said no more to me, but after a few days he took the guards off Mahomed Reza Khan's house, set him at liberty, entirely dropped the inquiry into his embezzlements and malpractices, and did not do justice to the complainants against Mahomed Reza, who had proved in Council their charge, in the affair of the sale and purchase of grain, to whom he adjudged no damages. Why this extraordinary favour was so suddenly shown the Governor can best assign the reasons. "After describing Mahomed Reza Khan and Shitab Roy's defalcation, and Hastings conduct therein, and after accusing Hastings of

unduly favouring Cheyt Singh of Benares, the petition goes on : "The Governor Mr. Hastings has given the Pargana Baharband and others * in the Zemindari of Rani Bhowani to Canto his own dewan. The Rani has committed no faults and Canto has no right by inheritance or any other title to these parganas. The reasons of this gift remain with the Governor to explain."

"His Majesty Shah Allum was graciously pleased to intend me an honorary present of a Yabaldari (?) palanquin accompanied with other ensigns of state according to the custom of this country. When this present reached Shitab Roy at Patna on its way to me, Nabot Mahomed Jaffar Aly Khan was dead and being out of all employ, I had returned to Calcutta. Rajah Shitab Roy from the fear of offending Mahomed Reza Khan, detained the royal present at Patna. Mr. Hastings gave directions to Shitab Roy's vakeels, Assur and Nageloo Roy (?) requiring that it should be sent down, which it accordingly was, to Mr. Hastings with whom it has remained ever since. I humbly request that the Governor's reasons may be required and if the royal present shall be found to be my right, it may be delivered to me."

"Thus far I have written in general terms. I shall now begin to offer a more particular and circumstantial statement of facts."

Then follows "An account of presents received by the Governor. Mr. Hastings, on account of transactions of a public nature.

1.—Given by me to Mr. Hastings at Calcutta for procuring Rajah Gour Das's appointment to the Niabat and causing Mumy Begum to be made the superior of the family, by means of Jagannath and Balkissen, Khansamahs of the Governor-General, together with Chaitan Nath, Nur Sing, and Sadanand.)

3 bags of gold mohurs, viz.

One bag containing gold mohurs	...	1471
One. do do do	...	1471
One do do do	...	900
One ditto containing 1,140 adhelis (half gold mohurs.)		570

4,412

Gold Mohurs 4412 at 17 Arcot Rupees=Rs. 75,004.

This was in 2 Ashin 1179=16th September 1772.

Given by ditto for ditto at Calcutta, by means of Jagannath and Balkissen, Khansamas of Mr. Hastings, together with Sadanand and Nur Sing aforesaid. One bag containing 1291 g. m. and 359 adhelis. 179 ditto.

Total ... 1470

* This shows that the petition is a moie's Zemindari which she obtained translation. Baharband, etc. is to from her husband who was Cant this day the title of Rani Sorna-Babu's descendant.

Value at 17 Arcot Rupees, Rs. 24,998.

Given on 15th Ashin 1179=29th September 1772.

Ditto 26th Ashin to lost by ditto for Batta on the forementioned sums which having been paid as Arcots, Mr. Hastings required they should be made up Sonats, by means of Jagannath and Balkissen aforesaid, viz, 1 bag containing gold mohurs 182 at 17 Arcot Rupees=Rs. 3,102-8.

Ditto 29 Ashin sent to Mr. Hastings at Calcutta by means of Jagannath and Balkissen aforesaid, together with Sheva Ram, one bag containing Arcot rupees 1000.

Bhadra given to Mr. Hastings at Murshedabad by Munny Begum upon the occasion of constituting her the superior of the family and taking away the superiority from Boho Begum, mother of the Nabob Mabarak ad Doula, who before enjoyed that rank, Rs. 100,000.

The Governor, Mr. Hastings, in the month of Ashar 1179. (June 1772) went from Calcutta to Murshedabad. He remained about three months at Cossimbazar and sometimes went into the Nabob's palace. After Mr. Hastings returned from Murshedabad, Munny Begum said to Rajah Goor Das: "Write word to Maharajah Nund Kumar that it is proper and requisite to give one lac and fifty thousand rupees to the Governor, and beg the Maharajah to ask the Governor whether it shall be sent in ready money or by bill of exchange." I accordingly asked Mr. Hastings who answered; "I have connections of trade in that part of the country, let this money be paid to Nur Singh Cantoo's brother who is at Cossimbazar." In consequence of which I wrote to Rajah Goor Das and Munny Begum that they should deliver the money to Nur Singh Cantoo's brother. Munny Begum, with Raja Goor Das' knowledge, in the month of Aslau 1179, paid this money to the Governor, Mr. Hastings, by the means of Nur Singh aforesaid from under the care of Chaitan Charan Dhar, cashkeeper.

Sonat rupees	...	...	150,000
Grand total	...	...	3,54105.

CALCUTTA,
8th March 1775.

I am, etc:
NAND KUMAR.

The first thing, probably, which strikes one on reading this long letter is, that there must be some truth in charges so numerous and minute. The particulars of each payment are given with so much circumstantiality of detail that it is difficult to believe them to be pure inventions. Moreover, as was long ago pointed out by Sir Gilbert Elliot, the precision about dates, and the name

of the go-betweens furnished Hastings with an easy means of disproving the charges had been so minded. The general impression of the truth of the charges which the letter produces is strengthened not only by Hastings' suppression of Nand Kumar's evidence but by the fact that he actually admitted before the House of Lords that he had received the largest sum mentioned in the account. It will be seen that all Nandkumar's charges referred to a rather remote period. All the presents were made in 1772, i. e. some 2½ years before the date of his letter, and though Macaulay speaks of Nandkumar "as having, after the fashion of the East, subsequently produced a large supplement" I cannot find any evidence for the statement. Now of the items in the account by far the largest is that of the lac and-a-half which Munny Begum is said to have given to Hastings at Murshedabad. But this is the very one which Hastings acknowledged himself to have received when he made his defence before the Lords! He then took the course not of denying the receipt but of justifying it on the plea that the Act of Parliament prohibiting presents had not then been passed;* that such allowances were the common custom of the country and that he added nothing to his fortune by the allowance and must have charged the Company a sum as large as if it had not been received†. In other words he described the money as a sumptuary allowance, and took credit to himself for getting it from Munny Begum instead of charging the Company with it. This was a bold, nay almost an impudent defence, for not only was the sum enormously large, if regarded as a sumptuary allowance, but Hastings had over and above charged the Company with large sums on account of this very visit‡. It is a pity too that Hastings did not make this defence in 1775. It would have been easier for him then to have shown the items, and he could have proved the custom of the country more readily in Calcutta than at the bar of the Lords. The fact that he did not adopt this line of defence at the time is strong evidence that it was false. We cannot but think that if he could have shown that at least one half of the money which he was accused of taking had been received by him innocently and for the public service, he would not have failed to do so, as this would have gone very far indeed to clear him from the other charges. The only other explanation of his silence and of the absurd bluster with which he tried to put down

* Referring to the Act passed in 1773; but as a fact, the taking of presents was prohibited in 1764, when all officers had to sign covenants binding themselves not to accept presents.

† Mill's History, vol. III. p. 550. (Third Edition).

‡ "30,000 rupees and upwards, as travelling charges, and a great additional amount for his colleagues and attendants.—*Mill*.

Napd Kumar and his charges is, that the scene in the Council Chamber threw him off his guard and made him, in fact, quite lose his head. Doubtless this explanation is partially the true one. The circumstances were indeed such as to disorder even Hastings' equanimity. The worm now stood erect and menacing, and even the despised nautch-girl, to whom he had stretched out his hand and whom he had delighted to honour, had lifted up her heel against him.

One of the charges mentioned by Nandkumar, namely, the giving of Beharband Pargana to Kanti Babu was notoriously true and Hastings never attempted to deny it. Hastings had taken the property from Rani Bhowani and given it to his own Dewan in the name of his son Lok Nath Nandi who was then a child of ten or eleven years of age. At a later period Hastings defended the benami nature of this transaction by saying that it was the custom of the country to give zemindaries in false names.* The various lines of defence adopted by Hastings and his apologists remind one of the Anglo-Indian custom of taking the holidays of three different religions. If Hastings did a base action according to the Bengali fashion it was the custom of the country, and if he did one *more majorem* it was the exigencies of his position and the necessity of maintaining the British supremacy which dictated it. The taking of presents and the farming of *nineteen* parganas by Kanti Babu (Mill vol. III p. 569) were justified by the first principle and the extermination of the Rohillas by the second.

The history of Baharband pargana, which is the largest and most prosperous estate in Rangpûr, is peculiar. Originally it belonged to Rani Satyabati. She retired to Benares and made over the property to her niece the famous Rani Bhowani. Hastings took it from her on the ground that she was a woman and could not manage a zemindari† and gave it to his Dewan. His son Lok Nath

* The real nature of the transaction, and Hastings' interest in Kanti Babu are shown by a letter which he sent to Mr. Goodlow the Collector of Rangpûr on 19th February 1783. "Kanti Babu, my *dewan*, having obtained my permission to visit the Pargana of Baharbund which is his *Zemindari*, the ryots of which have proved very refractory in paying their rents, I request that you will afford him your protection and support in collecting the same, enforcing his authority and that of his agent or agents whom he may leave in the management. In the meantime as this is the season of the heavy collec-

tions, and as he expects, as the natural consequence of his endeavours, to realise them and reduce the ryots to their duty, that they will appeal and complain to you, he requests, and it is reasonable, that you will suspend any inquiry therein until the month Baisakh, at which time his business will suffer little from it."

Can we not fancy the scene when the wily Bengali got this letter from Hastings? Zemindars would hardly get such a one now-a-days.

† Francis stood up for the Rani and remarked that sex had been found by Hastings to be no disqualification in the case of Munny Begum.

was the first recorded Zemindar, and from him the property descended to his son and grandson. The last (Kisto Nath) committed suicide to avoid a prosecution for murder, and Government, I am sorry to say, tried to import the barbarous law of *felo-de-se* into this country and thereby to deprive Kisto Nath's widow, the illustrious Rani Sarnamoie, of the estate. In this they failed and Rani Sarnamoie still holds the property. She is famous all over Bengal for her good works, and if Rani Bhowani, who was equally famous in the last century for her charities, were to come to life again, I think that, Brahmami as she was, she would recognise a true spiritual daughter in Rani Sarnamoie.

Poor Nandkumar's complaint about his palanquin, which strikes one as pathetic in the midst of such fierce storms was also well founded. In a letter of Hastings' of 25th March, he quietly admitted that he had the palanquin "so I am told," he writes, "for I have never seen it." He adds that he was asked to reply to so futile an accusation, but why he did not give up the palanquin he does not explain.

Another thing which must strike every one who reads the letter is that it is impossible to make a hero or a martyr out of Nandkumar. It was no zeal for the public good which brought him forward as the denouncer of bribes. As long as his own interest was served he had no objection to act the part of a bribe-broker. He kept silence for more than two years and when he at last appeared as a "delator" it was fear for his own safety and a desire for revenge which prompted him. He was not insensible to the danger, and a part of his letter reads like a soliloquy, as if the unhappy man was trying to give himself courage and to convince himself that the bold course was the safest. "I esteem my honour dearer than my life" he cries, "and I am not insensible to the injury my character may suffer from the discoveries I am about to make, *but greater dangers attend my silence and I am left without a choice!*" It is impossible to doubt that his description of his interview with Hastings is in the main, true. Graham was admittedly one of Nandkumar's enemies and was, I presume, one of the three members of the Board who objected in 1772 to Gur Das' appointment. When Hastings was examined as a witness on Nandkumar's trial, he was asked if he had not said that he would be revenged on him and would ruin him. In reply he denied the having used such language and had the hardihood to add: "I am clear I did not mention those words because it is not in my disposition"; possibly he meant that it was not in his disposition to utter such sentiments, and in this sense his answer might be true, but if he meant that it was not in his nature to entertain them, he either told a lie or

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understood his character even less than Clive did. Hastings' implacability was one of his most notorious characteristics and is fully admitted by Lord Macaulay.

By far the most important point, however, in Nandkumar's letter, is the mention of Mohun Persad. This was the man who afterwards prosecuted Nandkumar and got him hanged; and here, as Sir Gilbert Elliot pointed out in his speech, we have Nandkumar denouncing him as his enemy and as *in concert with Hastings nearly two months before the charge was brought*. Hastings never, I believe, denied Nandkumar's assertions about his intimacy with Mohun Persad, and surely nothing would have been easier to disprove had it been false. All Calcutta must have known whether or not Mohun Persad visited the Governor-General and received *pān* from him, &c.

Nandkumar's next procedure after producing this letter was to apply for leave to appear before the council to prove his charges. This he did two days later by the following letter. "I had the honour to lay before you in a letter of the 11th instant * an abstracted but true account of the conduct of the Hon'ble Governor in the course of his administration. What is there written I mean not in the least to alter. Far from it; I have the strongest written vouchers to produce in support of what I have advanced and I wish and intreat for my honour's sake that you will suffer me to appear before you to establish the facts by additional incontestible evidence."

"I have never had any object in view but the prosperity of the Company, and when I informed the former Governors, at their time of enjoying the dignity, of the business and state of the country, I always told them that by an immediate attention to private emolument the Company and the country would greatly suffer, that the welfare of the country and the increase of the revenues were the primary object which they should continually keep in view. Mr. Hastings till he had informed himself from me of the affairs of this country, remained exceedingly well-pleased with me. When he had acquired this knowledge from me, he no longer consulted me, instead of my patron he became my enemy and acted as such. Inattentive to the welfare of the country and the enrichment of the State, he made his own profit the rule of his conduct. You Hon'ble Sir and Sirs will take and consider this and my former address, and will act in whatever manner you may judge most conducive to the interest and prosperity of the State and country."

* The 11th was a Saturday, so that on the first council day after he had Nandkumar's case was taken up again laid his charges.

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Colonel Monson moved that Nandkumar should be called before the Board to bring the proofs of the charges against the Governor, mentioned in his letter of the 8th instanc.

On this the Governor-General interposed saying, that before the question was put, he declared that he would not suffer Nandkumar to appear before the Board as his accuser.

He went on to say that Monson and Francis were his enemies, and had found instruments for their purpose in Mr. Fowke, Nandkumar, Rup Narain Chaudhari and the Rani of Burdwan.

Then after animadverting on Mr. Francis' conduct in receiving the letter, he stated that he had been long aware that Nandkumar intended to make this attack on him. "Happily, Nandkumar, among whose talents for intrigue that of secrecy is not the first, has been ever too ready to make the first publication of his own intentions. I was shown a paper containing many accusations against me, which I was told was carried by Nandkumar to Colonel Monson, and that he himself was employed for some hours in private with Colonel Monson explaining the nature of this charge. . . . The Chief of the Administration, your superior, gentlemen, appointed by the Legislature itself, shall I sit at this Board to be arraigned in the presence of a wretch whom you all know to be one of the basest of mankind, I believe I need not mention his name, it is Nandkumar. Shall I sit to hear witnesses collected from the dregs of the people, give evidence at his dictation against my character and conduct? I will not. You may, if you please, form yourselves into a committee for the investigation of these matters in any manner which you think proper, but I still repeat that I will not meet Nandkumar at the Board nor suffer Nandkumar to be examined at the Board." On this Colonel Monson asked Hastings for his authority for the statement that he had held communication with Nandkumar. This Hastings declined to give on the plea that he would not expose anyone to Monson's resentment. Thereon Monson denied that he had held any such communication.

Francis seconded Monson's proposal that Nandkumar should be called before the Board, but Barwell, who of course supported Hastings, moved that Nandkumar should be referred to the Supreme Court. Monson very properly remarked that Nandkumar should be called to show the Board the nature of the evidence he had to produce, and said that if these proofs appeared sufficient, the case could hereafter be tried in the Supreme Court. "I more particularly wish" he added "that, the Board shall receive Nandkumar as it will give the Governor-General an opportunity of confuting the charges brought against him." After this Hastings declared the council dis-

solved; the majority however called in Nandkumar and examined him. He said, "I am not a man officially to make complaints, but when I perceived my character which is dear to me as life, threatened by the Governor receiving into his presence Jagat Chand and Mohan Persad* who are persons of low repute, and denying me admittance, I thought it incumbent on me to write what I have."

Mani Begum's letter was put in, and D'Oyley and Aurio[†] said the seal was hers. Nandkumar said he had shown Kantu Babu the letter, and so it was resolved to call him.

Kantu Babu returned an insolent reply in Bengali declining to appear on the ground that the council was incomplete and that the Governor-General had forbidden him to attend. He did appear afterwards (on the 20th March I think) and Clavering then proposed to put him in the stocks for contempt. Hastings with a tenderness for native feeling which he did not show afterwards in Nandkumar's case, protested and urged Kantu Babu's rank. Clavering retorted that he did not know much of Kantu Babu's rank, and that he had always understood, that the man had first been Mr. Sykes' banyan and then the Governor's. On a subsequent occasion Colonel Manson gave the following history of him: "I have understood that when the Governor-General first came into this country, Kantu Babu served him for a salary of 15 or 20 rupees a month, that he rose in esteem and consideration with the people as the Governor-General rose in his rank in the Company's service, that Kantu Baboo afterwards served Mr. Sykes as banyan when resident at the Darbar, in which office he attained considerable riches; when the Governor-General returned to this country he received this man again into his employ, and has since intrusted him, it is said, with the most secret springs of Government and now allows him to preside, though he declares him inefficient in a court, which gives the greatest consequence and has the greatest influence over the minds of the people" (8th May 1775). The last sentence of the above refers to Kantu Babu's presiding over a court in Calcutta for the trial of questions of caste. It seems that this post had from the time of Vansittart been filled by the banyan of the Governor for the time being. Kantu Babu was probably very unfit for such an office, for he was not even a Brahman. He was a Tili or oil-seller, so that he was of the same caste as Daya Ram the founder of the Dighapatia family and an old servant of the Nattore Rajahs. Possibly they were related to one another, and if so, Kantu Babu may have had family reasons for being hostile to Nandkumar, for we find Hastings writing in July 1759, that Nandkumar was trying to

* Still harping we see on Mohan Pershad.

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injure Daya Ram. Both Nandkumar and Kantu belonged to the district of Murshedabad.

The next step which the councillors took seems to have been hasty and ill-advised. Instead of quietly going on with the inquiry and examining the witnesses and documents which Nandkumar professed himself ready to produce, they at once came to the conclusion that Hastings was guilty and resolved that he should be called upon to pay three and a half lacs into the Treasury. They sent their secretary to him with a copy of their resolution, but as might have been expected, Hastings refused to receive the paper as a resolution of the Board and returned no answer to it. Here the matter seems to have dropped, so that Nandkumar was injured both by his friends and his foes. The former were too impetuous to allow him to prove his charges and the latter put him to death. It is much to be regretted that the councillors allowed themselves to be carried away by their passions, and that their natural irritation at Hastings' contumacy should have hurried them into precipitate action. They ought certainly to have examined the witnesses and so have put some evidence on record. The result of their not having done so is, that it is still open to Hastings' apologists to say that he never was found guilty. They should remember, however, that this negative result was only attained by the refusal of Hastings to submit his conduct to an investigation. It may be said that he was right to object to be tried by his subordinates and by men who were notoriously hostile to him. But granting this, one would have thought that he would at least have explained the matter to the Court of Directors, or to Lord North's government. They, at all events, were his masters, and were entitled to have his defence. But he never, as far as I know, defended himself even to them. His plea for reticence was peculiar. He said that he understood he was going to be prosecuted for the taking of the presents in the Supreme Court, and that therefore he would reserve his defence till he was put on his trial. The law officers of the Company, however, who seem to have been consulted on the matter, gave it as their opinion that a prosecution would not lie, so the result was that Hastings never gave any explanation.

The resolution above referred to was the last, and, as it were, expiring effort of the assailants of Hastings. It was now time for the other side to open their batteries and this they immediately did with great vigour and success.

Nandkumar's charges were made on the 11th and 13th March; next month two charges of conspiracy had been preferred against him, and by the first week of May he was in a felon's prison. Sir Gilbert Elliot then was within bounds when, after describing

Nandkumar's charges and the proceedings in council, he said "Observe, Sir, what follows, in this very instance, in this crisis of affairs: the next thing we see is Nandkumar assailed at once by no less than three prosecutions in the Supreme Court."

Macaulay, in his love for rapid and picturesque narrative, suppresses all mention of the charges of conspiracy, and speaks of Calcutta as being astounded by the news of Nandkumar's arrest. In fact, Calcutta was probably very little astonished. The citizens must have been pretty well prepared for such an event when they saw two charges of conspiracy hanging over Nandkumar's head, and the first men in the settlement, Hastings, Barwell and George Vansittart, standing forth as his accusers. I am, afraid too that Macaulay credits the Ditchers of those days with too much sensibility when he speaks of their compassionating Nandkumar's fate. None of their recorded acts or sayings show a trace of such feelings, and I fear that they were, almost to a man, incensed against one who, as Burke said, had been guilty of the sin against the Holy Ghost, viz., the great irremissible sin in India, of discovery of peculation.

This is not the only place in his essay in which Macaulay seems to me to have misused his power of manipulating light and shade. He tells us that after Nandkumar had preferred his charges, his triumph seemed to be complete, and that he held a daily levee to which his countrymen resorted in crowds, and to which on one occasion the majority of the Council condescended to repair. I know nothing about the levee and doubt if Nandkumar did anything more than receive people who came to see him, but as regards the visit of the Councillors, I think there is a misrepresentation. It is quite true that they went to see Nandkumar but they did not go in state, and their visit was paid to a fallen man. It was on 21st April that they saw him, and by that time the charge of conspiracy had been preferred against him. Indeed, it was the fact of their visiting an accused man which was made the ground of charge against them, as implying a sort of contempt of court, and they defended themselves by saying that the charge had only just been brought and that he was not then under arrest for forgery. In this matter Linpey's Memorials are more correct than Macaulay's essay (p. 79).

The charge of conspiracy was preferred, I think, on the 20th April, the nineteenth was the date on which the offence was said to have been committed. The charge was the conspiring together to induce one Commoluddin to sign a paper charging Hastings and Barwell with receiving bribes. The indictment is a choice specimen of legal verbosity, and covers eight pages of foolscap. It sets forth that Joseph Fowke, Maharajah Nandkumar Bahadur, and Ray Radha Charan (Nandkumar's son-in-law) being

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persons of evil name and fame and dishonest reputation, and wickedly devising and intending Warren Hastings, Esquire, Governor-General, not only of his good name, credit and reputation, to deprive and to 'bring him into the ill-opinion, hatred and contempt of all his Majesty's subjects in the said Province of Bengal and of the native inhabitants thereof, and by 'that means, as much as' in them lay, to disturb the good Government of the said country, and the management of the commercial concerns of the Honorable East India Company, these which are so eminently entrusted to the said Warren Hastings, but also to bring upon the said Warren Hastings the ill-opinion and hatred of the King himself and of the two houses of the Parliaments of Great Britain and of the Proprietors and Directors of the said East India Company, did on the nineteenth day of April in the fifteenth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third &c, &c., at Calcutta aforesaid, in Bengal aforesaid, conspire, combine, and agree among themselves falsely to charge and accuse the said Warren Hastings of divers enormous and scandalous offences, &c.

Ray Radha Charan mentioned in the above indictment was the vakil of the Nawab of Bengal, and when accused he set up the claim of being an ambassador. In order to bring him under the power of the Supreme Court, it was thought necessary to prove that his master was in no respect a Prince. For this purpose Mr. Hastings made an affidavit that he and his council in 1772 had appointed Mani Begum and all her subordinates (Mill.) These things show the active part which Hastings took in one of the prosecutions against Nandkumar. It is amusing to find that Hastings, some three years later, shifted his ground and was a zealous upholder of the dignity of the Nawab. As Mill remarks, when all the facts (about Roy Radha Charan's claim and Hastings' affidavit thereon, &c.) are known, the vehement zeal which Mr. Hastings, because it now suited his purpose, displayed for the fictitious authority of the Nawab, has a name which every reader will supply.

The charge brought by Barwell was similar to that preferred by Hastings, and both, I think, will be found recorded in Howell's State Trials. In Barwell's case the accused were acquitted, and in the other, Fowke and Nandkumar were found guilty. This was on 15th July 1775 when Nandkumar had already been condemned to death for forgery, so that the verdict was of little consequence as against him. What was done to Fowke I do not know. This Fowke was a sort of dependent of General Claveing, but he must have been a man of merit, for Dr. Johnson corresponded with him and spoke of him as his dear friend. His son Francis Fowke who was also involved in Commaluddin's accusations was afterwards appointed Resident at Benares, but

Hastings cancelled the appointment and appointed in his stead Mr. Graham * and a Mr. O. V. Barwell. The Court of Directors were very indignant, but, apparently Hastings successfully defied them (*See Mill*, vol IV, p. 19).

The pivot on which the two charges of conspiracy turned was the petition or affidavit of Commaluddeen. It is therefore worth while to find out who this man was. He was, it seems, the ostensible holder of a salt-farm at Hidjeli, the real farmer being Hastings' banyan Kantu Babu. Commaluddeen defaulted in the payment of his revenue, and on 25th July was put into prison, by the Committee (of Revenue?) He was released by the Supreme Court on a writ of Habeas Corpus.

This man, whom Hastings himself spoke of as being an indigent man, was principal witness both in the conspiracy and in the forgery cases against Nandkumar. Well then might General Clavering write,—“When the Court of Directors shall see how much time has been employed in settling the accounts of Commuluddeen, and when they learn that this man has been the principal evidence at two remarkable trials, the principal facts of which happened at eleven years distance; and when they are informed who the persons were who concerned themselves in carrying on these prosecutions, and the purposes for which they were made to answer, they will account for the great earnestness and zeal that has been shown for the safety of this man at the expense of the Company's revenue” (Minute of 22nd August 1775). Hastings retorted that Commuluddeen had been persecuted on account of his evidence, but he never attempted to deny the existence of the arrears.

Elsewhere, when on 8th May there was a dispute in Council about Nandkumar's treatment in jail, Clavering said that he had been informed that Kantu Babu was the secret mover of the whole conspiracy against Nandkumar jointly with Mr. Graham's Moonshi and that infamous creature Commul-ud-deen Khan, “I may venture to call him infamous,” he adds, “because his veracity has been disproved by three positive witnesses.”

The charge of forgery was preferred against Nandkumar by Mohan Persad early in May, and on the 6th idem he was committed to jail. His trial took place in the following month, but the details of it and of the execution are too interesting and important to be dealt with at the close of a long article. I must therefore, reserve my description of them for some future occasion.

H. BEVERIDGE.

* Nandkumar's enemy ?

ART. VI.—THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE UPANISHADS.

PART II.

THE effort of the thinker is to frame for himself the most distinct and consistent conception of the totality of things attainable in his day and generation. The earliest philosophers in this endeavour had to work upon the pre-existent theological and cosmological imagery. Their aim has been to simplify and to methodise the current beliefs as to man and nature and the supernatural, by discovering some principle of unity in or beneath the phenomenal as thus already pictured. A reflective procedure is to supersede the blind acceptance of faiths of spontaneous growth, of social and sentimental, rather than of individual and intellectual, construction." This procedure is necessitated by the incoherency and inconsistency of the pre-existent conceptions, and manifests itself among all nations that have reached a certain stage of progress. This stage may be, and in India has been, a very low and barbarous one, a fact made out in the former part of this article.

The earliest Indian thinkers had to work upon the rudest of material. In India the accepted faith pictured the world as a multitude of souls passing from body to body, into ever new spheres of experience, these spheres presided over by deities that originally represented the forces of nature, and subsequently were regarded as so many personal manifestations of one impersonal force. Philosophy has either to set aside the earlier order of ideas as superannuated, or to purify and systematise it. In the stage of society in which the theosophy of the Upanishads was framed, the old order of ideas had, as in all ages, to be taken up and fitted into the new construction. "The Upanishads have to deal with three earlier conceptions and to build these up into one compact, and symmetrical edifice. These conceptions are the plurality of transmigrating personalities with their several spheres of fruition of desires, the plurality of supernatural personalities presiding over those spheres, and the one impersonal force beyond or beneath the natural and supernatural orders. These three ideas were united into one total conception by pronouncing the transmigrating sentiences with their surroundings sphere above sphere, and the presiding divine personalities, to be partial and imperfect manifestations of the one impersonal power. The thinker has in every age to conciliate contradictories. The plurality the finitude and imperfection of the transmigrating personalities, of the divinities, and of their environments, have to be reconciled

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with the unity and impersonality, with the infinity and perfection of the underlying reality. This is accomplished by pronouncing that which underlies all manifestation to be an ultimate spiritual reality, associated by an unreal unreality, a fictitious illusion. The ultimate spiritual reality transcends all positive conception, can, strictly speaking, be spoken of only under negative predicates. Yet, being spiritual, the Indian theosophists held that it should be spoken of as the existent, the intelligence, the beatitude. Its existence, intelligence, beatitude, are undifferented. And the fictitious illusion which has overspread it from all eternity, as the material of transmigratory experiences, is made up of pleasure, pain, indifference. Pleasure, pain, and indifference, are, the three *primordia rerum* of the Indian cosmologists. *Sattva, rajas, tamas*, are identified severally with *sukha, duhkha, moha*. As associated with unreal adjuncts that ultimate spiritual reality, the absolute idea, passes, but in semblance only, into innumerable sentiences, and into their several objective environments. The earliest Indian philosophy is a form of absolute idealism in which theism and atheism coalesce into pantheism.

With the imagery in which this system is exhibited in the Upanishads, at times grotesque, at times sublime, the reader is familiar. Carrying in mind the three momenta of the Indian speculative procedure, the search for the principle of unity, the necessity of accounting for plurality and imperfection in the order of metempsychosis, and the necessity of assimilating old ideas into the new system, he will be able to assign to Indian metaphysics their right position in the history of philosophy. The assimilation or compromise was effected, as has been seen, by representing the worship of the deities with the Vedic ritual as a preliminary purification of the intellect to prepare it for the reception of the higher truths of Brahmanic metaphysics. Ritual and worship are incumbent on the multitude whose intellects are not yet purified, not on the qualified aspirant to liberation from metempsychosis. They are precursory to the rise of the intellectual intuition. The intellectual intuition once arisen, they are superfluous. They belong to the world of fictitious and semblances. The Brahman is said in a Vedic text to be born under three debts, his debt of sacred studentship to the Rishis, his debt of sacrifice to the deities, his debt of progeny to the Pitris or forefathers, *jāyamāno viti brāhmanas tribhir riavān ajyate brahmacharyena rishibhyo, yajñena devebhyah, prajayā, pitribhyah*. These debts as Śaṅkarāchārya and Anandagiri tell us in their prolegomena to the Aitareya Upanishad, belong like all other works to the illusory order of things, the world of transmigratory experience. As such they are part of the preliminary purifica-

tion. On the already purified aspirant to liberation they are no longer incumbent. 'He must renounce all things, to seek' the fountal spiritual reality. 'His business is with the intellectual intuition. Such then is the conciliation of *karmavidyā* with *brahmavidyā*, of the old religion with the new philosophy.

As for the deities, a God, the maker, upholder, and retractator of the apparent world, is provided in the ultimate spiritual reality in its first connection with the inexplicable illusion. The fountal idea as illusorily identified with all tenuous *involutæ* of all transmigrating souls, as passing into in all the as-yet imperceptible rudiments of things, is *Hirānyagarbha*; as running like a thread through all sentiencies, from a tuft of grass upwards, it is the thread-soul, the *Sūtrātman*. The ultimate spiritual reality as illusorily identified with all visible and tangible organisms, as passing into the 'quintuplicated' elements, the visible and tangible rudiments of things, is *Vaisvāna*, *Vinātā*, *Purusha*. These divine emanations are all alike *per se* unreal, real only as illusively identified with the real Self. The other deities of the Indian votary have their places assigned to them in the various spheres of transmigratory experience. Place too is found for all the other extra-human beings of the popular culture, for the semi-divine snakes, the demons, and the rest.

The Upanishads rise into sublimity only where they strive to speak the unspeakable, to define the undefinable. The inexpressible, the undefinable, of the Upanishads, is not God, but Self, the idea that transcends and underlies all manifestations in the dual order of subject and object. The God of the Upanishads is but the highest of manifestations in the world of unreality. This it is important that the reader should fully understand, for the doctrine of the Upanishads has been in this respect too often misrepresented. Their system is a system of spiritual absolutism only apparently theistic. It is the purpose of this part of the article to exhibit one or two of the Upanishads, translated in accordance with the views under which their doctrines have been presented to the reader, and with an occasional line of explanation interposed. In this interpretation the Indian expositors, the schoolmen, *Saukācārya* and *Anandagiri* will be the guides. The *Mundaka* may be first presented. It is an Upanishad of the *Atharva-veda*.

"I. OM. *Brahmā* of the gods the first was manifested, the maker of the worlds, the upholder of the universe. He proclaimed the science of Self, on which all science reposes, to his eldest son, *Atharvan*.

"That knowledge of Self which *Brahmā* proclaimed to *Atharvan* *Atharvan* delivered of old to *Angis*, he to *Satyavaha* the

Bharadvaja. The Bharadvaja delivered that traditionary science to Angiras.

“Saunaka the householder drew nigh with reverence to Angiras and asked: ‘Holy Sir, by knowing what shall all this universe be known.’ To him Angiras said: ‘Two sciences are to be which they that know the Veda proclaim, a superior and an inferior.’

“Of these the inferior is the Rig-veda, the Sama-veda, the Atharva-veda, the phonetics, ritual, grammar, etymology, metrics, astronomy. The superior is that by which that undecaying principle is attained.

“That which none can see, none can handle, without kindred, without colour, which has neither eyes nor ears, neither hand nor feet, imperishable, infinitely diversified, everywhere present, wholly inperceptible,—that is the immutable which sages behold as the source of all.

“As a * spider extends and retracts his threads, as plants grow up upon the earth, as the hairs of the head and body spring from the living man, so here arises from the imperishable the world.

“With rigorous contemplation the Self begins to swell. From that expanding Self proceeds the *pabulum*, from that *pabulum* the vital air, the thinking organ, the elements, the spheres, and in actions their long-lasting fruit.”

Thus far this Upanishad has exemplified the lines of traditionary and mythological teachers from whom, in the spirit of compromise with antecedent ideas, the knowledge of the ultimate spiritual reality is derived; the quest of the real, of a principle of unity in the midst of the infinity of phenomena; and the relation of *karmavidyā* to *brahmavidyā*. The *pabulum* is the illusory experience to be allotted to transmigrating spirits in the several embodiments through which they are to pass. The

* A curious misapprehension on the part of Hume, or rather it may be supposed of Hume's informant, is noticeable in this connexion. It occurs in the Dialogues concerning natural religion (Green and Grose's edition of Hume's Works, vol. II, p. 425): “The Brahmins assert that the world arose from an infinite spider, who spun this whole complicated mass from his bowels, and annihilates afterwards the whole or any part of it, by absorbing it again and resolving it into his own essence,

appears to us ridiculous; because a spider is a little contemptible animal whose operations we are never likely to take for a model of the whole universe. But still here is a new species of analogy even in our globe. And were there a planet wholly inhabited by spiders, this inference would then appear as natural and irrefragable as that which in one planet ascribes the origin of all things to design and intelligence. Why an orderly system may not be spun from the belly as well as from the brain, it will be difficult

vital air is according to Sankarāchārya, "*Hiranyagarbha*, the *anima mundi*, the germinating seed of the aggregate all things that arise out of the cosmical illusion and its resultant desires and actions, who presides over all the worlds with the cognitive and active powers of the ultimate spiritual reality." Illusion is often spoken of as the power of the universal soul, *Devamāsāṅgī*. The state of things here described is the end of a period of retraction, when the unmanifested is again about to pass into manifestation, in order that transmigrating spirits may again have fruition of their good and evil deserts. The rigorous contemplation (*tapas*) of the *anima mundi* is a contemplation of the spheres of fruition about to be projected. The world has had no beginning, but has passed from all eternity through successive stages of evolution, sustentation, and dissolution. The state of things here described is thus of necessity an *intermediate* period of dissolution about to give place to an evolution of the unreal world of transmigratory experience. To return to the text—

"He that knows all, that knows everything, whose self-coercion is a contemplation, from him emanates the Brahman, *Hiranyagarbha*, and name and colour, and food."

He that knows all, that knows everything, is the illusorily limited real Self, that is God, the first emanation from whom is *Hiranyagarbha* or the Thread-soul. "*Hiranyagarbha*," says Anandagiri (on the *Katha Upanishad* II, 4, 1) "emanating from the transcendent Self is one with the transcendent Self, in the same way as an earring made of gold is itself gold." Sankarāchārya (on the *Katha Upanishad* II, 6, 1) describes *Hiranyagarbha* as "the swelling seed of the world-tree, identical with the two powers of the ultimate spiritual reality, the impersonal self, with its cognitive power and with its active power." The unmanifested, the ultimate spiritual reality, is said to pass into plurality by differentiating into name and colour. It is by names and colours as illusory adjuncts, says Sankarāchārya (on *Taittiriya* 2, 6) that the real, the universal soul becomes so many objects for the everyday experience of all sentiences, passing into subjects and objects, and cognitions and verbal expressions. The reader has met with the phrase "differentiation into name and colour" in the citation from the sixth *Prapāthaka* of the *Chhāndogya Upanishad* towards the beginning of the former portion of this Article.—To proceed—

"(1. 2) This is the truth : The rites which the sages beheld in the mantras, were widely current in the *Tretayuga*. Perform them regularly, you who desire recompences. This is your path to the sphere of recompences.

"When the flame is flickering, and the fire is kindled aright

he should throw the offerings between the two portions of melted butter. The oblation should be made with faith.

"If a man's fiery sacrifice be unattended with the new-moon offering, or with the full-moon rites, or the Chāturmāsya, or the autumnal ceremonies, and unfrequented with guests, or if it be omitted, or if it be unaccompanied with the oblation to all the deities, he loses the seven higher spheres of fruition. Kāli, Karālī, Manojavā, Sulohita, Suphūnaravarnā, Spulingmī, and Visvarūpī—the black, the terrific, the thought swift, the red, the purple, the scintillating, the omniform goddess—seven are the wavy tongues of fire. He that performs his rites when these are blazing, and offers the sacrifices in their seasons,—him these tongues of fire, the solar rays, lead to the abode of the one lord of all the gods."

"The resplendent sacrifices conduct that sacrificer through the solar rays, crying Come hither, come hither, greeting him with kindly speech, doing him honour saying,—This is your recompense, the sacred sphere of Brahman. But frail are these boats, the sacrifices, in which is the ritual with its eighteen elements, and they that rejoice in it as the highest, are infatuated, and go again and again to decrepitude and death.

"Abiding in the midst of the illusion, having a wisdom of their own, thinking themselves learned, stricken with miseries, they go round and round, infatuated, like the blind led by the blind."

In the first section of the first Mundaka, the two sciences, the superior and the inferior, were distinguished, and their contents marked off. The *aparā vidyā*, or inferior science, is the *karma-vidyā*, or knowledge of Vedic ritual. The *parā vidyā* or superior science, is the *brahmavidyā*, or knowledge of the impersonal self. In this second section it is shown that the *karmavidyā* has to do with the transmigratory order of things. Sacrifices duly offered raise the votary to higher spheres of fruition, but all these spheres of transmigratory experience are at the best unsatisfying. In none is the pleasure worth its attendant pain. The *brahmavidyā* has to do with the ultimate spiritual reality. It promises retraction into undifferentenced spiritual existence, "a clear escape from tyrannising lust, and full immunity from penal woe." *Samsara-vishayakarmavidyā*, *mokshavishayabrahmavidyā*. The eighteen elements of the Vedic ritual are the sixteen priests, the sacrificer and his wife. The second Mundaka opens thus:

"Surveying the spheres earned by rites the seeker of *brahman* should attain to absence of all desire. The uncreate is not reached by works. To learn that he should, with fuel in his

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hands, approach a spiritual guide, learned in the Vedas, intent upon the spiritual reality."

"To him should that spiritual guide, when he approached with reverence, with quiescent faculties, with senses checked, proclaim truly that science of Self, by which he shall know the undecaying soul, the one reality."

The seeker after the spiritual reality should, says Sankarāchārya, turn his back upon the spheres of fruition, of the merit and demerit which arise from the desires and imperfections of the illusory order, for they reproduce themselves like seed and plant, are fraught with countless miseries, and are as unsubstantial and unsatisfying as the plantain stem, and perish at every moment, like an optical illusion, like the waters of a mirage, like airy cities, like the visions of a dream, like the bubbles and foam on the surface of a stream.

"II. (2.) This is the truth : As from the blazing fire proceed in thousands its kindred sparks, so from that imperishable principle proceed fair youth, the divers creatures, and into it return."

"That infinite spirit is self-luminous, external and internal, without origin, without vital breath or thinking faculty, pure, absolute, beyond the ultimate."

The cosmical illusion, the source of name and colour, the undeveloped, *avyākṛita*, is the ultimate here spoken of. It is ultimate as lying beyond all modifications of itself. The ultimate spiritual reality uninvested with any illusory adjunct stands beyond this ultimate. Its essence, like the essence of the soniferous element that fills all space (*ākāśa*), is unbounded by any limitation. It can be spoken of only under negative predicates. Such is Sankarāchārya's explanation. The illusory adjuncts of the supreme reality, the transcendent Self, are the causal, the imperceptible, and the perceptible, bodies spoken of in the former part of this Article, as illusorily investing, severally—(1) the Deity, and all sentiencies in their state of dreamless sleep; (2) the Thread-soul, Hiranyagarbha, and all sentiencies in the dreaming state; and (3) Vaisvanara, the soul of all visible and tangible organisms, and all sentiencies in the waking state. To proceed with our text.

"From that emanate the vital breath, the thinking organ, and all the organs, ether, air, light, water, and earth the all-supporting."

"Fire is his (Vaisvānara's) head, the sun and moon his eyes, the regions his ears, the revealed Vedas his voice, the atmosphere his vital breath, the whole world his thinking

organ, from his feet is the earth, for this is the soul throughout all sentiences."

This deity, to quote Śaṅkarāchārya's exposition, is Vishnu, infinite, the first of embodied spirits, illasively clothed upon with the three worlds as his body, the soul internal to all sentient things. The whole world is his heart, or sensory, for the whole world is as it were a modification of the internal sensory, being dissolved into that sensory at the time of dreamless sleep, and rising out of it again at the time of waking, as sparks arise from fire. He is the soul internal to all, for in all sentiences it is he that sees, he that hears, he that thinks; he that knows. He is the soul of all the organs. And it is from him that through the 'five fires,' all transmigrating spirits proceed. Thus :

"From him is fire, of this the sun is the fuel. From the moon (made of the celestial fire) proceeds the cloud-god, Parjanya; from the cloud-god the plants upon the earth; from these the prolific principle. Thus from that spirit many creatures emanate."

"From that divine spirit proceed the Rik, the Sāman, the Yajush, the initiations, the sacrifices, the offerings at the sacrificial post, the presents to the priests, the year (or calendar), the sacrifices, the spheres of fruition in which the moon purifies the votaries, in which the sun(?)"

"From that divine spirit the gods in their plurality proceed, the Sadhyas, men, beasts, birds, the ascending and descending vital airs, rice and barley, self-mortification, faith, truthfulness, continence, and the observances."

Here we have in a more explicit form the same picture as presented in the Purnushasūkta translated and explained in the Article on Ancient Indian Metaphysics.*

It is thus that—

All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
Whose body nature is, and God the soul.

To proceed with the text of the Muṇḍaka :

"From that the seven breaths proceed, from that the seven flames, the seven fuels, the seven oblations, the seven places in which the seven vital airs move, residing in the cavity of the heart, and appointed to be seven in every creature."

The seven breaths are the seven senses, the five senses with their seven inlets. The kinds of fuel are the seven objects of the seven senses. The seven sacrifices are the seven kinds of sensation or perception. The seven places are the seats of the sensations.

"From that divine spirit proceed the seas and mountains from

* *Calcutta Review*, October 1, 1876.

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that all the rivers flow in their many shapes, from thence all plants, and the juice by which the soul within abides clothed upon by the elements.

That divine spirit only is this universe, works, knowledge. That is the real Self, the supreme, immortal principle. He that knows this spiritual reality seated within the cavity of the heart, he scatters off the ties of illusion, even in this life, fair youth.

(II. 2.) This ultimate spiritual reality is luminous, present, seated in the heart, the infinite goal. In this the world is centred, all that moves, and breathes, and stirs. This you know as existent and non-existent, the end of all aspiration, above all knowledge of all creatures, all-perfect.

As brilliant, lesser than the least, on which the worlds are founded, and they that dwell therein. This same imperishable principle is the spiritual real, it is breath, it is thought and speech. That alone is true, that is immortal. That is the mark. Hit it, fair youth, with thy mind.

Taking as his bow, the great weapon of the Upanishads, let him fix upon it his arrow sharpened with devotion. Bending it with the thought meditating upon *brahman*, hit, fair youth, that mark, the undecaying principle.

"The mystic syllable OM is the bow, the soul is the arrow, and the real Self the mark. Let it be hit attentively. Let the soul like the arrow be united to its mark."

The ultimate spiritual reality, says Sankarāchārya, is existent and non-existent; existent, there being nothing finite, nothing perceptible, besides it; non-existent, there being nothing infinite, nothing imperceptible, besides it. In this reality all things centre, as the spokes centre in the axle of a wheel. The bow is bent and aimed at its mark, when the common sensory and all the senses are withdrawn from their several objects. The soul is unified with the imperishable principle by putting out of sight all idea of the soul as being other than itself, as if it were the body, the vital breath, the sensory, or the like.

"Over this the sky, the earth, the welkin, are woven. The sensory, and all the senses know this to be the one Self. For-sake all other words. This is the bridge of immortality.

"There, where the arteries are concentrated, like the spokes in the axle of a wheel, this soul dwells within, manifesting itself in many ways. OM: thus ponder on the Self. May it be well with you, that you may cross beyond the darkness. That which knows all, which knows every thing, the glory of which is in the world, that which is seated in the ether in the place of spiritual reality, one with the sensory, actuating the or-

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gans and the organism, abiding in the body,—the wise fixing the heart, by knowledge see fully that which manifests itself as bliss, immortal.

“Burst are his heart’s ties, broken are all his uncertainties, and exhausted are all his works, when he has seen that principle supreme and not supreme. In the golden, perfect sheath, is the unsullied, impartite, spiritual reality, that is luminous—the light of lights, which they know that know the Self.”

“To that the sun gives not light, nor the moon and the stars, not these lightnings illumine it, how then this fire? That as it shines all things shine after. By its light all this world shines forth.

“Absolute Self immortal is this which is before, absolute Self is this which is behind, absolute Self is this to the right and to the left, all that is outspread above and below. Self alone is this universe, the all-perfect.”

Here is a sublime effort of speech to utter the unutterable, to express the reality which defies expression. The aspirant is exhorted to forsake all other words, to renounce the inferior science, which has to do only with the Vedic ritual and its *subsidiæ*. This is the bridge of immortality. By it he is to cross the sea of transmigratory experiences, that he may attain to liberation. It is seated amidst the pericardiac arteries. There in the heart it is the witness of all the cognitions of the intellect, seeing, hearing, knowing, manifesting itself in all the variety of emotion. The aspirant is to travel beyond the darkness of illusion to the supreme spiritual reality in its proper essence, the undifferented Self. The place of spiritual reality, the abode of *brahman*, the *brahmanapara*, is a lotus-shaped lump of flesh in the heart. It seems to reside in the ether that occupies the cavity of the heart. For it is in semblance only, adds Sankarāchārya, that the Self omnipresent like the soniferous ether, can be said to come and go and to abide. The real Self there residing is manifested in the modifications of the sensorium. It is beatitude as transcending all evil, all pain, all weariness. It is the light of lights, for it is only by its light that fire and other luminous bodies are luminous, though they give light to all things else. For the light of the real Self, unenlightened by aught else, is light indeed. The sun that gives light to all can give no light to that spiritual reality, for it is by the light of that that the sun throws light on all things other than itself, and it shines not by itself. Absolute Self is all this world, all-perfect. All cognition of all else than the Ego is sheer illusion, like the serpent seen by the benighted traveller in a piece of rope.

“I have, indeed,” exclaims Fichte, “dwelt in darkness

during the past days of my life. I have indeed heaped error upon error, and imagined myself wise! Now, for the first time, do I wholly understand the doctrine which from thy lips, O wonderful spirit, seemed so strange to me, although my understanding had nothing to oppose to it; for now, for the first time, do I comprehend it in its whole compass, its deepest foundation, and through all its consequences. Man is not a product of the world of sense, and the end of his existence cannot be attained in it. His vocation transcends time and space, and everything that pertains to sense. What he is, and to what he is to train himself, that must he know;—as his vocation is a lofty one, he must be able to raise his thoughts above all the limitations of sense. He must accomplish it:—Where his being finds its home, there his thoughts too seek their dwelling-place; and the truly human mode of thought, that which alone is worthy of him, that in which his whole spiritual strength is manifested, is that whereby he raises himself above those limitations, whereby all that pertains to sense vanishes into nothing,—into a mere reflection, in mortal eyes, of the one, self-existent, infinite. Thou art best known to the child-like, devoted, simple mind. To it thou art the searcher of hearts, who seest its inmost depths: the ever-present true witness of its thoughts, who knowest its truth, who knowest it though all the world know it not. The inquisitive understanding which has heard of thee, but seen thee not, would teach us thy nature; and, as thy image shows us a monstrous and incongruous shape, which the sagacious laugh at, and the wise and good abhor, I hide my face before thee, and lay my hands upon my lips. How thou art and seemest to thy own being, I shall never know, any more than I can assume thy nature. After thousands of spirit-lives, I shall comprehend thee as little as I do now in this earthly house. That which I conceive becomes finite through my very conception of it; and this can never, even by endless exaltations, rise into the infinite. In the idea of person there are imperfections, limitations:—how can I clothe thee with it without these? Now that my heart is closed against all earthly things, now that I have no longer any sense for the transitory and perishable, the universe appears before my eyes clothed in a more glorious form. The dead heavy mass which only filled up space is vanished; and in its place there flows onward, with the rushing music of mighty waves, an eternal stream of life and power and action, which issues from the original source of all life—from thy life, O infinite one, for all life is thy life, and only the religious eye penetrates to the realm of true beauty.”

To return to the text. The third Mundaka opens thus :

“(III.2.) Two birds associated, united, are settled upon the

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same tree. Of these the one eats the sweet fruit of the holy fig-tree, the other looks on without eating.

"In the same tree the personal soul settled sorrows helplessly, knowing not what to do, but when it sees the other, the adored lord, and his glory, its sorrow leaves it.

"When the seer sees the golden-coloured creator, the Lord, the spirit, the spiritual source of all; then the sage shakes off his good and evil deeds, and unsullied enters into the ultimate identity."

The two birds are the individual soul and the universal soul or God. The holy fig-tree is the body. Its fruit is the pleasure or pain accruing from merit or demerit. God is the universal soul, eternally pure, intelligent, and free, omniscient, associated with the totality of illusion. He looks on without eating: he governs and impels both the objects and the subjects of fruition by merely surveying them. The creator is called golden-coloured as being self-luminous.

"This is the living breath which manifests itself in all sentient beings. Knowing this the sage comes not to speak of many things. His sport is in Self, his joy is in Self, His action is about Self. This is the highest to those that know the spiritual reality.

"For this Self is to be reached always by truthfulness, by self-coercion, by true knowledge, by continence. This Self is within the body, made of light, pure, which ascetics behold when their imperfections are annulled.

"Truth alone prevails, not falsehood. By truth is the road laid out, the divine path, by which the Rishis, satisfied in their desires, proceed to where that supreme treasure of reality exists.

"Great is that and glorious, unthinkable, imperceptible beyond the imperceptible, farther than the farthest, and yet near, seated here within the cavity of the heart in those that see it.

"It is not apprehended by the eye, nor by the speech, nor by the other organs, not by self-mortification, nor by sacrificial rites. He whose inner faculty is purified by the limpid clearness of knowledge, sees in his meditations that impartite spiritual reality.

"This transcendent Self is to be known with the inner faculty, the Self in which the vital air has entered in five forms. The inner faculty of all creatures is overspread by the senses and this being purged the Self shines forth."

Truthfulness, self-coercion or restraint of the senses and sensuality, and continence, are preliminary to the rise of the intellect-

tual intuition. The fontal ideal reality is beyond the imperceptible, as lying beyond the supersensible rudiments of things, the as-yet-not quintuplicated elements. Every emanatory cause is less perceptible than that which proceeds out of it. The ultimate cause is supremely imperceptible. In its natural condition the cognition of all personal souls is impure or discoloured with the imperfections of desires, aversions, passions, which are conversant about external objects. Therefore, like a tarnished mirror or a ruffled watery surface, it is unprepared to exhibit the spiritual absolute, though it is ever present. The cognition acquires a limped and unruffled clearness, like that of a mirror or a calm sheet of water, when the impurity or discoloration arising from desires, aversions, passion, relative to external things has been put away.

*Si mare volvens,
Turbidus auster,
Misceat aestum,
Vitrea dudum,
Parque serenis
Unda diebus,
Mox resoluta
Sordida ceno,
Visibus obstat.*

*Tu quoque si vis,
Lumine cluro,
Cernere verum,
Tramite recto
Carpere cullem;
Gaudis pelle,
Pelle timorem,
Spemque fugato,
Nec dolor adsit.*

The ultimate spiritual reality, the impersonal self, the Upanishad again and again declare, transcends all power of thought, all power of speech. Thought can think it, speech can utter it, only under predicates, and predicates are limitations. To conclude the fifth section of the Mundaka Upanishad."

"To whatever sphere he aspires with his thinking faculty, whose inner sensory is purified, and whatever pleasures he desires, that sphere he wins, and those desires. Therefore let him that wishes for prosperity worship him that knows the soul."

All that can be won by the ancient worship and the ancient theology, is here promised to the perfected sage if he desire it before re-absorption into the absolute spiritual essence. The promise is made as an additional incitement to the aspirant.

(III. 2.) "He knows that supreme spiritual reality, the base on which the world is superimposed, and all that is luminous. They that worship the man that knows this, exempt from desire, are wise, and pass beyond all re-embodiment.

"He that desires enjoyments, applying his thoughts to them, is by those enjoyments born into sphere after sphere of fruition, but if a man has fulfilled all desires, and reached

- the real soul, all his desires melt away even in his present body.
- “This spiritual reality is not attainable by learning, by memory, by much sacred study, but if he choose this spiritual reality it is attainable by him; to him the spiritual reality manifests its own essence.
- “This spiritual reality is not attainable by a man without fortitude, nor without concentration, not by contemplation without renunciation. The sage that exerts himself by these appliances, his soul it is that enters into the fountal spiritual essence.
- “On reaching this they that have the inner vision, satisfied with contemplation, perfected in the spirit, their imperfections past away, their faculties quiescent,—they having wholly attained the all-pervading, and knowing all, their spirits unified, enter into the all of things.
- “Familiar with the object of intuition in the Upanishads quietists whose inner faculties are purified by union through renouncing all things, they at the hour of death are all liberated, having the supreme eternity in the spheres of reality.
- “The fifteen constituents of their bodies re-enter their several elements, all their senses return into the presiding deities, their works, their conscious soul, are all unified in the imperishable principle.
- “As all rivers flowing onwards disappear in the sea, quitting name and colour, so the sage extricated from name and form enters into the self-luminous spirit beyond the ultimate, beyond the cosmical illusion.
- “He that knows that supreme spiritual reality becomes the spiritual reality alone. In his family there is none that knows not Brahman. He passes beyond misery. He passes beyond imperfection. Released from the ties that bind his inner faculty he becomes immortal.”
- “Therefore it is said in a sacred verse : To them only let him proclaim the knowledge of the absolute spiritual essence, who have fulfilled the rites, who know the Vedas, who are intent on the impersonal self, who offer sacrifice with faith to the one Rishi, to fire, and by whom the torment of bearing fire upon the head has been duly inflicted on themselves.
- “This reality was proclaimed in ancient days by the Rishi Angiras. Let none that has not inflicted on himself that fiery discipline presume to study it. Glory to the great Rishis! Glory to the great Rishis!”

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structures of ancient Indian poetical speculation, alternately grotesque and sublime, and everywhere incrustated, as was inevitable in the age to which it belongs, with barbarous superstition. The substructure of metaphysical matter in all the Upanishads is still remarkable, as presenting occasional affinities to the Eleatic, Megaric, neo-Platonic, and Fichtean doctrine, in the denial of the reality of the many, the becoming; the identification of the one existence and the highest good; of existence with knowledge; the refusal of truth to all other than identical predication; and the struggle to reach after the "sublime and living principle, named by no name, and compassed by no thought," the spiritual all in all, "the great and creative self, grounded in absolute reality."

The Mundaka Upanishad has been presented to the reader in the first place, on account of the clearness with which it sets out the relation of the old religion to the later philosophy. It marks with emphasis the transition from the Vedic to the succeeding form of Indian theology. The next example is the Katha Upanishad, an Upanishad of the Yajurveda. This is noteworthy for its perspicuity, and for the wealth of its poetical imagery. It opens with a dialogue between Nachiketas and Yama, the regent of the dead.

"I.—With the desire of recompense, Gautama, the son of Vajasravasa, offered sacrifice, and gave all that he possessed to the priests. He had a son named Nachiketas.

"As the gifts were distributing faith entered into the soul of Nachiketas, who was yet a stripling, and he began to think.

"The cows have drunk all the water they will drink, have eaten all the grass that they will eat, have given all the milk that they will give, and will no longer calve. Joyless are the spheres that a sacrificer goes to, who gives such gifts as these.

"He therefore said to his father. To whom wilt thou give me, my father. He said it a second and a third time. His father said, I am giving thee to Death.

"Nachiketas thought, I am the first among many, the middle among many: what has Yama to do, that he will do with me?

"See how those of old acted, how those of latter days. Man dies away like the grain in the field, and like the grain is born again."

His father sends him to the realm of Yama. Yama is absent, Nachiketas is neglected.

On his return Yama is admonished by those about him:

"A Brahman enters the house like the fire-god. Men offer the customary welcome to him. Bring water, son of Vivāsvat.

- "The Brahman that remains in the house of the foolish man, without eating, destroys all that his host has to hope and to expect, the benefits that he has derived from intercourse with good men, his friendly speech, the merits of his observances, revealed and traditionary, his children, and his cattle.
- "Hereupon Yama said : Thou has remained in my house three nights without eating, thou a Brahman guest that should be worshipped. Salutation to thee, and may it be well with me. Therefore choose three boons, a boon for each night.
- "Nachiketas answered : That my father Gautama may be satisfied in his purpose, that he may be gracious to me, that his anger may be turned away from me, that thou mayest send me back to him, and that he may know me again and speak to me,—this, O god of death, I choose for the first boon.
- "Hereupon Yama said : Auddāliki, the son of Aruna, graced by me shall be as tender to thee as of old. He shall sleep peacefully at night. His anger shall pass away when he sees thee returned from the presence of death.
- "Nachiketas proceeded : In the elysian world there is no fear. Thou art not there. There man fears not decrepitude. Passing beyond both hunger and thirst and leaving sorrow behind, we rejoice in the elysian world.
- Thou O Death, knowest the elysian fire. Teach it to me, for I have faith. Those that are inspired in paradise partake of immortality. This I choose as the second boon. Yama said I declare it to thee, therefore, hearken.
- "I know the fire that wins paradise, know that this fire by which that boundless sphere is attained, the groundwork of all worlds, is seated in the cavity of the heart."
- The celestial fire here spoken of is, Sankarāchārya tells us, Virāt, the universal soul, the totality of embodied spirits.
- "He revealed to him that fire, the origin of the worlds and what were the bricks, and how many, and how laid out. And Nachiketas repeated all after him as he had spoken. So Death was pleased, and spoke again. To him said Yama, gratified, large-minded : Now give I thee yet another gift. This fire shall bear thy name. Take this chaplet of jewels. He that performs three times the fiery rite of Nachiketas, taking advice of thee, of his parents and spiritual guide, fulfilling the three observances, passes beyond birth and death. He that knows and gazes upon that fire, Vāisvānara, that springs from Brahmā, Hiraṇyagarbha, lustrous, adorable, goes to the everlasting peace.

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"He that has performed three Nachiketa rites, that knows these three, the bricks, their number, and their arrangement, the sage that piles up the Nachiketa fire, shakes off the cords of death before he dies, and goes beyond his sorrows, and rejoices in the elysian world.

"This, Nachiketas, is thy celestial fire, that which thou choosest to be the second boon. Men shall speak of this fire as thy fire, choose the third boon, Nachiketas.

"Nachiketas said: There is this doubt with regard to the dead. Some say that he is, and some that he is not. Let me be taught the truth in this matter by thee. This is the third boon."

Here is an indication of the dissentiency which must need spring up with the first attempt to put personal and intellectual into the place of social and sentimental opinion. As inquirers cannot but differ from the many, so they cannot but differ among themselves. The doubt intimated in this passage is whether the soul passes at death into another body, or ceases to exist. The denial of its post-existence is *nāstikya*, a refusal to accept the accredited sum of existences. A similar indication of dissentiency among the primitive Indian thinkers is that in the sixth Prapāthaka of the Chāndogya. Some, as we have seen, held all things to have been the existent, one only, without duality, in the beginning; and others held that all things were non-existent in the beginning. That there was an ultimate spiritual reality, and that this was the sum of things had been already contested. A further indication of the same kind is that in the first chapter of the Sretāsvatara Upanishad. It is there said that inquirers are divided in regard to the ultimate source of all things, whether it be time, or the nature itself of those things, or chance, or the elements, or some plastic principle, or spirit itself.

*To return to the text.

"Yama said: 'Even the gods were doubtful about this in former times, for it is not easy to learn. This nature is very subtle, Nachiketas, choose another boon. Do not press me: Release me from this boon.'

"Nachiketas answered: 'Even the gods, thou sayest, were in doubt about this; and as to thy saying, O Death, that it is not easy to learn, there is no other teacher to be found like thee, no other boon equal to this.'

"Yama said: 'Choose sons and grandsons that shall live a hundred years, much cattle, elephants, and gold, and horses; choose an extensive tract of land, and live thyself as many autumns as thou wilt.'

"If thou thinkest this an equal boon, choose wealth and length

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of days. Rule thou, Nachiketas, over the wide earth. I give thee enjoyment of thy desires.

"Ask as thou wilt whatever pleasures are hardest to get in the world of men,—these nymphs, with their heavenly chariots, their musical instruments, for such as these are not attainable to men,—make these thy attendants, for I will give them : but ask me not about death.

"Nachiketas answered : 'These are things which may or may not be on the morrow, and which impair the vigour of all the organs. Life too is short. Thine therefore be the chariots, and the singing and the dancing.'

"Man is never satisfied with riches. If we should see riches and thee, and live as long as thou rulest, yet, would that boon which I have chosen be more excellent.

"For what decaying mortal in this lower world should choose those things, after coming to the undecaying and immortal, Who that meditates upon beauty and love would be satisfied with length of days ?

"Tell us, Death, that matter about which men doubt, in regard to the great after-life. Nachiketas chooses no other boon than this, than this same boon which concerns the mysterious.

Yama, after thus testing the readiness of Nachiketas to accept the truth, by his readiness to renounce the pleasures of the transmigratory order, proceeds :

"(II). The good is one thing, the pleasurable another. Both bind man, though the ends be different. Of these, it is well with him that adopts the good, and he that takes the pleasurable, fails of his end.

"Both the good and the pleasurable present themselves to man. The wise man goes round about them and discerns the one from the other. The wise man chooses the good as the more worthy, the foolish chooses the pleasurable, that he may get and keep. Thou Nachiketas hast reflected on those dear delights, alluring in their form, and hast renounced them. Thou hast not chosen the path of riches in which most men sink. Far asunder are these irreconcilable, diverging paths, illusion and knowledge. I know thee, Nachiketas, as an aspirant to knowledge. All these many pleasures turn thee not aside. Abiding in the midst of the illusion, they that have a wisdom of their own, and think themselves learned go round and round always erring, like the blind led by the blind.

"Preparations for the hereafter present themselves not to the foolish youth unconcerned in his infatuation about riches.

Thinking that this world is, that there is no unseen world, he again and again comes within my sway.

'The good, the soul, is not reached by many, that they should hear it, and hearing it many know it not. Wonderful is he that tells it, wise is he that understands it, wonderful is he that knows it when taught by the wise.

■ This spiritual reality is not proclaimed by an inferior man, it is not easy to know when thought upon in various modes. There is no dissentency about it when it is explained by one that recognises nought but it. It is most subtile, and as transcending the infinitesimal cannot be discussed in thought."

The ultimate spiritual reality as Sankarāchārya explains the passage, is no object of the discursive faculty. If it be submitted to the unaided understanding one thinker may fix its extent as infinitesimal, another as beyond infinitesimality, another beyond that beyond, and there is no end to the process. *Nahī tannanyasya nishthā kvachid vidyate*. "To think is to condition, and the unconditioned is the unthinkable." The ultimate reality is given only in a negative necessity of thought, is to be spoken of only under negative predicates. It is *sarva nishchedhāvadhī*. It is often spoken of by the Indian schoolmen as that which is left in the intellect after throwing out all differences. Throw away, they say, by prolonged abstraction all differences, and you will find that what is left is not as the Buddhists say a *vacuum* but a *plenum*, not non-existence, but existence. Entity is the residuum of abstraction. That entity thus reached is logical nonentity. This is fully recognised in the Upanishads and in the Vedānta. The ultimate reality is neither existent nor non-existent. *Na san mātāśch chhiva eva kevalah*, says the Śvetāsvatara Upanishad (IV. 18). "Neither existent nor non-existent, all-blessed only." "From it," says the Taittiriya (11-4), "words turn back, together with the thinking faculty, not reaching it." It is only negatively thinkable, and negative thought is only the effort to think followed by the failure of that effort. The ultimate spiritual reality, to quote Sankarāchārya's prolegomena to the Śvetāsvatara, is intelligence exhausted of its differences, that which is not this, not that, other than that which is known and that which is unknown, to which no words apply, in which all duality has disappeared. Its essence is the universal essence, and all duality arises only from its illusory adjuncts.

That there is such an ultimate reality appears from the fact that the residuum of abstraction is Ens. That it is a spiritual reality is argued from the fact that the body, the senses, the sensorium, as composite, as systems or constitutions (*samhatatvāt, saṅghātatvāt*), must exist for the sake of something ulterior,

parārtham. This something beyond itself, is the unseen seer, unthought thinker, *brahman ātmān*. This argument is used also by the Śāṅkhyas on behalf of their plurality of transcendent Egos. The existence of the ultimate spiritual reality is further certified by that intellectual intuition, which the passionless aspirant may attain to even in this life. It is the supreme beatitude reached by the gradual exclusion of all objects of the intellect, that beatitude in which all distinction of subject and object has vanished. "When all distinction of subject and object, the outflow of the cosmical illusion, has come to an end, an essential pleroma of beatitude arises in the one and only reality which transcends duality:" *nirāśte vidyākṛite viśaṅgaviśaya-iribhāge vidyayā svābhāviah paripurna eka ānando 'dvaite bhavati*. All bliss in the world of every-day experience is but an illusory portion of that total blessedness: *laukikā hy ānando brahmāṇdashyeva mātṛā*. All finite being is but an illusory manifestation of the infinite existence; all finite intelligence is but an illusory manifestation of the infinite intelligence; all finite bliss is but an illusory manifestation of the infinite beatitude. The aspirant to liberation may ascend by abstraction to a pure intuition, in which the existent, intelligence, beatitude manifests itself. It is ever present, though to the ordinary man, invisible, present in the intellect present in the heart. To return to the text:

"That idea is not to be reached by the discursive intellect; proclaimed by another it is that it is easy to know it, dearest Nachiketas. Since thou hast obtained it, thou art a youth of real fortitude. May I find another questioner like thee.

"I know that earthly treasures fleet away. The imperishable is not won by perishable things. Therefore it is that I have piled the Nachiketa fire. By perishable riches I have won a lasting sphere.

The lasting sphere is the place of Yama the regent of the dead. It is said to be lasting, because it has a relative eternity. It lasts throughout an æon, till the next period of dissolution, or universal collapse. It is thus that the scholiast explains the apparent contradiction in the last verse of the text.

"Though thou Nachiketas has attained the consummation of desires, the basis of the world, the recompense of sacrifice, the farther shore where fear ceases, glorious, ample, widespread yet hast thou renounced that basis of the world, wise in thy fortitude.

The sphere to which Nachiketas is entitled by his knowledge of the Nachiketa fire, of the soul present through all embodied sentiences, is the sphere of Hiraṇyagarbha. This, the highest

sphere attainable by rites and knowledge of the divinities, he has renounced, to seek the one and real essence which is the sum of things.

"The sage on recognising the primeval, the invisible, unfathomable, concealed, seated in the heart, dwelling in the cavity, the divine spirit, by spiritual abstraction, bids farewell to joy and sorrow.

"When he has heard this, and grasped it on all sides, and severed the as-yet determinate spirit, and reached the transcendent, then the mortal rejoices, for he has attained the blissful. Thee, Nachiketas, I know to be a habitation open to that spiritual isolation."

"Nachiketas said: tell me what thou seest, that which is apart from merit and demerit, from that which is create and that which is uncreate, which is apart from that which has been and from that which shall be.

"Yama said: I proclaim briefly to thee that word which all the Vedas reveal, which all self-tortures proclaim, aspiring to which men live as sacred students. OM. It is this. That is the ultimate spiritual reality imperishable, that is the supreme imperishable. He that has it, has all that he desires.

"This mystic word, OM, is the highest appliance, this is the supreme appliance. Knowing this appliance the votary is exalted in the sphere of Brahman."

The mystical syllable OM, as Sankarāchārya says, is as a substitute for, or image of, Brahman, the spiritual absolute, exhausted of all differences, that which is beyond merit and demerit, the create and the uncreate, that which has been, and that which shall be. To the higher aspirants it is, as vicarious of the spiritual reality, the access to liberation or isolation. To the lower aspirant it is the access to Brahmā, the first divine manifestation of that reality. The text now proceeds to that reality, that impersonal Self itself.

"This Self is neither born, nor dies, it is omniscient. It proceeds from none, and from it none proceeds, it is without origin, without end, unfailing, primeval. It is not slain when the body is slain.

"If the slayer think to slay, if the slain think his Self is slain, they both know not themselves. This neither slays nor is slain.

"Lesser than least and greater than the greatest, this soul is seated in the heart of all intelligences. This the passionless aspirant beholds whose sorrows pass away, this he beholds, the majesty of Self, through the limpid clearness of his faculties.

- "Motionless it moves afar, sleeping it weeps on every side
Who but I can know that rejoicing and unrejoicing
deity ?
- "Bodiless it is in all bodies, unchanging it is in all things
that change, infinite, all-pervading. Thus knowing the Self
the wise man sorrows not.
- "This spiritual reality is not attainable by learning,
by memory, by much spiritual study ; but if he choose this
reality it may be reached by him ; to him the Self unfolds
its own essence.
- "Not he that has not ceased from evil, not he that rests
not from sensations, not he that is not concentrated, nor
he whose faculties are not quiescent, can reach that Self
by the intuition.
- "Who is he that knows where is that Self, of which both
Brahman and Kshatriya are but the food, of which death is
but the condiment ?"

In this reality there is no Brahman no Kshatriya, for it is the impersonal Self in which all distinctions are merged. In it Brahman and Kshatriya and even Death that swallows all, are swallowed up. The passage will remind the reader of one quoted in the former part of this article from the Brihadāranyaka Upanishad: Here the thief is no more a thief, the *Chandala* no more a *Chandala*, the *Paulkasa* no more a *Paulkasa*, the sacred mendicant no more a sacred mendicant. The text proceeds :

- "(III). The universal and the personal soul drinking the recompense of actions in the body are entered into the cave in the highest place. Those that know Brahman, the householders who maintain the five fires, and they that have offered three Nachiketa rites, say that they are sunshine and shadow.
- "We know and can pile up the Nachiketa fire which is the bridge of sacrifices, and we know the undecaying spiritual reality, the further shore, the place of safety, those that will to cross the sea of transmigration."
- The universal soul is God, the spiritual reality over-spread with illusion, who cannot, Sankarāchārya says, be said himself to participate in the fruition of recompenses. The cave is the cavity of the heart, the highest place is the ether in the heart.
- "Know the soul to be seated in a chariot and that the body is that chariot. Know the intellect to be the charioteer and the sensory the reins.
- "They say that the senses are the horses, that the objects of sense are the roads. Sages say that the transmigrating soul is Self united to the body, the organs and the sensory.

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"He whose charioteer is unskilled and has the reins always loose, his senses are always unruly as vicious horses disobey the driver.

"But he whose charioteer is skilful and always holds the reins with a firm grasp, his senses are obedient like well-trained horses to the driver. But he whose intellect, the charioteer, lacks knowledge, has not the inner faculty held firmly, and is always impure, does not reach that goal; he returns to transmigration.

"And he, whose charioteer, the intellect, has knowledge, and holds the inner sensory firmly, and is always pure, reaches that goal on reaching which he is not born again. The man whose charioteer is skilful, and holds the inner sensory firmly, reaches the further limit of his journey, the sphere of Vishnu the supreme."

Such is the celebrated simile of the chariot, *ratharūpaka*. To the transmigrating soul implicated in the cosmical illusion, the body is the vehicle in which it is to travel from, or into further metempsychosis, according as it is engaged in ritual or in gnosis. The transmigrating soul is not Self *per se*, but Self as associated with its illusory adjuncts, the intellectual and other faculties. The sphere of Vishnu is the supreme reality, the nature of the all-pervading impersonal Self.

The simile of the chariot has frequently been compared to the Platonic figure in the Phædrus, in which the soul is pictured as a chariot with a winged pair of horses. In the divine souls both horses are excellent; in the human, one is good, the other unruly, with imperfect or half-grown wings. "The colourless and formless and intangible essence is visible to the mind, which is the only lord of the soul. Circling around this, in the region above the heavens, is the place of true knowledge. And as the divine intelligence, and that of every other soul, which is rightly nourished, is fed upon mind and pure knowledge such an intelligent soul is glad at once more beholding being and feeding on the sight of truth is replenished, until the revolution of the worlds brings her round again to the same place. During the revolution, she beholds justice, temperance, and knowledge absolute, not in the form of generation or relation which men call existence, but knowledge absolute in existence absolute; and beholding other existences in like manner, and feeding upon them, she looks down into the interior of the heavens and returns home, and there the charioteer putting up his horses at the stall gives them ambrosia to eat and nectar to drink. This is the life of the gods; but of other souls that which follows God best, and is likeliest to him, lifts the head of the charioteer

into the outer world, and is carried round in the revolution, troubled indeed by the horses, and beholding true being, but hardly ; another rises and falls, and sees, and again fails to see by reason of the unruliness of the horses. The rest of the souls are also longing after the upper world, and they all follow ; but, not being strong enough, they sink into the gulf as they are carried round, plunging, treading on one another, striving to be first ; and there is confusion and the extremity of effort, and many of them are lamed or have their wings broken through the ill-driving of the charioteers ; and all of them after a fruitless toil go away without being initiated into the mysteries of being. Nursed with the food of opinion, the reason of their great desire to behold the plain of truth is, that the food which is suited to the highest part of the soul comes out of this meadow ; and the wing on which the soul soars is nourished with this. The soul which attains any vision of truth in company with the god, is preserved from harm until the next period, and he who always attains is always unharmed. But when she is unable to follow, and fails to behold the vision of truth, and through some ill-hap sinks beneath the double load of forgetfulness and vice, and her feathers fall from her and she drop to earth, then the law ordains that this soul shall in the first generation pass, not into that of any other animal, but only of man ; and the soul which has seen most of the truth shall come to the birth as a philosopher, or artist, or musician, or lover ; that which has seen truth in the second degree shall be a righteous king, or warrior, or lord ; the soul which is of the third class shall be a politician, or economist, or trader ; the fourth shall be a lover of gymnastic toils, or a physician ; the fifth a prophet or hierophant ; to the sixth a poet or imitator will be appropriate ; to the seventh the life of an artisan or husbandman ; to the eighth that of a sophist, or demagogue ; to the ninth that of a despot ;—all these are states of probation ; in which he who lives righteously improves, and he who lives unrighteously, deteriorates his lot. Ten thousand years must elapse before the soul can return to the place from whence she came, for she cannot grow her wings in less ; only the soul of a philosopher, guileless and true, or the soul of a lover, who is not without philosophy, may acquire wings in the third recurring period of a thousand years : and if they choose this, live three times in succession, then they have their wings given them, and go away at the end of three thousand years. But the others receive judgment when they have completed their first life, and after the judgment they go, some of them to the houses of correction which are under the earth, and are punished ; others to some part of heaven whither they are lightly borne by justice, and there they

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live in a manner worthy of the life which they lived here when in the form of men. And at the end of the first thousand years the good souls, and also the evil souls, both come to cast lots and choose their second life; and they may take any that they like, and then the soul of a man may pass into the life of a beast, or from the beast again into the man. But the soul of him who has never seen the truth will not pass into the human form, for man ought to have intelligence, as they say *secundum speciem*, proceeding from many particulars of sense to one conception of reason; and this is the recollection of those things which our soul once saw when in company with God—when looking down from above on that which we now call being and upwards towards the true being. And therefore the mind of the philosopher alone has wings; and this is just, for he is always, according to the measure of his abilities, clinging in recollection to those things in which God abides, and in beholding which he is what he is. And he who employs aright these memories is ever being initiated into perfect mysteries and alone becomes truly perfect. But, as he forgets earthly interests and is rapt in the divine, the vulgar deem him mad, and rebuke him; they do not see that he is inspired." In the Indian mythe the ascent in the chariot is to the one and only substance, the impersonal Self. In the Platonic mythe the ascent in the chariot is to the vision of a plurality of real entities, the eternal, immutable, intelligible forms. The charioteer is the reason, the black horse is the sensual or concupiscent element of human nature, the white horse is its rational impulse.

To return to the text:

"For their objects are beyond, and more subtile than, the senses, the sensory beyond the objects, the intellect beyond the sensory, the great soul (Hiranyagarbha) beyond the intellect.

The ultimate undeveloped principle is beyond the great soul. Beyond the impersonal Self there is nothing. That is the goal, that is the final term.

"This spiritual reality hidden in all sentiencies shines not forth; but it is seen with the concentrated and penetrating intellect by those that see the supersensible.

"Let the wise man withdraw his speech into the sensory, let him retract the sensory into the intellect, the intellect into the great soul, the great soul let him refund into the placid spiritual reality.

"Arise, awake, go to the great teachers, and learn. A sharp razor's edge hard to walk across, such do the wise declare the difficult path to be.

"When a man has seen that which is inaudible, intangible, colourless, undecaying, eternal, without smell, without beginning and without end, beyond the intellect, immutable,—he escapes from the jaws of death.

"The wise man that hears and tells this eternal tale which Nachiketas heard and Death told, is exalted in the sphere of Brahman.

"If a man purified rehearses this highest mystery in an assembly of Brahmaus, or during a Sraddha, it avails to endless meed, it avails to endless meed."

(IV.) The self-existent God had himself to suppress the transeant organs. Therefore man naturally sees the outward object, not the inward soul. Here and there a wise man has seen the inward spiritual reality with his eyes closed, seeking immortality.

"The unwise go after outward pleasures. They fall into the outspread net of death. Therefore the wise that know what the immortal is, seek not for that which endures amidst the things that pass away."

The outspread net of death is, Saukarāchārya says, metempsychosis, the never ceasing succession of birth and death, decay and sickness, and the miseries that arise from entering into and passing out of the body. The wise seek for immortality, the state in which the soul remains in its nature of reality, and seek for nothing amidst the things that pass away, the miseries of transmigratory experience.

"To that by which a man knows colour and taste, and sounds and touches, what is left unknown? This is that, the spiritual reality. Esteeming the great all pervading soul to be that by which he sees the objects of dreaming and of waking, experience, the wise man grieves no more.

"He that knows this soul as the eater of the fruit, the sustainer of life, always near, the ruler of that which has been and that which shall be, no longer seeks to protect it. This is that.

"He that beholds the firstborn spirit, Hīranyagarbha, that proceeded from the contemplation of the real Self, that emanated before the waters, that entered into the cavity of the heart, and there abides with created things, he has seen this. This is that. He that sees Aditi the divine, that arose with the vital air, Hīranyagarbha, that entered the cavity of the heart, and there abides with created things,—he has seen this. This is that.

"Fire is hidden within the fire-drills, like the child unborn within the mother; fire is to be worshipped day by day by men that wake, that offer oblations. This is that.

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"That Hiranyagarbha, out of whom the sun rises, into whom the sun sets, all the gods are centred in that. That no man passes beyond. This is that."

"That which it is here, that is it, there; what it is there, that is it here. From death to death he goes who looks on this as manifold."

That reality, says Sankarāchārya, which resides in all personal selves from Brahman down to a tuft of grass, appears on account of its illusory adjuncts to be other than the impersonal Self; but the transmigrating soul must not be supposed to be anything else than that Self. Such as the impersonal Self is associated with the causes and effects of the illusory order, and manifested under the conditions of transmigratory experience to those that know not their real nature, such is the impersonal Self in its real nature, in its own essence as a uniformity of eternal knowledge, the reality exempt from all transmigratory conditions. What it is there in its own essence, that is it here when it manifests itself under name and colour, as causes and effects, for it is even then nothing else than the impersonal Self. This being the case, the man that, infatuated by illusion, looking to the diversity of nature in the illusory adjuncts, and overlooking the underlying unity, regards the ultimate spiritual reality as manifold; the man that thinks himself other than the one Self and the one Self other than himself, passes to death after death, to birth and death, again and again. Therefore let not a man look thus upon the sum of things, but let him see that he is one with the ultimate spiritual reality, the uniform undifferentiated cognition, that is, like the ether that fills all space, a continuous, unbroken, plenitude of existence. Before the intuition of the unity of all things this ultimate, uniform, spiritual reality is to be reached with the inner faculty alone, and when the knowledge has been attained that the impersonal Self only is, and that there is naught else, the illusion which presented multiplicity (*nānātva* *upasthāpikā* 'vidyā') ceases, and there is in the supreme essence nothing multiple, not even an infinitesimal particle of plurality.

"This is to be attained with the inner faculty only; there is nothing manifold in this. From death to death he goes who looks on this as manifold."

"He that knows that this spirit abides of a thumb's dimensions in the midst of the body, the lord of that that has been and of that that shall be, seeks not to protect it. This is that."

"Of the size of a thumb is that spirit, like a smokeless light, the lord of all that has been and of all that shall be. This is to-day, this is to-morrow. This is that."

Like a smokeless light, the impersonal Self is self-luminous in its essence, that which gives light to all, in the absence of which all

the seeming world would be blind. "From within and from behind," says Emerson, "a light shines through us upon things, and makes us aware that we are nothing but the light is all."

"As rain that has fallen, upon a height loses itself among the hills, so he that looks upon his conditions as manifold passes into them again and again. Like, pure water poured upon a level surface is the soul of the thinker that knows the unity of souls, O Gautama.

"(V.) He that ponders on the body as the city with eleven gates, in which the Self, the unoriginated, uniform, intelligence resides, sorrows no more, and already liberated, remains liberated. This is that, the ultimate spiritual reality. This is that. This is the sun in the firmament, the air in middle space, the fire on the earth-altar, the guest in the house, dwelling amongst men, dwelling amidst the gods, dwelling amidst the sacrifices, dwelling in the sky, born amidst the waters in aquatic animals, born on earth as barley, rice, and all other plants, born in the sacrificial elements, born on the mountains, in the rivers, the truth, the infinite.

"It impels the vital air upwards, it impels the descending breath of life downwards, seated within, a dwarf-like being. To it all the senses bring their offerings.

"When the embodied spirit, that in the body, passes away, is parted from the body, what is left in the body? This is that.

"Not by the breath, not by the descending air of life, does any mortal live, but by another principle they live, in which the breath and the descending air reside."

"Lo, I will proclaim to thee this mystery, the real Self from before all time, and what becomes of the soul after death, O Gautama.

"Some proceed to living embodiment that they may have bodies as embodied spirits, and some enter into inorganic things, according to their works, according to their knowledge.

"That Self that in sleeping creatures wakes, projecting desire upon desire, that is pronounced the resplendent, the impersonal spirit, the immortal principle. On that all the spheres of fruition are superposed. Beyond that no man may pass. This is that.

"As one fire entering into a house becomes the counterpart of every form, so the one spirit that resides in all beings is the counterpart of every form and stretches out beyond.

"As one atmosphere pervades the house, and becomes the counterpart of every form, so the one spirit within all things is the counterpart of every form, and stretches out beyond.

"As the sun, the eye of all the world, is unsullied by visible, external impurities, so the one soul within all things is unsullied by the miseries of transmigration, and is external to them.

"The wise that see within their bodily frames the one ruler, the spirit within all things, that unfolds its one essence in many modes, theirs is the eternal blessedness, it belongs to none besides."

"Imperishable amidst the perishable, conscious amidst the unconscious, the one being that assigns fruition unto many,—the wise that see this within their bodily frame, theirs is the eternal peace; it belongs to none besides."

"This is that, so think they, the ineffable, the bliss which is above all bliss, how shall I know that? Does it shine of itself, or does it manifest itself?

"To that the sun gives no light, nor the moon and the stars, yonder lightnings shine not on it, how then this fire? That as it shines all things shine after; by its light all this world is manifested."

"(VI.) With roots above, with branches downwards, is this everlasting holy fig-tree. That root is the self-luminous, that spiritual reality, that only is, they say, immortal. Upon that all the spheres of fruition are overspread. Beyond that no man passes. This is that.

"This whole world that has issued out trembles within that living breath. They that know this, the infinite awe, the uplifted thunderbolt, become immortal.

"In awe of this, fire gives heat, the sun gives heat in awe of this. In awe of this speed Indra and Vāyu, and the Death-god over and above those other four.

"If a man is able to understand this before his body falls away, he is extricated from metempsychosis. If he is unable, he is ready to take another body in the spheres of future fruition.

"This Self is seen in the body as in a mirror, in the world of the forefathers as in a dream, in the sphere of the Gandharvas as in a watery surface, in the sphere of Brahmā as in sunlight and in shade."

In this body, says Sankarāchārya, intuition of the impersonal spiritual reality may be had in the purified inner faculties as in a polished mirror. In the world of the forefathers, to which the soul of the votary of the deities proceeds by the southern path, it is seen but dimly, as in a dream, the product of the residues of waking experience, inasmuch as there the transmigrating spirit is implicated in the fruit of recompenses. In the sphere of the Gandharvas the spiritual reality is but confusedly viewed as a reflection upon a watery surface. In the sphere of Brahmā only is it

seen distinctly as in sunshine and in shade, but this sphere is hard to attain, to be reached only by extraordinary works and knowledge of the deities. The aspirant must therefore strive with all his might to rise to the intellectual intuition while in the body, where he may see the spiritual reality present in his heart.

"Reflecting on the different nature of the senses, and how they rise and set again, coming into being one after another, the wise man grieves no more. Higher than the senses is the sensorium; higher than the sensorium, more excellent, is the intellect; higher than the intellect is the great soul, *Hiranyagarbha*; higher than the great soul is the undeveloped.

"But higher than the undeveloped is the Self pervading all things and itself unpervaded, knowing which the personal soul is extricated and goes to immortality.

"Not amidst the visible is its form, no man has seen it with his eyes. With the heart, with the inner faculty, that which rules the inward faculty, is envisaged. They that know this become immortal.

"When the five sensations with the sensorium are at rest, and intellect alone is active, this they pronounce the highest state.

"This they account to be the union (the *Yogas*), the motionless suspension of the senses. This is the uninterrupted union, for union has its furtherance and hinderance.

"The spiritual reality is not to be reached by speech, nor by the thinking organ, nor by the eye. How is it known otherwise than by one that says It is?

"It is,—thus only is it to be known, and by its real nature in both. It is, this only known, its real nature manifests itself."

In every-day experience, says Sankarāchārya, that is said to exist which presents itself to any of the faculties, and thus it might be argued that the impersonal Self, or ultimate spiritual reality has no existence, as there can be no cognition when all the faculties are at rest. It is nothing, and the union with it is a nullity. If it be not cognisable it is not, you must therefore show it to be cognisable. Such is a possible objection, and to it the reply is this. It is true that that impersonal Self, is not to be reached by speech or thought or by the eye or any other of the senses. Nevertheless it is, for though it be absolved from all differences, it may be arrived at as the emanatory principium of the transmigratory order. For when each derivative principle, each effect, is refunded into its cause, the process terminates in entity not in non-entity. Pass through the whole order of derivative entities, ascending to the more and more imperceptible, the less and less determinate, and you find

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that the final idea is *Ens*. The intellect is resolved in the process of resolving all things into their principles, yet as it melts away, it melts away full of the idea of existence. It is the intellect that must tell us what is and what is not. If the world of experience had no emanatory principle, all derivative things would be given under the notion of non-existence, and would be apprehended as non-existent. This is not the case, but all that is is apprehended as existent, in the same way that a clay jar is viewed under the idea of clay. The spiritual reality, that is the source of all things, is to be known only as a source that is. This ultimate spiritual reality is not to be known by any other than the substantialist, *astitvavādin*, who follows the tenour of revelation, has faith, and affirms that it is. To the nihilist, the *nāstitvavādin*, it must remain unknown, so long as he says that there is no spiritual reality as the principle of the apparent order and that the series of derivative things is not given under the idea of being, but terminates in non-entity. It is true that all derivative entities taken *per se*, apart from their real principle, are non-existent, as the text says, A modification of speech, only a change, a name, and the clay is the only reality. The real nature of that spiritual reality is its nature unaffected by illusory adjuncts, its nature as no longer an object of such ideas as those of existence and non-existence. The real nature is to be recognised in both cases, that in which it seems to have illusory adjuncts, and that in which it is seen to have none.

To return to the text.

"When all the desires are unloosed which lay within his heart, then the mortal becomes immortal, and partakes in the ultimate spiritual reality."

It is not in the soul, says Sankarāchārya, but in the heart that the desires reside. Let these be quenched, and all the ties to transmigration cease like an expiring lamp, and the soul participates in the spiritual reality, becomes the impersonal Self.

"When all the ties of his heart to this life are broken, then the mortal becomes immortal, such is the teaching.

"A hundred and one are the arteries of the heart. One of these issues out through the head. Going upwards by that artery he goes to immortality. The others proceed in all directions."

The coronal artery, *śiṣhumūṇā*, is the passage by which the spirit of the votary that has added some knowledge, not the intellectual intuition, to his worship of the divinities, ascends by the northern path, by way of the sun, to the sphere of Brahmanā, there to enjoy a relative eternity, to abide in happiness till the next universal collapse.

"Of the size of a thumb, the Self, the soul within all beings, is ever seated in the heart of men. Let him patiently extricate it from the body like the pith out of a reed. Let him know that to be the pure, the immortal. Let him know that to be the pure, the immortal.

"So Nachiketas when he had received this science delivered by the Death-god, and the articulate rule of union, passed into the impersonal spiritual reality, was passionless, immortal. So will it be with any other that knows the spiritual reality.

"May God preserve us both, may God reward us both. May we both gain power together. May that which we have gone over be glorious. May we never feel cummity against each other. OM. Peace ! peace ! peace !"

Thus closes the Katha Upanishad with the promise of peace and the loosing of the hearts ties, so soon as the soul learns its true nature, and abides in it. As Fichte says. "The ties by which my mind was formerly united to this world, and by whose secret guidance I followed all its movements, are for ever sundered, and I stand free, calm and immovable, a universe to myself. No longer through my affections, but by my eye alone, do I apprehend outward objects and am connected with them; and this eye itself is purified by freedom, and looks through error and deformity to the true and beautiful, as upon the unruffled surface of water shapes are more, purely mirrored in a milder light. My mind is for ever closed against embarrassment and perplexity, against uncertainty, doubt and anxiety;—my heart against grief, repentance, and desire."

The text which will be next presented to the reader is that of the second and third sections of the Taittiriya Upanishad, an Upanishad which belongs, as its name imports, to the Black Yajurveda. The first section, the Sikshavalli, treats of the initiation and purification of the aspirant to liberation from metempsychosis. The hymn, in which it celebrates the monosyllable OM has been given in the former part of this Article. The second and third sections, the Brahmanandavalli and the Bhriguvali are important as describing the order in which the constituents of the universe emanated out of the illusorily limited spiritual reality, the five successive *involutura* or wrappers of the soul, and the scale of beatitudes in the several spheres of fruition. The scale of beatitudes is given in the same words also in the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad. The second and third sections of the Taittiriya Upanishad contain many of the texts most frequently quoted in the writings of the Indian schoolmen. One such is the text with which the Brahmanandavalli opens. It is this.

(II) "He that knows the impersonal Self attains the ultimate reality. Therefore this Rik has been pronounced: Truth,

knowledge, infinity, is the impersonal Self. He that knows this Self seated in the infinite ether in the cavity of the heart, has fruition of all desires together with the omniscient impersonal spirit."

The end of this knowledge of the impersonal Self is the cessation of the cosmical illusion, or a final period to all transmigratory experience. The personal Self on learning its true nature as the undifferentiated spiritual reality, attains to that reality, to unity with the impersonal Self that is exempt from all experience of metempsychosis. To pass to the farther side of this experience, this is the highest aim of all. "The whole earth," to quote Hume, who paints the lot of man in colours that will not satisfy the Indian aspirant to liberation till we add that it is the lot of the soul in a ceaseless series of embodiments, "is cursed and polluted. A perpetual war is kindled amongst all living creatures. Necessity, hunger, want, stimulate the strong and courageous; fear, anxiety and terror agitate the weak and infirm. The first entrance into life gives anguish to the new-born infant and to its wretched parent; weakness, impotence, distress, attend each stage of that life; and it is at last finished in agony and horror." This is much the same picture as that the Indian writers present, but they expect the same experiences again and again. The whole series of transmigratory experiences, says Śaṅkārācārya is one of birth, decay and death, hunger and thirst, and sorrow and despair: "*janmajarā maraṇāśānāyāpipāsāsokamohānvītaḥ saṁsārah*." "But though" Hume proceeds, "the external insults from animals, from men, from all the elements, which assult us form a frightful catalogue of woes, they are nothing in comparison of those which arise within ourselves, from the distempered condition of our mind and body. How many lie under the lingering torment of diseases? Hear the pathetic enumeration of the great poet.

Intestine stone and ulcer, colic-pangs,
Demonic frenzy, moping melancholy,
And moon-struck madness, pining atrophy,
Marasmus and wide-wasting pestilence.
Dire was the tossing, deep the groans; Despair
Tended the sick, busiest from couch to couch.
And over them triumphant Death his dart
Shook, but delay'd to strike, tho' oft invoc'd
With vows, as their chief good and final hope.

Were a stranger to drop, on a sudden into this world, I would show him as a specimen of its ills, a hospital full of diseases, a prison crowded with malefactors and debtors, a field of battle strewn with carcases, a fleet foundering in the ocean, a nation languishing under tyranny, famine, or pestilence. To turn the joyous side of life towards him, and give him a notion of its pleasures, whither

should I conduct him? To a ball, to an opera, to court? He might justly think that I was only showing him a diversity of distress and sorrow. Pleasure scarcely in one instance is ever able to reach ecstasy and rapture; and in no one instance can it continue for any time at its highest pitch and altitude. The spirits evaporate; the nerves relax; the fabric is disordered; and the enjoyment quickly degenerates into fatigue and uneasiness. But pain often, good God, how often, rises to torture and agony, and the longer it continues, it becomes still more genuine agony and torture. Patience is exhausted; courage languishes; melancholy seizes us; and nothing terminates our misery but the removal of its cause, or another event which is the sole cure of all evil, but which, from our natural folly, we regard with still greater horror and consternation."

"Nothing terminates our misery but the removal of its cause." So too the Indian mystic, but for him its cause is the illusion which has overspread the impersonal Self from all eternity. Let the aspirant to release from misery learn that he and all other individual sentiences are but particular manifestations of the universal soul, and that that universal soul or God is but the impersonal Self overspread with the self-projected illusion, and thus conscious of a seeming twofold order of subjects and objects made up of pleasures, pains, and indolences. Let him but recognise his undifferentenced nature and he shall recover it. "Through every star, through every grass-blade, and most through every living soul, the glory of a present God still beams. But nature which is the time-vesture of God, and reveals him to the wise, hides him from the foolish." On the rise of true intellectual intuition all the things of experience, the world of semblances shall pass away.

On the rise of true knowledge the soul is again the undifferentenced existence, intelligence, beatitude. "This is the only true and imperishable, for which the soul yearns even from its inmost depths; all else is more appearance, ever vanishing, and ever returning in a new semblance."

The soul is that ultimate spiritual reality, how can it be said to regain it, to recover what it is? It is recovered, says Sankarāchārya, by seeing it, by knowing it. In its ordinary experiences it has lost itself identifying itself with that which it is not, with its temporal vestures, its illusory envelopments. The individual Self seeking to regain its impersonal unity, is, as Nrisinhasarasvati says, like one looking for a necklace which he has about his neck, which he thinks he has lost, and for the loss of which he is distressed. So long as he is terrified by the mi-cries which await his transmigrating personality in this unreal world, he is trembling at his own shadow. His affliction ceases when he learns his real

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nature, his fears cease when he learns the unreality of all that seems to be around him. From the true point of view to be reached by abstraction carried to its farthest, the implication of the personal Self in the seeming order of things, and its extrication from it, are alike unreal. To return to the text.

"From this same spiritual reality, the ether emanated, from ether air, from air fire, from fire water, from water earth, from earth plants, from plants food, from food the reproductive principle, from that man. This is man as made up of the extractive matter of food."

This is man, the highest of sentiences or individual selves, as clothed in the food-made wrapper, *annamayakosa*, the nutrimentitious *involverum*, the visible external organism. This passage is the classical passage as regards the five successive vestitures of transmigrating sentiences. Each outer *involverum*, is to be resolved into that which lies next within till the aspirant has passed through each in meditation so that he reaches that which lies beyond, the ultimate spiritual reality. These five *involvera* are thus presented, to quote Sankarāchārya, that they that aspire to see the ultimate reality as the innermost Self, may pass through them in order, from the nutrimentitious sheath to the sheath of bliss, until they arrive at it. The five wrappers are to be pulled off one after another, as in stripping a grain of rice of its successive envelopments.

"Of this this is the head, this the right wing, this the left wing, this the middle, this the tail, the support. Therefore there is this memorial verse: From food it is that living creatures spring, all that dwell upon the earth, that live by food. And at the last they return into food again. For food is the earliest of all creatures, and it is therefore called the panacea."

Here we seem to have a glimpse of the circulation of matter. To proceed:

"They obtain all food, who revere the spiritual reality in food. For food is the earliest thing of things created, and it is called the panacea. From food all creatures spring, and born they grow by food. It is eaten by them and it eats them. Therefore it is called food."

"Within this same body which is made of the extractive matter of food, there is another, an inner body, made of the vital air, the respiratory *involverum*. With it the outer frame is filled. This is in the form of man, of human shape as moulded in the form of man. Of this the breath is the head, the pervading vital air is the right wing, the descending vital air is the left wing, the ether is the middle, the earth is

- the tail, the support. Therefore there is this memorial verse :
Breath it is that the gods breathe after, and men, and cattle.
For breath is the life of all that live, and it is called the all-animating. Therefore they that revere the impersonal Self in the breath live the full life of man. This is the embodied soul of the nutrimentitious *involutum*.

"Within this same body which is made of the vital airs there is another inner body made of the sensorium with it the respiratory *involutum* is filled. This also is in the form of man, of human shape; as moulded in the form of man in the former. Of that the Yajush is the head, the Rik the right wing, the Sāman the left wing, the Brahmanas the middle, the Mantras of Atharvan and Angiras the tail, the support. Therefore there is this memorial verse ! From which words turn back with the thinking faculty not reaching it. He that knows the beatitude of the spiritual reality never fears. This sensorial *involutum* is the embodied soul of the respiratory *involutum*.

"Within this same sensorial body there is another, an inner body; the cognitional frame, with it the sensorial frame is filled. This too is in the form of man, of human shape as moulded in the form of man in the former. Of this faith is the head, justice the right wing, truth the left wing, union the middle, the intellect the tail, the support. Therefore there is this memorial verse : Knowledge it is that lays out the sacrifice, that performs the rites. Knowledge is worshipped by all the gods as the earliest manifestation of the spiritual reality. He that knows cognition as the spiritual reality, if he does not swerve from that, has fruition of all desires, after leaving all his imperfections in the body. This is the embodied soul of the sensorial *involutum*.

"Within this same cognitional body there is another, an inner body, the envelopment of beatitude, with it the cognitional frame is filled, this too is in the form of man, of human mould, as shaped after the human fashion of the cognitional *involutum*. Of this tenderness is the head, joy is the right wing, rejoicing the left wing, bliss the middle, the ultimate spiritual reality is the tail, the support. Therefore there is this memorial verse : As non-existent that man becomes, who thinks that spiritual absolute not to be. If he know what that spiritual reality is, then they know him to exist. This blissful case is the embodied soul of the cognitional *involutum*.

"There now arise these questions: Does he that has not knowledge go after death to that sphere of spiritual reality?

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Or has he that has knowledge fruition of that sphere after death?"

The sequel of the Upanishad is the reply to these questions, which the aspirant to emancipation is supposed to put to his spiritual director. The world of appearances arose out of an impersonal Self, inexplicably overspread with illusion, out of an ultimate spiritual reality into which he that surmounts the illusion by the intellectual intuition, shall repass, never to return again.

"That impersonal Self desired: Let me become many, let me pass into plurality. He contemplated rigorously, and upon that rigorous contemplation evolved all this universe, whatsoever is. Having created that, he entered into it. Having entered that, he became the limited and the unlimited, the defined and the undefined, underlying and not underlying, the cognitive and the incognitive, the true and the untrue, he became the reality, all this that is. Therefore they call this true. Therefore there is this memorial verse: Non-existent was this in the beginning. From that the existent proceeded. That made itself. Therefore it is called self-made or holy, *sukrita*. That which is holy is like taste, for a man on attaining taste becomes happy. For who could live, who breathe if in this ether there were not bliss? For this impersonal Self gives bliss. For when a man finds exemption from fear, a standing-place in this invisible, bodiless, undefined, unsupported, spiritual reality, he attains to exemption from fear. For when a man makes even a slight interspace in that, then fear comes upon him. Fear comes upon him that thus knows, that thus reflects. Therefore there is this memorial verse: In awe of this the wind blows, in awe of this the sun rises. In awe of this speed Agni and Indra, and the death-god speeds, besides those other four."

The desires attributed to the supreme spiritual reality as associated with illusion, to the universal soul, are said by Sankarāchārya, to be not desire but contemplation, and to imply no wants unsatisfied, no incompleteness. It is not influenced by them, as men are actuated by desire and aversion, but it sets them in operancy, that recompenses may be meted out to the intelligences about to be projected in accordance with their works in a former æon. The world has had no beginning. There has been an infinite progress of æons. The universal spirit remains free and unactuated by desires. The impersonal Self is said to become multiform, to pass into plurality, by manifesting itself under name and form. These are illusory. It is only thus that

the absolute spirit without parts can become many. Its multiformity is like that of the ether which is really undivided, and divided in appearance only by the things placed in it. Name and form are so far real as they are Brahman, but Brahman is not name and form. It is, under name and form illusorily overspread upon it that the spiritual reality enters into an apparent experience, in which are subjects and objects, cognitions, things nameable, and so forth, all which things have an existence sufficient to account for the action and passion of daily life, sufficient for the common sense of the many, insufficient to the knowledge of the reflective few. The universal soul, or God, entered upon self-coercion or rigorous contemplation, contemplated the *śaśān* in which he should project the world, and having thus contemplated it, projected all the spheres of fruition to be severally experienced by all transmigrating spirits, waking, dreaming, or in dreamless sleep, in accordance with their works in the antecedent æon, and existing in time and space, under name and form. After creating it he entered into it, entered into the ether in the heart of all sentiences. The omnipresent universal soul is limited in appearance only, as illusorily limited to this, or that inner faculty, like the one and undivided ether in many water-jars, or like the one sun reflected upon many pools. Thus entered it appears manifold as many seers, many hearers, many thinkers, many that know. The universal soul became the conscious, and the unconscious, the true, that which is true in the seeming experience of daily life, and the untrue, that which is untrue in the seeming experience of daily life. It was the reality, that which absolutely is. When it is said that this was non-existent in the beginning, it is intended to affirm that the spiritual reality was then unmanifest, had in it no distinctions of manifest name and form, not that the ultimate principle is nonentity. Such are some of Sankaracharya's comments on this often-quoted text. To proceed.

"There is the following computation of beatitude. Let there be a youth, a good youth, instructed in the Vedas, himself an excellent instructor, of great fortitude and power. Let all this earth for him be full of riches. This is the one human beatitude. A hundred such human beatitudes are the one beatitude of the man that has become a Gandharva, and also of the man learned in the Vedas, that is not stricken with desire. A hundred such beatitudes of the man that has become a Gandharva, are one beatitude of the divine Gandharvas, and also of the man learned in the Vedas, that is not stricken with desire. A hundred such beatitudes of the divine Gandharvas are one beatitude of the fathers of mankind in their long-lasting sphere, and also of the man learned

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in the Vedas and not stricken with desire. A hundred such beatitudes of the fathers of mankind in their long-lasting sphere, is one beatitude of the gods born in the divine spheres, and also of the man learned in the Vedas and not stricken with desire. A hundred such beatitudes of the gods are the one beatitude of Indra, and also of the man learned in the Vedas and not stricken with desire. A hundred such beatitudes of Indra are one beatitude of Brihaspati, and also of the man learned in the Vedas and not stricken with desire. A hundred such beatitudes of Brihaspati are one beatitude of Prajāpati, and also of the man learned in the Vedas and not stricken with desire. A hundred such beatitudes of Prajāpati are one beatitude of the supreme spiritual essence, and also of the man learned in the Vedas and not stricken with desire. That same spiritual reality is one and the same, when in the Purusha, the image in the pupil of the eye, and when in the sun. He that knows this renounces this world, and approaches the food-made body, approaches this respiratory *involutum*, approaches this sensorial *involutum*, approaches this cognitional *involutum*, arrives at this *involutum* of beatitude. Therefore there is this memorial verse: From which words turn back with the thinking faculty, not reaching it. He that knows the beatitude of the impersonal Self fears nothing. Him the thought afflicts no longer, what good have I left undone, what evil have I done? When a man knows this, these two, the good and evil, strengthen his soul. Both these, the good and evil, strengthen his soul, when he knows this. This is the Upanishad."

The good and evil, Sankārāchārya says, strengthen the soul of the man that has risen to the intellectual intuition, inasmuch as they are seen to be only illusory modes, beneath which the spiritual reality abides the only real existence. To him that knows the ultimate spiritual reality, the beatitude beyond duality, good and evil have lost their power of generating misery, of leading to new embodiments. This is the Upanishad, the science of the impersonal Self, the mystery above all other knowledges, in which the supreme beatitude resides. The Bhṛigu Valli opens with the same benediction with which the Katha Upanishad closed, a benediction of frequent occurrence in the Upanishads.

"Hari. OM. May God preserve us both. May God reward us both. May we both gain power together. May that which we have gone over be glorious. May we never feel enmity against each other. OM. Peace, peace, peace."

Bhṛigu, the son of Varuna, drew nigh to his father

- and said : Teach me, holy Sir, the spiritual reality, Brahman. To him his father said this : Food, breath, eye, ear, the thinking organ, speech. And again he said to him : That from which these creatures proceeded, by which after proceeding from it they live, that to which they return again and into which they re-enter,—seek to know THAT, that is the spiritual reality.
- “ Bhṛigu performed self-torture, and, having performed it, he learned that food is the spiritual reality, for from food they arise and by food thus arisen they live, to food they return again, and into it re-enter. After learning this he again approached his father and said : Teach me, holy Sir, the spiritual absolute, Brahman. His father said ; With self-coercion seek to know the spiritual reality. Self-coercing concentration is the spiritual reality. He performed self-coercion and having performed it learned that breath is the spiritual reality, for it is from breath that these creatures proceed and by breath that after they have thus come forth they live, to breath that they return again and into it that they re-enter.
- “ After learning this he again approached his father Varuna and said : Teach me, holy Sir, the spiritual absolute. His father said : With self-coercion seek to know the spiritual reality. Self-coercing concentration is the spiritual reality. He performed self-coercion, and upon performing it learned that the sensory, the thinking faculty, is the spiritual reality, for it is from the sensory that these creatures proceed and by the sensory that thus, arisen they live, to the sensory they return and into it re-enter.
- “ After learning this he again approached his father Varuna, and said : Teach me, Holy Sir, the spiritual absolute, Brahman. His father said : With self-coercion seek to know the spiritual reality. Self-coercing concentration is the spiritual reality. He performed self-coercion, and upon performing it learned that cognition is the spiritual reality, for from cognition it is that these creatures proceed, from it that thus arisen they live, to cognition it is, that they return, and into it that they re-enter.
- “ After learning this he again approached his father Varuna and said : Teach me, holy Sir, the spiritual absolute, Brahman. His father said : With self-coercion seek to know the spiritual reality. Self-coercing concentration is the spiritual reality. He performed self-coercion, and upon performing it learned that beatitude is the spiritual reality, for from beatitude it is that these creatures proceed, by beatitude

that thus arisen, they live, to beatitude that they return and into it that they re-enter.

"This is the science that Varuna gave and Bhrigu received, a science established in the supreme ether in the heart. He that knows this is firmly established, he becomes rich in food, a consumer of food, he becomes great in offspring, in flocks and herds and in spiritual power, and great in fame. Let him never revile food. Such is his observance. Water is food, light the eater of food. In water light is established. In light water is established. Therefore this food is established in food. He that knows this food established in food is himself firmly established, he becomes rich in food, a consumer of food, he becomes great in offspring, in flocks and herds, in spiritual power, and great in fame. Let him multiply food. That is his observance. The earth is food, ether the eater of food. In earth ether is established, in ether earth is established. Therefore this food is established in food. He that knows this food established in food, is himself firmly established, he becomes rich in food, a consumer of food, he becomes great in offspring, in flocks and herds, in spiritual power, and great in fame. Let him forbid none to enter his house. That is his observance. Let him store up food in whatever way he can. They say to him that comes to the house, The food is ready. If the food be given from the first, then food is given to the giver from the first. If the food be given later, then food is given to the giver later. If the food is given last, then it is given to the giver last. Thus it is with him that knows this.

"Let him adore the spiritual reality as that which is preservative in speech, as that which is acquisitive and preservative in the ascending and descending vital airs, as action in the hands, as motion in the feet. Such are the meditations on the spiritual reality as manifested in man. Let him next meditate upon it as manifested in the deities. It is nourishment in the rain, in the lightning it is might. It is wealth in flocks and herds, in the stars it is light, it is offspring, immortality, beatitude. In the ether it is all. He that adores it is the support of all, is firmly established. He that adores it as greatness becomes great. He that adores it as thought becomes meditative. He that adores it as that which humiliates, his desires are humbled. He that adores it as the most powerful becomes most powerful. He that adores it as that into which things pass away, his enemies and rivals perish, and his brother's sons, if he hate them, die.

"It is one and the same spiritual reality that is in the Purusha, the image in the eye, and in the sun."

Thus it is that the ultimate spiritual reality is to be meditated upon under all its manifestations in man and in nature. Under whatever manifestation the worshipper contemplates it to that manifestation he becomes assimilated: *tam yatā yathopāsetā, at eva bhavati*; but all such worship is relative to it only as manifested in the fictitious order, the world of unreality.

"He that knows this, renounces this world and arrives at the food-made body, arrives at the frame made of the vital airs, arrives at the sensorial *involutum*, arrives at the cognitional *involutum*, arrives at the *involutum* of beatitude, and expatiating through these worlds, enjoying food at will, and taking shapes at will, sings this song of universal unity: Wonder, wonder. I am food, I am food, I am food. I am the consumer of food, I am the consumer of food, I am the consumer of food. I am that which unites the two, I am that which unites the two, I am that which unites the two. I am the first arisen in the world, before the gods, the midst of immortality. He that imparts me preserves me. I as food consume the consumer of food. I am above all the world with golden light. He that knows this becomes Brahman."

"May God preserve us both. May God reward us both. May both gain power together. May that which we have gone over be glorious. May we never feel enmity against one another. OM. Peace, peace, peace."

Thus ends the Taittiriya Upanishad. It has nothing of the poetical impressiveness of such Upanishads as the Mundaka and the Katha, and its two latter sections have been exhibited solely on account of the importance of their matter, and the frequency with which they are cited in the writings of the Indian schoolmen. Combining the several examples of the Upanishads adduced in the present and in the former part of this Article, the reader may perhaps obtain as clear and distinct a view of the earliest Indian philosophy as the nature of its matter admits. It is the philosophy of a barbarous age and people. Its presentments are of purely historical value, and its occasional embellishments are at the best 'barbaric pearl and gold.'

Historical interest the Upanishads have. They embody the earliest growths of Indian speculation, and it is out of their teaching apparently that Buddhism arose with its negation of any transcendent spiritual reality, and the substitution in place of that of a void or blank. They embody also one of the first efforts to explain the world reflectively, to build up a complete and

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coherent conception of the whole of things, of man, of nature, and of the supernatural.

The ancient Indian sages, as we have seen, like the Eleatics allow existence only to the one and immutable of reason, and refuse it to the many and the mutable of experience, and are like the Eleatics compelled, that they may save the phænomenal order, to concede some spurious and fictitious kind of being to the things of sense. The one and the constant is, exists, that is, in and by itself; the manifold and the fluctuating is not, exists that is by and through another, and only, to use the Indian expression, as apparently outspread upon the real, fictitiously and fallaciously. From the standpoint of philosophy the fluctuating *fientia* are non-existent, from the standpoint of common sense they have a being sufficient to account for the action and passion of daily life, a conventional existence, *Vyāvahārikī sattā*, an unreal manifestation under names and forms. In this fictitious order of experiences all souls save that of the purified seer are implicated.

In identifying the one uniform existence with the highest good the Indian sages proceeded in the same track as the Megarics. *Id bonum solum esse dicebant quod esset unum et simile et idem semper*. The attributes assigned by Parmenides to real being were by Euclid applied to the good. The highest notions of man are but so many names for the one and only real good immutable and always uniform. In speaking of God, of intelligence, of reason, one and the same thing is indicated, namely, the good. The one existent, the good alone *is*, the generable and corruptible and mutable *is not*.

But it is as precursors of the Neo-Platonists that the ancient Indian theosophists are most noteworthy. In the Upanishads we find, (in an immeasurably lower form indeed, for they had not the rich inheritance of thoroughgoing analysis that the Alexandrians had), the same identification of thought with existence, of the pure light of undifferented cognition with the ultimate and uniform reality, the same procession from this of the pure intelligence and universal soul, the same purification of the intellect prescribed through subjugation of the body and renunciation of the things of sense, the same aspiration towards ecstatic re-union with, and re-absorption into, the mysterious source of things.

The philosophy of the Upanishads will be justly characterised if we apply to it the epithets which Archer Butler has bestowed upon the philosophy of Proclus. It is sublime: it is puerile. Is marked at once by sagacity and by poverty, by daring independence, and by grovelling superstition. Still it has this claim to veneration, that it publishes for the first time in the history of philosophy, in its idea of Brahman, that mode of looking at the

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things of experience in which their ultimate reality, their innermost essence, at once concealed and revealed, is neither that which knows nor that which is known, but knowledge or thought itself, that finds its highest manifestation in the individual and the common consciousness of mankind. And thus it is that in his highest moments man if he will may feel

A presence that disturbs him with the joy
Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused,
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean, and the living air,
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man;
A motion and a spirit that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
And rolls through all things.

A. E. GOUGH.

ART. VII.—THE STATISTICAL ACCOUNT OF BENGAL.

A Statistical Account of Bengal. By W. W. Hunter, B.A., LL.D.,
Director General of Statistics to the Government of India, &c,
&c., &c. 20 volumes. London: Triibner and Co. 1875-1877.

“WE are of opinion that a Statistical Survey of the country under the immediate authority of your Presidency would be attended with much utility; we therefore recommend proper steps to be taken for carrying the same into execution.” Thus wrote, on the 7th January 1807, the Hon’ble the Court of Directors to the Government at Fort William; and on the 11th September of the same year the Governor-General in Council issued elaborate instructions to Dr. Francis Buchanan Hamilton, who had been selected to undertake the Survey. His enquiries were to extend “throughout the whole of the territories subject to the immediate authority of the Presidency of Fort William, as well as to the adjacent countries and to those petty States with which the British Government has no intercourse. “In performing this duty, however,” the letter goes on, “you are prohibited from quitting the Company’s territories, and are directed to confine your enquiries to consulting such of the natives of those countries as you may meet with, or natives of the British territories who have visited the countries in question.” Then follows a long detailed list of subjects to be examined “with as much accuracy as local circumstances will admit.” Dr. Buchanan Hamilton at once applied himself to the work with the most conscientious energy; and his Survey, which extended over a period of seven years, resulted in some ten thousand pages of manuscript which were in 1816 carefully packed up in boxes and despatched to England. There it rested undisturbed until 1838, when the Court of Directors informed the Governor-General in Council that Mr. Montgomery Martin had been permitted to inspect it with a view to publication. The result of Mr. Martin’s inspection was the publication of an account * of the districts of Behar, Patna, Shahabad, Bhagulpur, Dinajour, Gorakhpur, Purniah, Rangpur, and Assam, the latter being considered as a single District. This was the first attempt at a Statistical Account of Bengal. The cost of the Survey during the seven years over which it extended, amounted to £30,000; and the result after the expenditure by the East India Company of a considerable further sum of money, and after a delay of more than a-quarter-of-a-century—was an account of nine districts of the province. To prepare a Gazetteer of the whole of India on this scale would cost not less than £700,000; and at the

* *The History, Antiquities, Topography and Statistics of Eastern India.*
3 vols 8vo. 1838.

same rate of progress the work might be expected to be completed in about eight hundred years.

The Court of Directors seems to have felt that the results obtained in this effort were utterly disproportioned to the expenditure incurred, and it was apparently decided not to attempt again a detailed statistical survey of a single province. The Company's next move was in a different direction; and resulted in the publication in 1854 of Thornton's *Gazetteer**, a work which occupied several years in preparation, and the compilation of which must have involved great labour. This work is so well known to every one who has had anything to do with India that it is quite unnecessary for us in these pages to refer to its shortcomings. Suffice it to say that even at the time of its appearance, it was not considered satisfactory, and, in a despatch dated 21st February 1855, the Court of Directors pointed out some of the defects in the compilation. "In some respects," says the despatch, "the information from which the work was constructed was obsolete. Although of an official character, and probably accurate at the period when it was furnished, the lapse of time, extending in some cases to half a century, must have caused great alterations, and that which, when drawn up, was a correct statement of the condition of a district may, therefore, now be a very incorrect one." And the Directors go on to request that omissions may be supplied, errors rectified, and new geographical, physical, and statistical facts brought to notice with a view to rendering the work a faithful register of the state of the country as at present existing. In order that this might be done, the different Indian Governments were requested to send interleaved copies of the book to the various local authorities for the incorporation of corrections and additions. The local administrations, however, seem to have given up the task in despair and to have felt that the work of correction would involve more labour than the re-writing of the book; and so far as we have been able to ascertain, only one of them, the Government of the North-west Provinces, completed the revision. The Supreme Government and the Home authorities, probably had the same misgivings as to the possibility of accomplishing the task they had imposed; at all events, neither of them pressed the matter, and it was quietly allowed to drop. But this agitation of the waters had not been altogether without effect, and the different local Governments and Administrations began to bestir themselves and to elaborate plans for obtaining statistical accounts of their territories. It so gradually became evident that any such scheme, to be practicable and satisfactory, must take the District officers as its basis and must deal systematically with the country,

* The first edition in 4 vols. London: Allen.

part by part. Several of the local Governments commenced to act in this sense. In 1862, the Madras Government issued orders for the compilation of a series of 'District Manuals' which were to be prepared by the local officers, and were intended to exhibit the entire Presidency, District by District, in minute detail; later, Sir Richard Temple inaugurated the operations which produced the District Gazetteers of the Central Provinces; and, more recently, the Magistrates and Collectors of Eastern Bengal drew up a series of statistical reports of their respective Districts.* The Supreme Government adopted the same view of the requirements of the case, and in May 1867 it suggested that a series of works similar to Sir Richard Temple's Central Provinces Gazetteers might with advantage be compiled for Bengal, the Punjab, Oudh, Mysore, Coorg, British Burmah, and Haidarabad. This proposal was approved of by the Secretary of State for India, and, on the 16th October 1865, a circular letter was addressed to the various local Governments and Administrations requesting them to take steps for the compilation of local Gazetteers. It at once became apparent that in the larger provinces, the wishes of the Secretary of State could not be carried out without special machinery, and early in 1867 the Government of Bengal proposed to appoint a special officer to superintend the collection of materials for a Gazetteer of Bengal. The Statistical Committee at Calcutta pointed out, with reference to this proposal, that the services of such an officer would eventually be required to consolidate the Provincial Gazetteers to be furnished by the various local Governments. It suggested that a duly qualified officer should at once be selected for the purpose, and that, pending receipt of further materials, he should be employed on the preparation of the Bengal Gazetteer. The result of all this is fresh in the memory of our readers. Lord Mayo's Government took energetic action in the matter and decided upon the creation of a Department of Statistics which was accordingly established with Dr. W. W. Hunter at its head. The Government of India at the same time urged the necessity of "immediate steps being taken for ensuring some uniformity of plan in the Gazetteers of the various Provinces with the view of hereafter consolidating the whole into a General Gazetteer of India."

We have thus briefly sketched the history of some of the efforts made since the beginning of this century to obtain trustworthy information regarding our territories in India, with the object of enabling our readers to form a more correct and adequate judgement of the work which has been done since 1860. The first fruits of the Statistical Department established by Lord

* *Principal Heads of the History and Statistics of the Dacca Division*, 1868.

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Mayo are before us in these twenty volumes containing Dr. Hunter's Statistical Account of Bengal; and it would not be possible to form a just estimate of the value of this work without reference to the circumstances under which it has been compiled, and to the results hitherto obtained in the same direction. One of Dr. Hunter's first duties as Director-General of Statistics was to find out what had already been done—to discover the causes of the failure of early attempts—and to avoid the rocks on which previous workers had foundered. He did this, and laid down a very carefully considered plan which he has followed with such complete success that it is not too much to say that the appearance of this Statistical Account of Bengal marks an era in the history of British rule in India.

For our present purpose Dr. Buchanan Hamilton's laborious compilation, and Thornton's Gazetteer, may be taken as typical works, and as fairly representing the best that had been done in the way of rendering available to the public a more accurate knowledge of this part of India, prior to 1869. Dr. Buchanan Hamilton's work had three serious defects.* In the first place, it was on no fixed scale; and "no attempt seems to have been made to estimate how much space could be reasonably allotted to each subject and District, or to calculate how many volumes it is possible for a man to write or for the public to read, within the ordinary span of life." In the second place, the work was not based upon any preliminary systematic organization, and the compiler had not the benefit of any regular collaboration. And, in the third place, Dr. Buchanan Hamilton had no system for arranging his materials and rendering the results of his survey available as they were obtained. Thornton laboured under even greater disadvantages, and the causes of his failure lie on the surface. He had never even visited India; he had no thorough knowledge of the relative importance of the places he described; and he was dependent, as we have seen, on information sometimes as much as half-a-century old—in a word, he attempted, what was under the circumstances, a manifest impossibility.*

* We would have it understood, once for all, that these criticisms are in no way inconsistent with great admiration, and thorough appreciation of the energy and patience which have been shown in the compilation as well of the works specially referred to, as of others of their class [such as the *East India Gazetteer*, by Walter Hamilton (1828); the *Gazetteer of Southern India*, by Pharos and Co., Madras (1855); and the *Cyclopædia of*

India, by Dr. Edward Balfour (1856)] to which for the sake of brevity we have purposely not referred. Dr. Buchanan Hamilton and Mr. Thornton both worked under the instructions of Government; they both displayed great energy and talent, and did all that men, handicapped as they were, could do. But none the less on this account were their works failures.

A study of the causes of these failures, then, showed that the compilation of a Statistical account of even a single Indian province was beyond the power of any one man, however able; that to succeed at all, such a work must be done on a well-considered scale; and that the treatment of the various Districts must be uniform. It showed further that an excessive concentration and inadequate distribution of work were as fatal to success as the opposite extremes of excessive distribution and insufficient concentration. *Practically*, what was required was one central controlling mind with a capacity for extensive and detailed organization; with a knowledge of the country; and with a power of distinguishing the relative importance of the subjects to be dealt with in a Gazetteer—with the sense of proportion, in short. The result, so far as it is yet visible, has shown very clearly, that Dr. Hunter possesses in an eminent degree the requisite qualifications.

His plan of procedure can best be told in his own words in the preface to the first volume of the work before us. "It was found necessary," he says, "in the first place, to provide that the materials collected by each of the Local Governments should afford a common basis for the comparative statistics of the country, when eventually consolidated into the one final work for all India. In the second place, to devise measures for ensuring the compilation of the materials they obtained within a reasonable time, and on a uniform plan. The District forms the administrative unit in India and I took it as the unit of the Statistical survey in the work of collecting the materials; the Province forms a large administrative entity, and was taken as the basis of the organization for compiling the materials when obtained. With a view to securing uniformity in the materials, I drew up, under the orders of Government, six series of *leading questions*,* illustrating the topographical, ethnical, agricultural, industrial, administrative, medical, and other aspects of an Indian District, which might serve as a basis for the investigations throughout all India. With a view to securing certainty of execution, provincial editors were appointed, each of whom was made responsible for getting in the returns from the District officers within the territory assigned to him, supplementing them by information from the heads of Departments and local sources, and working them up into the Statistical Account or Gazetteer of the Province. In this way the unpaid co-operation of the whole body of officers throughout the two hundred and twenty-five Districts of India was enlisted, the best local knowledge was brought to bear, and in each Province

* Subsequently circulated to the of "Heads of Information required Local Governments under the title for the Imperial Gazetteer of India."

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there was an editor directly responsible for the completion of the Provincial Account on a uniform plan and within a reasonable time. The supervision of the whole rested with me, as Director-General of Statistics to the Government of India.*

The result, so far as Bengal is concerned, is before us, and we must now proceed to give some account of these twenty volumes. They deal with the following Districts and States:—

vol.	vol.
I. The 24 Parganás and the Sundarbans.	X. Dárrjiling, Jalpaiguri and Kuch Behar State.
II. Nadiyá and Jessor.	XI. Patna and Sárag.
III. Midnapur, Húgli and Howrah.	XII. Gárá and Sháhábád.
IV. Bardwán, Bírúdm and Bándurá.	XIII. Tirhut and Champáran.
V. Dacca, Bákarganj, Farídpur and Maimansinh.	XIV. Bhárgulpúr and the Santál Parganás.
VI. Chittagong Hill Tracts, Chittagong, Noákháli, Tipperah, and Hill Tipperah State.	XV. Monghyr and Purniah.
VII. Maldah, Rangpur and Dinájpur.	XVI. Hazáribágh and Lohárdágá.
VIII. Rájsháhí and Bográ.	XVII. Singbhúm, Chutá Nágpur Tributary States, and Mámbhúm.
IX. Murshádábád and Pabná.	XVIII. Cuttack and Balasor.
	XIX. Puri and the Orissa Tributary States.
	XX. Fisheries and Botany of Bengal; and General Index.

The accounts are all framed on one uniform scheme, the same points being referred to in the same order in each account, a plan by which any one who has constantly to consult the work will be a great gainer. The topographical aspects of the District are first dealt with; its geographical situation is defined and its area and boundaries are given. Then follows a description of the physical features and scenery of the tract—its hills and forests and canals and rivers—river-traffic, drainage-lines, marsh reclamation and cultivation, fisheries and fishes, mineral and jungle products, and, concluding the first section of the account, a notice of the *Feræ Naturæ* of the District, with statistics, where they are available, showing the loss of life caused by wild-beasts and snakes. The second section is devoted to the people. An historical sketch is first given of any early attempts at the enumeration of the popu-

* The above narrative is as accurate as a comprehensive sketch can be made without going into very minute details. Thus in one Presidency, Madras, a more elaborate system of separate District Accounts has been adopted; while the Gazetteers of one of the minor administrations, (the Central Provinces) and of the

Haidarábád Assigned Districts (the Berars) were commenced and practically done before the introduction of the system above described. Again, with regard to Native States, considerations of public policy have rendered anything like rigid uniformity in my demands for information impracticable.

lation; and this is followed by a very full account of the Census of 1872—the agency employed for the work, the manner in which it was done, and the results. These are given in much detail and are elucidated by means of tables showing for each sub-division and *tháná* of the District the area in square miles, the number of villages and of houses; the number of persons per square mile, per village, and per house. The population is next classified according to sex and age; the ethnical divisions of the people are noted; aboriginal and hill tribes and semi-Hinduised aborigines receive special attention, their habits and customs being described; and an exhaustive list of Hindu castes is given, with the number of persons belonging to each caste, and its relative rank in the social scale. In Districts which receive immigrants or supply emigrants, the number of these and their places of origin or destination are mentioned. The religious divisions of the people are next given; the relative numbers of Hindus and Muhammadans; the different sects of the Musalmán community, the number of Christians, native and other, and the results of Missionary efforts; and special accounts are given of any religious sects or movements peculiar to the District. The division of the population into urban and rural is also noticed, and is followed by an enumeration of the towns and villages classified according to their population. The chief towns are then noticed in detail; their geographical situation is marked; their population analysed; and their chief features described with special regard to any connection they may have had with the history of the District or of the Province. Places of historical, religious, antiquarian, or other interest form subjects of special notice. The village institutions and officials next come under review; and the second section of each District account ends with a description of the material condition of the people. The dress of the well-to-do tradesman, his food, his dwelling and its furniture, are all described and contrasted with those of the ordinary cultivator. The accounts of the ceremonies performed on occasions of both marriage and death, of the games and amusements of the people, of the conveyances used by the better classes, and many other details give an insight into the every-day life of the population which the ordinary reader has hitherto had no means of obtaining. The third section deals with the agriculture of the District, and this portion of each account in these volumes naturally begins with rice, the great staple of Bengal. In each case the various rice crops are enumerated; the mode of cultivation and the times of sowing and reaping of each are given in detail, and even the names of the plant at the different stages of its growth, and the chief preparations made from it have not been omitted. The other cereal crops of the District are next noticed; green crops, fibres, fruits, vegetables, and miscellaneous crops follow, special prominence being given to such

important crops as jute, opium, indigo, cotton, *pán*, &c., in Districts in which they are cultivated. Statistics are next given showing the area under cultivation; the area which is cultivable but not cultivated and the out-turn of the different crops. The rates of rent in the different *parganás*, are next set forth; and the cost of labour and price of food-grains at present ruling are contrasted with those which have obtained in times past. Nothing that can be of interest or use to any one desiring to study the agricultural aspects of the Districts is forgotten; the condition of the peasantry, their cattle and domestic animals, and the instruments which they use to till the fields, are all described; the weights and measures of the District, the amount of spare land in it, the manures in use and the crops for which they are required, the mode of irrigation employed, the rotation of crops followed, when there is any, are all referred to. The land tenures, which are dealt with in this section of the District accounts, receive very special attention, and not only are any tenures peculiar to the District specially explained, but the whole system of tenures in vogue in each District is given in great detail.

The fourth section of each Statistical Account is devoted to Natural calamities, blights, droughts, floods and famines; and, in connection with the last-named calamities, Dr. Hunter's valuable system of Famine warnings is incorporated in the work. The next section gives an account of the means of communication, the principal manufactures, the Commerce and Trade of the District, local institutions, printing-presses, newspapers, &c. The next portion contains the administrative statistics; and the concluding part is devoted to the meteorological and medical aspects of the District, climate, temperature, rainfalls, prevailing winds, endemic and epidemic diseases, native medical practitioners (*kabirájs*) and their mode of treatment, indigenous drugs, charitable dispensaries, sanitation and conservancy, and vital statistics.

This meagre skeleton of the contents of a District-account, although it occupies more than two pages of our space, affords no adequate notion of the amount of information given in this elaborate and yet strictly condensed work. Taking up a volume* absolutely at random, we turn, for example, to the second last section referred to above—that which relates to the administrative statistics of the first District treated of (*Rájsháhí*)—and we find the following information.

The changes which have taken place in the jurisdiction of the District since the accession of the East India Company to the *ámráná* of Bengal in 1765 are carefully recorded. Tables are

* Vol. VIII, one of the smallest of the twenty, containing accounts of the Districts of *Rájsháhí* and *Bogra*.

given showing the revenue and expenditure of the district for each of the years 1793-94, 1850-51, and 1870-71; and the rates which are appended to these tables enable the reader to see at a glance which of the entries are mere items of account. The net revenue and expenditure are thus obtained, and the causes of increase and decrease are explained. The land tax which, throughout Bengal, forms by far the most important item of revenue, receives special detailed notice, and very interesting figures are given showing the extent to which sub-division of estates has increased during the last quarter-of-a-century. The operations of the Rent Law of Bengal (Act X. of 1859) is next referred to, and the number of rent-swits instituted under the provisions of that Act or of subsequent laws based upon it are given, since 1861-62. The increased extent to which person and property are protected is next exhibited by giving the numbers of magisterial and of revenue and civil courts in the District in 1791, 1800, 1850, 1869 and 1871. The subject of police protection comes next, and, passing over the history of early grants for police purposes, we come to a succinct account of the existing police organization, the number of *thānās* and their names, the strength, in detail, of the three Police forces (the Regular Police, the Municipal Force, and the Village Watch) the total cost of each of these forces and the proportion of police to the area and to the population. The working of the police follows, and a mass of statistics is given showing the number of cases, 'cognisable' and 'non-cognisable,' conducted by the police; the proportion of false cases and of convictions; the proportion of convicts to the population of the district; and an elaborate analysis and classification of the crimes of which the convicts were found guilty. The jail statistics of the District are next given and analysed, and among the points specially noted are the following: the number of jails, and details regarding each, average jail population, sanitary condition of jails and statistics of jail mortality, cost of maintaining the prisoners, amount realized by jail manufactures and industries. Educational Statistics come next and are given in minute detail. Tabular returns exhibit the number of Government, aided, and unaided schools; the number of pupils in each; the cost of each to Government; and the amount realized by fees and private contributions. All these statistics are carefully analysed and commented on. The postal statistics of the District follow; and this section ends with a full description of the political divisions ('sub-divisions') and a list of the fiscal divisions (*parganās*) of the District with their area in acres and square miles; the number of estates in each; and the subordinate judge's court to which each is subject. This *resumé* of the contents of one section of a district-account, taken up haphazard

fairly represents the manner in which the other sections of this and of all the other Districts are treated; our object in giving it in such detail is to show how elaborately the work has been done.

But, while no material point on which information was available has been left untouched, Dr. Hunter has managed to avoid the fatal error of undue elaboration; and indeed this was his only chance of success. On that rock Dr. Buchanan Hamilton struck and foundered, and Dr. Hunter has very wisely profited by the warning and steered clear of it. It would perhaps have been more satisfactory to Dr. Hunter if the account had been even fuller than it is, but there can be little doubt that had the Director-General of Statistics given way to the very natural impulse to elaboration, his unfinished work would have been added to the list of failures which preceded it.

As it is, the work is one of which any man might be proud, and which very few men in India could have done. It has occupied seven years in compilation, or the same time as was spent on Dr. Buchanan Hamilton's survey, which supplied materials for an account of nine Districts only. To say that the work is faultless would be to credit Dr. Hunter with having performed an impossibility: to say that it is remarkably free from preventable error is to do him scanty justice. "I beg," writes Dr. Hunter in his preface, "that those who come after me may, in improving on my work, remember the conditions under which it has been done. When it was commenced six years ago, no one knew precisely the population of a single District in Bengal; and the Departments of Government were wont to base their estimates on separate and often widely-discrepant estimates both as to the number of the people and the area of its territory." When we remember, in addition to all this, the great extent of the country dealt with in these volumes, the diverse nationalities of which its inhabitants are composed, and the extreme difficulty in getting work of this kind done at all in India, we admit that we are astonished at this result of seven years' work. It would be possible, no doubt, to pick holes in isolated portions of this work, as of every other work of a similar kind which has ever been published; but that is a task which we shall leave to those to whom it may be congenial. It is enough for us that we have here for the first time, a trustworthy, intelligent, and interesting account of each District of the principal Province of India. The value of the work as a whole, so far surpasses any trifling defects in the details of its execution that we have no eye for these when we look at that. The manner in which Dr. Hunter has achieved this difficult task leads us to

form high anticipations of the value of the Imperial Gazetteer of India on which he is at present engaged and which we are promised in four years. In the meantime he deserves the grateful thanks of both England and India for this first instalment of his work—a marvel of industry and organization of which, as we have said, any man might be proud. It eclipses even Dr. Hunter's other splendid literary performances; and will, with the works which are to follow it, form a lasting monument of the Governments of India and Bengal to whose liberal enterprise and judgment it owes its inception.

ART. VIII.—SOME BOOKS ABOUT BURMAH.

Our Trip to Burnah. By Surgeon-General Gordon, M. D., C. B.
London: Bailliere, Tindall & Cox.

The Karens of the Golden Chersonese. London: Harrison,
89, Pall Mall.

The Ficus Elastica in British Burma. Rangoon: Printed at
the Government Press, 1876.

Wyllie's Essays on the External Policy of India. London:
Smith, Elder & Co.

A WRITER to the *Calcutta Review* in 1876 remarked that British Burnah presented "almost virgin soil to the philological aspirant." Few books have ever been written about it, and few of these are worth reading. The fact is not unaccountable, and one of the chief reasons no doubt is the want of a decent auditory. People have got to know just enough about the province to decide it is scarcely worth while to know any more. Every one in Madras has been to Rangoon or one of the up-country cantonments as Sub-Assistant Deputy Commissary General or in some equally complicated capacity, and half Bengal knows one or another of these officials, besides making occasional visits themselves to one of the provincial ports. They will tell you quite glibly that Akyab lies north, Moulmein south, and Rangoon in the middle. The steamers do not always stop at Akyab. The chief productions of Burma are pineapples, ponies and pagodas, some of the latter growing to a considerable size. The women walk about and wear silk petticoats of a peculiar cut. Singapore does not belong to the Chief Commissioner but lies further on. The last important statement would be enunciated rather for the sake of clearing up a geographical doubt lingering in their own mental consciousness than for authoritative exposition. If the speaker belongs to any Government Secretariat (who have of course exceptional information) he will let you know besides that he has good reason for believing there is abundance of rice and of rain in the country, and that the surplus revenue is found very useful to the Government of India. He will probably mention, too that the present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal had once something to do with the province, and that he knew a poor young fellow who died of fever there the year before last. This very fairly represents the average geographical, antiquarian, sanitary and sociological knowledge that the Indian outside world have about us, and they seem very fairly contented withal.

It happened however towards the close of 1874, that the Secretary for India was cajoled by some irresponsible traders into making a second attempt at opening out "the gold and silver route" through Bhamau; and Sir Thomas Wade thought to second these endeavours by sending an English interpreter overland from Shanghai to Talifu in the very heart of the rainy season. We know the results of this notable expedient which was disapproved of from the very first by the Calcutta Government. Prostrate with fever and utterly spent by recurrent attacks of dysentery, pleurisy, and a host of other ailments, Mr. Margery was mobbed, abused and threatened at almost every place he stopped, his credentials were ignored or neglected, and it was only towards the close of his five months' travel, that he met with any signs of civility and care. Perhaps the most touching part in the whole diary is the naive pride and exultation with which, naturally enough, his hospitable welcome in Yunau is ascribed to his own pleasant tact and diplomatic address. The mock urbanity of his hosts was infinitely more deadly and malignant than the truculent uproar which greeted him at Loshan and Chen Yuan Fu. The Talifu magnates spoke sweetly with "their murdered man," and were jubilant over the approaching discomfiture of the "foreign devils."

Of course the whole episode caused considerable excitement. People began to inquire the difference between Ava and Burma, and whether Rangoon was on the Irrawaddy. As soon as journalists had mastered the requisite history and geography, we were flooded with articles about Manwynge, Kackyens, an effete monarchy, and Lisitahái. The excitement got intensified when the effete monarch showed a little independence, and when a distinguished political was despatched (without his boots) to Mandalay. Finally, a detachment of British troops had a pleasant outing in Upper Burma; Mr. Grosvenor and his companions enjoyed a quiet trip through Central China, Lisitahái was left unchanged, and the general world gradually forgot all about us.

One can quite conceive the various literary efforts which such an occasion would give rise to. The first would be the mere journalistic. Its aim (if it had any aim) would be to raise the knowledge of complete outsiders to the level of the Sub-Assistant Deputy Commissary General and his acquaintances aforesaid. It would describe, with more or less accuracy of detail, a representative pineapple or pagoda. It would define with some exactitude the littoral position of, Akyab, Rangoon and Moulmein, and give a picturesque illustration of a Burmese lady's petticoat. The work would probably be supplemented with some random appendices culled from an antique administration report relative

to the provincial rainfall and rice-cultivation. It would be sold in one volume, criticised in some country periodical, and the writer would be cited as an authority on Ind-Chinese topics long after his book had been consigned to decorous oblivion.

The second kind would be a work with more pretensions to permanent value. It may either be the record of a whole life of localized experience and investigation, or may convey the chance impressions of a man of more general culture and comprehensive analysis. As an instance of the former, I would quote Dr. Mason's "*Burma*"; as instances of the latter, the journals of Yule and Anderson. Both species are admirable in their special way, the first as a catalogue raisonnée, the two last as disquisitions.

There can be no doubt about the ephemeral character of "*Our Trip to Burmah*" and the author is entirely frank in his description. It is made up "of observations on such matters as presented themselves" during a five weeks' visit to the country. Dr Gordon had written a volume about China, he had written a volume about Army Hygiene, and we were all well aware when the chiel came taking notes among us in 1875 that he was going to write a volume about Burma. I do not say he was imposed upon more than other similar chieles with a tendency to taking notes, but I can vouch for the fact that he was told some astounding stories, and it is perhaps too much of a joke that the pretty chromo-lithographs in the book should have all been labelled wrong. The work is altogether too flimsy to bear any serious examination, but it may be useful to get some idea of the material from which a modern tale of travel can be manufactured. Dr Gordon arrived at Rangoon in the suite of the Madras Commander-in-Chief on the 31st December 1874. On the 1st of January he ascended the pagoda where he saw an image of *Guadema* (as he spells him throughout) and some virgins of the temple, whoever these may be. Previous to the ascent he had mastered the important etymological fact (which may be new to some provincial scholars) that the name of the pagoda is pronounced "*Shoay Dagoon*" and not like Dagon the Old Testament character. On the 2nd, he visited the barracks which he learnt were built of wood, like most structures in the province, on account of the frequency of earthquakes, and during the next week he inspected the jails, the bazaar, the church, and one of the suburbs, without apparently any striking fact "presenting itself." On the 9th, the party started in a steamer for Thyeetmyo, and on the road the doctor did really make a remarkable discovery. He came across a place "*Bituong*," which he describes as a native town of considerable size and the capital of a sub-district. I can only say that the oldest inhabitant has never heard of such a spot. On the 16th, Thyeetmyo was

reached where, we are told, when the houses in the bazaar take fire the owners sit round them and exclaim yah ! yah ! On the 22nd, they started on "an arduous and perhaps eventful journey" to Toungoo across the Pegu Yoma. The first march took them to Myola (sic) where they put up in a "zyat" and where "the mayor of the village" presented them with some *khoun*, "the pechliar driyk of Burma," of which the recipe is given as follows: "Take the root of the Thetkhyo (I know not what it is) the "root of the bringal, the bean of paital nee (I don't know that "either); peppercorns, garlic and the entrails of a porcupine ; mix "all together, then make the mass into balls. Cover all up for "three days, then expose them to the sun until they become "wort," that is, until the intestines of the animal have become "liquid by decomposition. Take now parboiled rice, and mix with "the wort ; place the pot containing all in a heap of paddy, "that is unhusked rice ; after it has so remained during three days, "uncover the pot, add water, and now 'the divine khoun,' as "it is called, is ready for use ; the orthodox manner of imbibing "it, being through a straw, like sherry-cobbler." Now though I do not wish to imply the faintest atom of doubt on the necessity of each and all these ingredients (including the Jabberwock's—I mean the porcupine's intestines), there is surely no harm in mentioning that "khoun" is ordinarily described simply as a liquor distilled from rice. The author mentions that "he dare not taste the ambrosia." It is to be hoped that this refusal was conveyed to the "mayor" in courteous language, else goodness knows what might have been the result. Dr. Gordon tells us "the "Burman, if addressed imperiously, and it is very seldom that he is "so, becomes confused, confusion soon gives place to anger, and "anger to rage, rage to revenge, of which his *dah* becomes the "ready instrument." Who can help marvelling at the doctor's audacity, when it might have led to such terrible consequences. Better to have sucked through the straw for an hour !

From Myohla the travellers crossed the "precipitous and dangerous" Pegu Yoma, which, to tell the truth, most people surmount without being aware of it. On the road thence to Zibyubin the incident of the journey occurred. "As we ride "along on Menoo (a commissariat elephant) the charpoy on "which we are seated shifts. The driver desires that I should "change position and accordingly I move across to the side of "the chief. By and bye the seat is righted ; I rise to resume "my original place, for an instant my weight is on the foot-board, "and down I fall a perpendicular height of 8 feet. The force "with which I come to earth doubles me up like a ball, and thus "I roll under the huge beast. Another step by Menoo and I must

"be crushed! I am perfectly conscious of my position. The animal instantly comes to a standstill, coolies and others who are on foot draw me from under him, and with surprise and thankfulness I find that, beyond a shake I am uninjured. But dear me! how is it that so little care seems to have been bestowed on the trappings of the elephant sent out for use of the Commander-in-Chief?"

After this horrific episode, nothing eventful seems to have happened till the party reached Toungoo. I should mention, however, that before arriving there, the doctor learnt some details about the local manufacture of gunpowder, which were probably supplied him by the originator of the 'khoun'g' prescription. "With regard to the erythrina," we read, "the natives of the district in which we now are, are said to make a very tolerable kind of gunpowder for their matchlocks from charcoal prepared from one, if not more, species of this tree. In preparing their gunpowder they are said to use no sulphur but in its stead to employ the juice of orange, lime, and other fruits not described, but which are said to increase its inflammability." It was decidedly inartistic of the writer to add the matter-of-fact comment, "of course nitre is used also, although no actual allusion has been made to the circumstance."

At Toungoo the party stayed three days, "having broken the neck of their arduous undertaking," and they thence descended by boats to Rangoon, and, after a fortnight's stay, returned to Madras on the 23rd February. Now, it must appear simply marvellous how the account of a commonplace journey of this sort, along a route which is every year traversed by at least a score of educated Europeans, can be bolstered into a book of 268 octavo pages. In the first place, it must be acknowledged that, like most elderly physicians, our author is inclined "to chirp and expand over a muffin" as Elia puts it. Here is a specimen from quite the beginning of the volume: "We arrive at Godwin's wharf: a crowd is on the landing-place; the General Officer in command, attended by his staff, is there; so is also a guard of honour: and there is a sprinkling of ladies. The General comes on board to meet His Excellency; a pinnace takes all on shore; the guard salutes; three hearty cheers are given for the Chief, and one cheer more for Lady Haines; a hearty welcome is accorded to all our party; we are severally taken possession of by hospitable friends, &c., &c." This kind of writing can of course be continued to any extent, *e.g.*, I take off my boots, the boy brings me brandy and soda, I write 150 pages of diary, I read them to my friend. He goes to bed, &c. Other obvious methods of covering space are such simple devices as an enumeration of the various comestibles to

be found in the bazaars, the ordinary flora encountered in the jungle, and quotations from provincial reports. Lastly, there comes the grand contrivance of "Notes," to which I shall allude hereafter. Of course in a work of this kind it is proper to make some occasional allusion to the social habits of the people. Thus we are told (p 74) "everyone carries an umbrella, but otherwise "the natives go about bare-headed." (p 131) "The Burmese place "comparatively little value upon coins that bear the effigy of a "man. According to their notion it is only 'woman coins' that "multiply: a male coin can never be productive." (p 146) "A live creature of any kind as a pet is, among the Burmese, of the greatest rarity."

These remarks are evidently the result of the writer's independent observation, and I regret to say are not altogether trustworthy. The first is contradicted by the illustrations themselves, wherein three-fourths of the natives are represented with some sort of head-dress. The story about 'woman coins' was brought down by the missionaries from among the wilder hill Karens. It is utterly inapplicable to the Burmese, among whom a silver currency has long been in circulation. As regards the rarity of pets, every traveller must have observed the remarkable fondness the natives have for animals. Every household has a dog or two, which it regularly feeds and looks after, and cats, parrots, hill minas, and others birds, are more or less common among them. There is one feature of the book which I cannot bring myself to criticize harshly. It is only after a perusal that the reader will understand with what real relief is welcomed an occasional anecdote, however feeble and however fictitious. It is "the minced herb that mollifies the liver's leathery taste." I have already alluded to 'Bitaong' and the recipe for 'khoun' which occurs after some fifty pages of narrative, reminding you forcibly of the experience of an elderly aunt in a steamboat journey between Westminster and Kew. At page 151 another oasis appears. After repeating the long-exploded theory of the kayasu dogs (which differ little from the Indian polygar), being the produce of the native pariah and some mythical greyhounds which swam ashore from some equally mythical ship, the author tells us that the Burmans who pursue the chase with these dogs are generally mounted upon bullocks. "Sometimes they are thrown forward upon the neck of the "animal, but when they are they lay hold of the horns and thus "continue the chase. I tell the tale as 'twas told to me. Whether "it belongs to the category usually referred to travellers, I cannot "say; but this I do know, that in China it is by no means uncommon to see men mounted upon bullocks and there seems no "good reason why the Burmese should not follow their example."

Now of course it is perfectly common to see a Burman riding either a bullock or a buffalo, and when the quarry has been wounded or disabled it is likely enough that the hunter should employ one of his cattle to relieve his fatigue. The ludicrous notion is that the bullock should be used to chase down the deer. I must mention, however, that the author carefully refrains from specifying the game, so that, perhaps, he was informed that the real objects of pursuit are some of the indigenous griffins which he noticed about the pagodas. The whole account reminds one of a practical joke which was perpetrated in the *Illustrated London News*, now many years ago; when the description of a local "tamasha" was accompanied by a sketch representing an elephant hurdle race. A huge pachydermatoid was depicted in the act of clearing one of the fences, with the rest of the field in close proximity, being vigorously spurred by their respective mahouts who were picturesquely arrayed in appropriate jockey-attire. I would earnestly commend this picture for a future edition of Dr. Gordon's work. Another story, though it will no doubt prove entirely new to every one in the province, except the ingenious inventor, is at least "*ben trovato*." There are a good many *Sterculia* trees in the Rangoon cantonments and their flowers are a trifle mal-odorous. But we had better let the writer tell the joke himself, as it will give the reader some idea of the 'thrilling shafts of subtle wit' which occasionally flash through his pages. "Great is said to have been the consternation when a month ago the trees of this nature burst into flower. The entire machinery connected with the science of scavengering was brought into play; a nuisance of some kind, beyond all doubt, existed somewhere; careful search was made for it; houses, gardens, secret and public places, were searched, and all to no purpose; at last the subject was referred to a competent authority, who put the 'sanitarians' literally upon the right scent, the source of which was, in equally literal sense, 'up a tree,' and from the flowers of the *sterculia*. For a time, however, this only made matters worse. The source had been discovered; therefore according to all rules it must be removed. The edict went forth to cut down the offending trees, nor was it without difficulty that correct knowledge was the means of saving them." But what did correct knowledge do?

I have already adverted to the Notes which occupy nearly the latter-half of the volume. They are in fact the merest padding, and are obviously not intended to be read. After being told that the Arracanese are distinct from the Burmese, in language, manners, and customs; that the aborigines of the country were called *Puquoos* or *Thicks* (sic), and that the language of the Burmese and Shans is an offshoot of Pali, interspersed with Tartar and some

Chinese, a reader of average information would scarcely feel inclined to make any further researches. Perhaps the most amusing specimen of the writer's ignorance is where he classes with Bishop Bigandet, among those especially distinguished as Burmese scholars, two gentlemen who have not the faintest literary pretensions or reputation. It is just as if the names of Tennyson, Dr. Gordon and Mr. Tupper were cited together as the pre-eminent poets of the Victorian era.

The book just noticed falls readily within the first of the two main divisions into which I have separated episodic literature. It is by no means so easy to classify the volume now before me. The author is an officer of exceptional local experience. He is one of the seniors of the commission, has served in each of the three divisions, besides having been politically employed in Upper Burma. Anything that a man of this sort cared to write would excite some interest and expectation. It must be confessed we were somewhat disappointed. In the first place the subject is far from having been happily selected. I doubt whether there is any one in Burma, apart from Colonel McMahon and a few missionaries, who considers that the Karens are "one of the most interesting races in the world." This is how Dr. Mason, our chief authority, describes them. "It is a popular error to speak of Karens as a simple, docile, truth-loving people; while they are a race of incorrigible liars, and as contrary as Balaam's ass. They are as cowardly as sheep, as savage as wolves, and as destitute of compassion as an alligator." Again he remarks, "I have never met a Karen, in the church or out of it, that when he had committed a wrong would not tell a falsehood to cover it." To call a Burman a Karen is even now about the greatest insult you can offer him. It implies the lowest conceivable point of physical and intellectual degradation. The lowland Karens dwelt as slaves and outcasts quite apart from the more civilized community. They were in a worse condition than an Indian Pariah or Chandala, as they had not even the tie of a common religion to connect them with their oppressors. No Burman would have deigned to proselytise among them or encourage them in any efforts after self-improvement, and they lived and died in the most abject superstition. With all this they are a thrifty industrious set of people, and when the English raj had introduced some notion of justice, order, and equal laws, they began to see that their tribal idiosyncrasies, their barbarous language, and unspeakable habits, were considerable obstacles in the way of their realising these blessings to an equal extent with the Burmese and Talings. It was at this point the missionaries stepped in to their assistance. Dr. Judson and his devoted companions had for years

been toiling among the Buddhist community of the province. They had found the prevalent religion almost as real, as popular, as instinct with life and strength, as its great founder, and Asoka and Anaurahtha had left it. They had found a monastic order which, so far as regards the truth and purity of its living and teaching, the utility and extent of its work and influence, might favourably compare with many a so-called Christian hierarchy. Despite, accordingly, the utmost self-sacrifice and endeavour, their success had been even more scanty than that of their brethren among the Musalmans and Hindús of the neighbouring continent. One may conceive with what relief they discovered the Karens. The two seemed really made for one another. The Karens had never professed a definite creed and were fast outgrowing their few disjointed superstitious. They were thus disposed to welcome any purer and more respectable faith, and their welcome was of course more eager and actual when the propagandist appeared, not as a half-starved *faqir* or imperious *rahan*, but as a man of the same race and colour and social position as their strange white conquerors. Furthermore, they speedily discovered that, though of this exalted type, their new teacher did not claim half the homage or oblations which an ordinary village Phoongyee would have exacted. He was content to move among them on terms of the freest equality, to reason, to persuade, to implore. Finally, and especially, he was both able and willing (at times too willing perhaps) to act as their agent and intercessor with the district officer, to remedy their grievances, to help them to little favours, to secure the patronage of, or even (as appears in this volume) a fulsome familiarity with, the great man himself. When all these points are considered, it is surely unnecessary to hypothecate any lost theosophy or miraculous interposition to account for the number of conversions which ensued. The marvel is that a single non-Christian Karen is left in the province. Yet, apart from the success of missionary effort and a certain aptitude for singing hymns, there is nothing about them to attract an ordinary reader. Their progress has been rapid and extensive, it is true; but they are still far behind the Burmese and Taleings. Moreover, their language, habits and traditions have been scrutinised and described by more than one intelligent observer. They form the staple theme of every *Boston Banner* and *Massachusetts Miscellany*, and most readers would be of opinion that we have heard quite enough about them. Why not tell us something about some other peninsular race who are all infinitely cleaner and more captivating? Col. MacMahon, it is true, thinks he can add a sort of adventitious interest by calling Burma the Golden Chersonese and by endeavouring to identify it with the Ophir of King Solomon. He hopes to enlist

our attention "not to the Ava or Burma of yesterday but to its "far more interesting" equivalents of Aurea, Regio, Chryse, Sur-varna-Bhumi, Aurea, Chersonesus and Ophir." The punctuation makes these equivalents somewhat of a puzzle, but Ophir at least is clear enough, and as Ophir, according to Josephus, was called Golden Chersonese in later years, Ophir is accordingly responsible for the following picture: "We can imagine with what "zeal and diligence the wise and astute servants and stewards "of Solomon wandered over this beautiful country, and while de-lighting in its magnificent and varied scenery, enquired at the "same time into its resources to enable them to secure the more "readily their freights of gold, almug trees and precious stones, and "with what pleasure they exchanged their beautiful wares for the "silver and ivory they needed, not forgetting to take with them "zoological specimens in the shape of apes and peacocks, which "from their novelty would be appreciated in their own country." I may remark that this zoological curiosity was rather severe upon the apes who had hitherto lived (to quote a neat expression of the author's) "secure in their immunity from utilization." Colonel McMahon has evidently read up all the articles in "Notes and Queries" and knows there is a considerable diversity of opinion about the situation of Ophir. Among others he quotes inaccurately a passage from Max Müller which would be conclusive to most people that Ophir lay somewhere about the mouth of the Indus. We are then informed on the authority of poor Sir Arthur Phayre (who is far away in Mauritius) that by the name "*Thoocewinu Bhoomee*" is meant the country inhabited by the Mon or Taleing race. Apart from the spelling this is true enough, and there can be no doubt that a tract of country around Thatone was called *Suvarṇa bhūmi*—the golden land. But this "aurea regio," as Ptolemy called it, could never have included the Toungoo hills, the habitat of the author's Karens, so that the title of his book, though euphonious perhaps, is more or less of a misnomer.

After all, however, so far as subject-matter and title-page is concerned, any writer should be allowed to choose for himself. Burma, call it Chryse or a Golden Chersonese, is a new and opulent field for researches, and a simple chronicle of Karens may contain much subsidiary matter which is well told and worth recording. A good deal depends upon the mere structure and style of a book, and of course the primary requisites must be decent spelling, prosody, and punctuation. Col. McMahon was unfortunate in these particulars. His MSS. appear to have been somewhat fragmentary and imperfect, and they were left in the hands of zealous but inexperienced friends, who published them *en masse* without an attempt at arrangement or revision. The result is not

happy. We have first forty pages of introduction which begin as follows :

"From that comparatively unexplored, although prominent, region lying between Assam and China a number of noble rivers rush to the east and to the south, the ethnological influence of which, in reference to the tonic region or that portion of the world's surface which is solely occupied by peoples distinguished by monosyllabic speech, is paramount so as to claim more than ordinary attention, when considering the probable directions of migration and connection of the ultra-Indian and Chinese races." Heavens! *Quid dignum tanto feret hic promissor hiatus?* After some desultory talk about Bhainio and Showegyen—places that one rather plumes one's self on having identified with Bhaino and Shwegyen—we encounter a few paragraphs about "the rich, varied, and glorious scenery of the Golden Chersonese." It is the fashion now-a-days to grow ecstatic about scenery, so our readers may like to know how the Colonel succeeds: "Ranges of lofty mountains, which claim relationship with the great Himalaya, at times looming in the distance and anon throwing out feelers into the sea, form a background of surpassing grandeur, while the nearer inspection, which a sail up its rivers affords, reveals new beauties—approaching the sublime—when contrasted with what he last saw, and worthy of comparison with the most favoured places in the world. Language is certainly a feeble agent in depicting the scenes of nature's grandeur, which he is now privileged to witness, Plains with vivid green, yellow, or sombre, patches, shining brilliantly in the sun's rays or temporarily obscured by passing clouds, with curious masses of limestone here and there heaped up and scattered over them in the wildest disorder, form pleasing objects in mid-distance. Horizons, now bounded by congeries of hills, that heap up behind each other till lost in the misty distance . . . combining one and all many of the softer beauties of wood and water, with all the stern sublimity of mountain scenery, give to the landscape a character inconceivably fascinating and taking the beholders away for the nonce, far away from the tropics, realize for a moment the scenes of more temperate climes justly famed for their exquisite beauty."

Dr. Friedlander, I think, remarks that the scenery of the Sabine mountains was discovered by the Tyrolean artist Kock. Col. McMahon may well claim to have discovered the scenery of Burma. Most people acquainted with the province would as soon think of expecting "magnificent" (sic) landscapes in the Irawadi delta as in the Bengal Sunderbunds. There is scarcely a hill in the province much bigger than Suowdon or Ben Nevis,

and I question whether any prospect, even in the Sittoung or Salween watershed, is comparable with an ordinary view from the Trossachs at home. To talk of * Nattoung in the same breath as the Himalayas is what *Carlisle* (as our author prefers spelling him) would designate an echo of mere insanity and inanity. Three-fourths of the province have no more natural beauty than dirty water and dense vegetation can give them. There maining fourth is pretty, no doubt, but nothing to grow eloquent or enthusiastic about.

The introduction continues with a few pages labelled 'climate,' 'carnivora,' 'products,' &c., which are simply excerpts from Mason's Burma and old Administration Reports. We next find a summary of Sir Arthur Phayre's translation of the mahāyāzawen, which the author states to be the most important of "thamines." A reference to Judson would have told him that a "yāzawen" is quite a different thing from a "thamines," being the history of a dynasty or state, while the latter is exclusively the history of a pagoda. Finally, we reach the Karens, and get first a dissertation on the meaning of their name, and then chapters on their education, government, origin, &c., which may be summed up in the well-known saying: "they have no manners and their customs are beastly." Thus, under the first heading we learn that the Karens "were characterised by an ignorance the most deplorable not only as regards intellectual culture, but also of the most "simple arts." They had no written language, no monuments or relics, and no manufactures except weaving and basket-work. One of their pastors describes them as having "no particular tastes or bent of any kind, and what is inculcated into them would seem to be the result of mere drudgery." As regards their institutions "they possess neither law nor dominant authority, and the only semblance of the latter which exists among them is that of the chief, whose power for good or evil is nominal." "The Government of the Karens," says Dr. Mason, "may be compared to that of the American Indians. As a whole they are ungoverned and ungovernable." Passing on to their origin "they may be either Tibeto-Burmans or Archaic mid-Asians, or Maintsze Chinese or Hebrew Jews." After quoting a whole string of miscellaneous authorities, our author sums up the question with judicial profundity, "Leaving generalisations aside we cannot help thinking that in our present imperfect knowledge of the language with which Karen is supposed to bear affinity, and in spite of what Mr. Logan so learnedly observes, it would be impossible from the evidence of language alone to come to any satisfac-

* Col. McMahon (p 221) gives the height of Nattoung as 8,000 feet above sea level. The latest measurements made it something under 6,000 feet.

"tory conclusion on the subject of the origin of the Karens."* This impartial verdict must not be lightly estimated. It is the sole independent criticism which the author ventures upon amidst the many conflicting theories and opinions he has cited throughout the volume. The Karens, however, possess some legend about a bucket which is somehow symbolical of their becoming a great nation. The following lucid and interesting ballad is supposed to refer to this expectation :

"Down the Roy country they come, they come,

"To measure the bucket they run, they run,

"The people of Roy now here we have,

"So put up the bucket with every stave."

We may perhaps trace a dim connection between this and our own mysterious stanzas about Jack and Gill and a pail of water. Let the "learned Mr. Logan" decide.

The chapters on mythology and folk-lore are far the best in the book, and Col. McMahon has succeeded in accumulating a number of interesting facts. The Karens are even more superstitious than the Shans, and their religious and metaphysical notions are very curious and unaccountable. The belief in a variety of ghosts, goblins, and sorcerers, is very prevalent throughout the province. The Burmese have a book classifying and describing them, and may have influenced or added to the Karen ideas which approximate very closely in some respects. Our readers will be entertained by the earliest development of spirit-rapping which Mr. Cross considers "to illustrate a curious fact of electricity, manifestly connected with some striking phenomena which now seem to be recognised in this country." Dr. Mason has described the ceremony as follows: "At the Sgan, funerals the presence of the *la* (or spirit) is said to be manifested thus: One end of a slender erect bamboo is attached to the bone of the deceased that has been taken from the funeral pyre. A small thread with alternate tufts of cotton and bits of charcoal with a metal ring or bangle at the extremity is tied to the other end, which makes the bamboo bend down in a curve; and, under the bangle, nearly touching it, is a brass basin containing a boiled egg. When the apparatus has been put in order, the relatives of the dead approach in succession and strike the head of the brass cup with a bit of bamboo and when the one that was most beloved touches the cup, the *la* responds by twisting and stretching the string till it breaks and falls

* *Reng* (or *Rang* as it is spelt) is no doubt the distinctive title; "Ka", and, K and T being interchangeable being, as Mr. St. John has pointed out, a Burmese prefix. Thus we have Ka-chyen, Ka-thac, Ka-dū, Ka-ka, and, we may perhaps add, Ta-rok, Ta-ker Ta-leing.

"into the cup; or at least shakes and rings against it, The thread is of such slender material that a very little legerdemain would be required to break it under the weight of the bangle, and the bamboo is so slender that still less would be required to make it spring up and down and hit against the sides of the cup, so that electro-biology is scarcely required to explain the developments."

The account of the rise and progress of Christianity among the Karens is mainly centred in the lives of their two apostles, Ko Tha Byoo (not Byn, as he is called throughout) and San Qua La. The former was the first Karen convert and displayed the most intense enthusiasm. He possessed, however, an ungovernable temper and some other unpleasant defects, insomuch that Dr. Mason writes that "he was not adapted to the pastoral office. Send him to a new post, and everything seemed to give way before him: allow him to remain and the very individuals who a little time before had blessed God for his instrumentality in their conversion were ready to exchange his services for those of any other man." However, we are further told that, "perhaps not one in a thousand from the days of the Apostles to the present time, of those who may have devoted their lives exclusively to this work, have been the instrument of converting as many individuals as this simple-hearted Karen." It should be mentioned, however, that Ko Tha Byoo's successes were chiefly, if not entirely, among his countrymen living under Burmese rule, and the first result of his proselytism was their escape into the freedom and comfort of British territory. He was thus a pioneer in more than one sense, though his followers no doubt found some difficulty in dissociating the two ideas. San Qua La was a far more able and educated man, and inaugurated a mission at Toungoo which is described "as one of the most extraordinary in Christendom." Had he survived he might perhaps have succeeded in preventing, or at least softening, the bitter contentions which subsequently ensued among the pastors in the district. The schism, as Col. McMahon remarks, was the more deplorable as it caused much confusion among the converts.

We have now reached the latter-half of the book, which might very appropriately have been omitted. It comprises a brief and imperfect history of Toungoo, which is disfigured, like the whole of the work, by the numerous misprints which occur on every page. Thus we find *Zunizay* for Zimmay, *Htsen byn mya shin* for Hsen phyū mya shin, *Poung wung* for Poung loun, *Dumma* for Dhamma, *Phongyee* for Phoongyee, *Phillip de Brito* for Philip de Brito, &c., &c., while the scientific name for teak is given as "opea odorata" thus involving a twofold

error. The remainder consists of personal reminiscences all more or less flimsy and incoherent, and occasionally containing some marvellous specimens of grammatical construction. The most B.A.'d of Baboos would find some difficulty in parsing either of the following sentences:

(P. 222.) "The beautiful Thouk-yay-gat rushing with a swift ripple over the sandy shoals and anon madly forcing its way through massive granite boulders, assuming the many fantastic shapes that only a mountain stream can boast of, and here and there forming for itself angry little whirlpools or tranquil basins where the fish securely swam, stood out in bold relief from a background of luxuriant vegetation of every conceivable form and colour, enchanted us with a scene that reminded us of our own beloved land." The reader may surmise that Col. McMahon's own beloved land is Ireland, but there surely cannot be many streams even in Ireland which "stand out in bold relief from a background."

The second passage occurs in page 225. After remarking that some Karens had been well instructed in music, he continues: "Others have been taught only those old-fashioned refrains which in spite of their utter dullness, positive deficiency of melody and inadaptability of words to music, commend themselves to some persons in an unaccountable way; involuntarily reminding us of the incongruous results attending similar eccentric views which not long ago, if not to the present day, distinguished many a country choir."

The writing throughout is more or less slovenly, and even a local adept would be staggered at some of the expressions made use of. Who or what is an "Actuary Nakham" and what portentous functions are discharged by "Bawe, the East-Asian Commissioner?" The different paragraphs too are here and there sprinkled with headings which are diverting but indiscriminate. Thus chapter XI describes an annual gathering among the Christian Karens. There are no breaks in the narrative till just at the end, when we come across two paragraphs the one headed "Castor Oil" the other "Conclusion." I may mention, by the bye, that the author himself attended the meeting, and has kindly supplied us with the English translation of a lengthy vernacular speech he made on that occasion. One extract is worth preserving, if only to refute the current idea that the Burmese language is somewhat deficient in the power of literary expression,

(P. 265.) "Now, however, the devoted exertions of Christian missionaries, as well as the firm and conciliatory policy of Government, with a view to the amelioration of their hitherto degraded condition, have borne good fruit: for where the blessed

"light of Christianity has shone, the people have relinquished their bitter blood-feuds, as well as the use of intoxicating spirits, the primary cause of much that was to be deplored in their character, and have evinced in the most practical manner their deep interest in the cause of civilization." Can anything funnier be conceived than this kind of talk being addressed to a crowd of dirty illiterate savages?

The reader will by this time have correctly appraised the character of the book before us. It has neither sufficient pith nor power for an independent publication. It ought to have been boiled down and allowed to simmer gently and gradually through the pages of "Phœnia," a mysterious magazine which the author occasionally refers to. It is probably some kind of a miscellany, and no doubt would have welcomed selections from "Portraits of Killarney" and sketchy chronicles of mild *shikar*, which are quite incongruous with Karens of a Golden Chersonese. A monthly or quarterly journal is a natural and legitimate outlet for a writer with a taste for weak collectanea; but one must protest against their being obtruded upon the unsuspecting public through the medium of an octavo volume with a pretentious title.

One turns with a feeling of relief, if not of expectation, to the narrative of Mr. Strettell's journey after the *Ficus Elastica*. In the first place, it is a Government publication, and as such, claims exceptional indulgence from all who care to read it. A man makes a venturesome expedition or discovers a pre-historic cave, and is at once called upon by his superiors to write an account of his travel or troglodyte. He may feel no great ambition for appearing in print; he may be conscious that he has no special literary aptitudes, and neither the time nor the material for filling properly a hundred pages. Yet when a misguided administration offers him the chance of becoming an author, free of cost, with all the lustre and importance of a Secretariat imprimatur, it is manifestly a terrible temptation to withstand. If he once succumbs and is permitted to employ without control the sweets of illimitable type, small blame to the man if his pamphlet expands into an Encyclopædia. In this case, luckily, the encyclopædical tendencies were sternly arrested. Mr. Strettell, who had been sent to examine the habits and habitat of a particular kind of tree in Upper Burma, wished to have his narrative accepted "merely in the light of jottings on all subjects other than those affecting the main object of his mission," and with this unblushing programme felt a natural inclination to "record all items of interest that came under observation from the day of embarkation at Rangoon."

Unfortunately for our author, Sir Henry Yule and Mr. Talboys Wheeler had already been up the Irawady, and both had written narratives of their journey which Government had printed *in extenso*. The Chief Commissioner ruled accordingly that *Ficus Elastica* was to commence from Mandalay. But alas! the evil work was done. Mr. Strettell, after managing to introduce twenty-five pages on the forbidden subject, darkly contemplates a time "when he shall not be limited for space and can ventilate his ideas with a seeming disregard, perhaps, of the conventional restraints of ordinary official correspondence." At another place a distinct threat is made of the reproduction of "an illustrated edition of this work that will prove of equal interest to the general reader and naturalist." It is certain that Government are to blame for whatever catastrophe may occur. From being the solicited parent of a modest Secretariat pamphlet, Mr. Strettell may drift into becoming the unsolicited author of an octavo volume, or even several octavo volumes, with red or green covers and muddy illustrations. In short, from the state of a respectable Deputy-Conservator of Forests, he may sink into a turpitude little short of that of Lucilius or Mr. Tupper.

After all, however, the writer has really something to relate. His journey is considerably more than a tramp from Thyet Myo to Toungoo, and his prominent adventures are much more exciting than a tumble from a tame elephant. Leaving Mandalay on the 19th December 1873, he reached Bhamo on the 24th. From that station he made two distinct expeditions. The first up the Taping river as far as Sitkaw, and thence a land excursion northwards into the hills, passing the Shan village of Sayt-ket and the Kachyen village of Roneline, and thence back in a S.S.W. direction to Sitkaw. *The 2nd trip was by far the most important. Leaving Bhamo on the 10th January, he proceeded by boat up the Irawadi reaching "Munt goun" (or Mun-tsoung as it is spelt in the map) on the 4th of February. This village lies about 120 miles above Bhamo, and our author has accordingly explored the stream considerably further than any previous traveller. He describes it as follows: "at Tahay, a village a few miles south of "Mun-tsoung, the river is divided by the Island of Nong Talo . . . The stream to the right is about 50 yards wide but "too shallow even to admit boats passing up; that to the left is "double the breadth, with 6 feet of water in the deepest part . . . "Leaving Mine nah, the river increases in tortuosity, and the spurs "of the great chain of mountains, richly clad in forest growth, "reach to the waters' edge. The hills echoed forth the wild cries

* This is the author's account, but the river at a point more than 12 miles according to the map he struck the above where he started.

“ of my boatmen cheering one another on as they endeavoured to
 “ stem the fierce current, now purling over the rocky bed, casting
 “ its spray on either side in wild delight, and washing our boat
 “ from stem to stern. Our progress was slow and the pace conti-
 “ nued to decrease, until the crews found it was hopeless any
 “ longer depending on their poles. They jumped overboard with
 “ the towing ropes and renewed the struggle; poor fellows, bent
 “ nearly double and straining every muscle, it was much as they
 “ could do to creep along. Another couple of hours’ labour
 “ brought us to Mungoung; and here their troubles were at
 “ an end. Here the river divides into two great arms, that to the
 “ east being considerably the larger; but the rapids forbid further
 “ progress, though for boats of lighter draft (sic), I believe the
 “ channel is navigable for miles further north”

In his return voyage, Mr. Strettell left his boats at Aichay on the west bank of the stream and proceeded overland to Mogoung. At Tapaw, the first halting place, he was very uncivilly treated, but managed to reach his destination without any serious inconvenience. Here he stayed from the 12th to the 25th February, and thence made a three-weeks’ excursion round the “Endaungye” lake, a body of water about 40 miles west of Mogoung, which he describes as about 13 miles long and 6 broad, the largest probably in Burma. It is this region which is the chief home of the *Picus Elastica*. Our traveller made ineffectual attempts to visit the amber and serpentine mines in the Hokong valley, and is unreasonably virulent, in consequence, against the Governor of Mogoung, “whose fancies (as he puts it) he had lubricated in every possible manner with the oil of gammon.” This official really appears to have treated him very kindly, and was no doubt only acting up to the instructions he had received from Mandalay. Anyhow such epithets as “fox,” and “old charlatan,” when applied to a high dignitary of a friendly power are somewhat out of place in a Secretariat publication. Finally, Mr. Strettell descended the Mogoung river, crossing with some difficulty the dangerous rapids at Latoung and arrived back at Bhamo on the 26th of March.

The hopeless, unsettled state of the whole district traversed is best exemplified by an incident which he witnessed the day before his arrival. “At the mouth of the Mogoung river we heard a good deal of firing from the opposite bank of the Irawadi. Shortly afterwards I distinguished a European beckoning to us; this turned out to be the late Mr. Graham, who had been attacked, while poling along the opposite shore, by a strong party of Kachyens; he mentioned having shot three of the gang dead and wounded some of the others.” Below Wyne Myo, the author himself heard of a body of dacoits lying in wait for him,

and states he only escaped an encounter by accidentally hugging the opposite bank. After reaching the village, news arrived of the King's dâk boat having been attacked, also of Hokab, a neighbouring Shan village, having been assailed and plundered with a loss of twenty lives; the raiders only having lost one man. At Nyong-bin-tha, Mr. Strettell was forced to exchange shots with a party of Kachyens returning from a foray, but no damage was done on either side. All these episodes make it evident enough that the wild highland tribes are virtually masters of the country. No great difficulty, however, was found in conciliating them when they were properly approached. At Talo, the author gives a laughable account of an entertainment he furnished them with the aid of a musical box, a galvanic battery, and a few conjuring tricks.

"The musical box seemed to please them very much, and several attempts were made to feel the teeth on the barrel, when I opened the glass cover, to give a better idea of the rapidity with which the fly-wheel revolved. The galvanic shocks, however, had rather an intimidating effect, especially when I put on extra power for the benefit of a young fellow who pluckily came forward to show that he was proof against the influence of the *nat*; a couple of shocks soon made him cry 'peccavi,' and I was asked never again to use it. They begged that on no account I would open the box for fear of the *nat* escaping and doing them some bodily injury. Next came the legerdemain part of the performance. This crowned my fame, and the crowd prostrated themselves at my feet: had I been so disposed I might have even eclipsed Brigham Young in vice, for both mothers and fathers were anxious to present me with a daughter as a votive offering, and gain my blessing in return. The former offer I declined, but their latter desire I bountifully contributed to. Another and very important part of the entertainment had now to be seen to, the circulation of liquor. There was some difficulty in meeting the demand, for although the whole of the liquor that had been presented me had been carefully stored up for this occasion, yet there was not sufficient for more than a-third of the party. The deficiency had therefore to be made up after a prescription of mine own, consisting of twice the quantity in water of their own brew, beer 6 bottles, brandy one, gin one, spirits of wine one, pain-killer one, and one of essence of ginger. The combination proved a success and the 'Tsawbwās' pronounced it excellent and asked for a few bottles to take away with them."

A Forest-officer from the Punjab cannot, of course, be expected to know much about Burma, and as regards native words the want of ortho-epical precision (to use Dr. Wilson's phrase) is very

painfully apparent throughout. Perhaps also there are some few imperfections in the writer's chance allusions to more ordinary subjects. A story is mentioned about a brother and sister being turned into stone. Mr. Strettell naively remarks that "the account savours somewhat of the fate that befell Lot and his wife!" What can be meant too by such phrases as a "Rembrandt child," a "genii architect," and an exposure of "*hoc genus omne?*" In French he is especially unfortunate: thus he talks about getting his "*conje*" and about a village "being approached by a cul-de-sac!" On the other hand, there is some affectation in the use of unnecessary scientific nomenclature. We hear of the author being pestered by a "tibula" or stung by an "urtica," when nettle and daddy-long-legs are manifestly the proper words. Here too is a prodigious sentence that almost reminds one of Col. McMahon. (p. 68). "The trunks (of mango trees) had been hacked to a height of 3 ft. 6 inches from the ground with a view "I learnt to pomological improvement. . . . As may be supposed I was not a little surprised to find the rude Burman had so far reaped the benefit of observation as to intuitively resort to a violence which serves to check the creative energies of the tree and thus bring the fructiferous or reproductive essences into action."

But on the whole the book is amusing enough, and though the author does not quite answer Disraeli's description of Lord Houghton as a gyration of intelligent curiosity, he has kept his eyes open and tells a good deal that is worth knowing. One might be even more eulogistic but for fear of that menacing octavo volume. There are certainly no signs of official reticence or restraint in the present production which Mr. Strettell can plead as an excuse for seeking another channel. There has manifestly been no Secretariat revision, and not one of his quotations from Thales, Byron, Shakespeare, and John Stuart Mill, have been excised. Under these circumstances let us hope that an earnest remonstrance will prove effectual in preventing the rash design above alluded to.

The last book of the series I have prefixed to this article has nothing specially to do with Burma, and I have reserved it rather as a contrast and consummation than from any pretensions either to critical competency or descriptive precision. The life this volume commemorates is more eloquent in its record than its results; in the clear foreshadowing of fame than in any actual achievement. The essays, though written with ease and skill, are valuable for the most part as expounding a policy which is fast becoming effete; the policy of masterly inactivity which their author was the first to designate and describe. In only one of them, the sketch of Katthiwar reprinted from the *Calcutta*

Review, do we gain a glimpse of the rich and varied work of the narrator, who after six years' service as an assistant, won the reward he long had coveted, a permanent berth in the central Secretariat. He was perhaps the first of the new race of Indian rulers whose name became known outside the world he laboured in; and his career, though to our eyes unfruitful, abrupt, and incomplete, though seamed and straitened by the ravages of disease and the ruin of hopes, may yet be held up as an example and encouragement to us, his near successors.

John William Shaw Wyllie was born at Poona in 1835. His father was recently Colonel of the 105th Regiment, and as a Bombay Officer did good service in Cutch, in Cabul, and Khelat, and was one of those who, during the Scinde campaign under Sir Charles Napier, had fought against tremendous odds at Meanee and Hydrabad. Like most old Indian soldiers he had destined his son not for his own profession but for the more peaceful and profitable duties of a civilian, whose comparative independence and comfort he no doubt had often envied during his toilsome military life. But the boy's work showed such promise at Cheltenham, that the head master persuaded his parents to allow him the chance of a university career, and scholarships at Lincoln and Trinity, and a first-class in moderations justified Dr. Dolson's prediction of success. His life was almost lost to India and would probably have been henceforth circumscribed by the assiduous monotony of the English Bar or the uncongenial drudgery of a provincial school. But in the year 1855 two events happened which effectually determined its final course. His father's income suffered a considerable decrease, and the competitive system was inaugurated for the I.C.S. Wyllie won an appointment in 1856 and was in Bombay before the close of the year. Here his lines fell in pleasanter places than await the ordinary competition-wallah, who though, like poor André Chenier, he may be conscious of "something in him," may never find the opportunity of "percer" in the restricted atmosphere of a mofussil station. Wyllie easily obtained permission to live with his parents, who had not yet left the country, and spent his first two years *coram Lepidis* alternating between Satara and the Mahableshwar hills. A clever article he shortly afterwards contributed to the *Bombay Quarterly Review* determined on Lord Elphinstone selecting him for political employment, and in 1858, he was gazetted to one of the most coveted junior appointments in the presidency, that of Assistant to the Political Agent in Katthiawar. But the bright opening of the young civilian's career was clouded by a fever which he caught in Surat the year of his advancement. It permanently enfeebled his constitution and left the germs of a

disease which he annually had to struggle against, and eventually succumbed to. The first year of his residence, Wyllie was employed in helping to compile and classify the chaos of miscellaneous customs which made up the Judicial system of the 200 odd States of Kathiawar. He was then for about a year in charge of the Bhaunagar district, and during this period he obtained an acting step of promotion. But he was soon to abandon political employ. In 1860 the province of Oude was organized as a Chief-Commissionership, and Wyllie accepted an appointment under the new régime. Henceforth, to use his own words, he lived in a wider sphere and amid incomparably finer opportunities, and his success was swift and signally complete. After working for a few months as Assistant Commissioner in Barabanki and Lucknow, he was appointed Assistant Secretary to the Local Government, and in a year more achieved the ambition of his earlier years by gaining a footing in the Government of India Secretariat. After two years active and varied service in Calcutta and Simla, failing health compelled him to visit home, where he resumed his university studies and took his B. A. and M. A. degrees. In April 1865 he returned to India as Under Secretary in the Foreign Department and is stated to have gained the absolute confidence of the new Governor-General, Sir John Lawrence, who employed him as the literary champion of his Central-Asian policy. Wyllie's essay in the *Edinburgh Review* obtained a large success, and is described by Dr. Hunter as the turning point in his career. But the Indian section of this career was well-nigh at an end. In 1868 he left Calcutta for the last time, and shortly after his arrival in England was induced to abandon his Indian life and brilliant hopes and plunge into a parliamentary contest at home. His election for Hereford, and its subsequent annulment, owing, as the editor expresses it, to the excessive zeal of an indiscreet supporter, quickly followed the resignation of his Indian appointment, and the "C.S.I." decoration which he received in 1869 scarcely compensated for the shipwreck of his political projects. But this disappointment, though keen, was not overwhelming. For a time he turned his attention to the problem which had engaged his earlier energies and contributed two essays to the *Fortnightly* on our Indian foreign policy. But the ex-Foreign Secretary found this field, perhaps, too fraught with memories of a former pulent life, with present regrets and recent disappointment, and sought a complete change of mental effort in studying the French language and political situation. A Paris hotel and Parisian Society contrasted agreeably enough with his old quarters in Chowringhee and the "einseitigkeit" of India officialism, and time might have

drifted pleasantly on till the next general election found him more active employment. His health too seemed to be distinctly improving, and, in the last letter he wrote to his brother in Bombay, he speaks quite cheerfully of his prospects and doings. But before this letter could arrive at its destination, the writer had gone far beyond the reach of a reply. A cold he caught coming out of a café at night, flew at once to his lungs and in a few days inflammation of the brain supervened. On March 15, 1870, he expired, unable to recognise his sorrowing parents.

The story of the life thus prematurely ended contains more of stir and striking incident than befalls the average civilian, though his advancement be equally rapid and progressive. Yet to the mere looker on, the decade of Wyllie's Indian work appears singularly barren of original result. We catch no glimpse of the promise of his early, the performance of his later, years, nor of any of the "specialties of his configuration" and development. It is a social rather than an intellectual impression which determines at the outset the scope and character of a civilian's career. Wyllie's initial associations, the charm and modesty of his demeanour, and his rare faculty of making friends, may account for his first successes. But his subsequent work must have been good and thorough to have obtained the eulogy it did from all his superiors, and the editor perhaps misleads us when he mentions the successful management of a durbar or subscription list as among its chief manifestations. With the foreign Secretaryship fairly within his grasp it was probably physical ailment which chiefly induced Wyllie to resign all for the prospect of a seat on the Treasury bench at home. So far as real power and imaginative grandeur was concerned, his own position was immeasurably superior to any appointment he could hope for in England. It would be difficult to conceive work more varied and enthralling than that of the Indian Foreign Office, the focus of Asian politics, the store-house, as Wyllie calls it, of the romance of all the East. That the chiefdom of this should be voluntarily abandoned or regarded as a mere stepping-stone to English parliamentary distinction was a precedent he could never have designed establishing. Poor Wyllie felt to the end the dregs of his first fever, and it was no doubt with a sore pang of disappointment and regret that he severed himself from his Indian hopes.

He died—one of the many silent martyrs whose youth has been laid waste by the 'branding summers of Bengal.' If life blood's fertilizing, to paraphrase 'Aurora Leigh,' England has wrung hers on every leaf of her Indian history, and more hearts have been stricken by the stealth of disease than by the blade and bullet of all her hundred wars.

H. L. St. BARBE, B.C.S.

ART. IX—CHRONICLES OF ROHTAS.

THE sun of the 2nd of August 1763 saw the defeat, upon the plains of Gheriah, by the British troops, of Kasim Ali, the Cashmerian deposed Nawab of Bengal. Abandoning all his cannon and 150 boats full of provisions, he fled to the lines of Udayannullah; and with him fled the vile Somroo, formerly, Reinhold, *alias* Sombre, German citizen, French soldier, renegade traitor, and assassin. The wife and family of Kasim Ali were at Monghyr. To them a hasty messenger, on the swiftest of his camels, bore the news of his reverse. Monghyr was thenceforth no asylum for them, nor a place wherein, under the circumstances, the ex-Nawab felt that his vast treasures would be safe. He accordingly bade his family and adherents then prepare to abandon their newly-built and pleasant residence outside the Patna gate of the fort, and flee to Rohtas. The ex-Nawab despatched them all under his own supervision, giving charge of the unwieldy cavalcade to Lalla Nowbut Roy. He then returned to his army at Oodwa. The defeat at that place, the expulsion from Rajmahal, the capture of Monghyr and Patna, followed in rapid succession. In little more than a year from the reverse at Gheriah, the sun of Kasim Ali set for ever at Buxar, and he became an exile among the Rohillas. Meantime, Rohtas, queen fortress of the Vindhyas, the refuge of Rohitaswa from the sacrificial knife of his father, the last home of the descendants of the last Hindu Emperor, the scene of Sher Shah's stratagem with the doolies, the favorite residence of Man Singh, Viceroy of Behar and Bengal under Akbar,—the asylum wherein the family of Prince Shah Jahán (rebel against his father, to be himself in turn rebelled against by his own sons) found safety;—was giving, for the last time but one, sanctuary to the unfortunate, to the wife and family of Mir Kasim. Its very last refugee occupants were mutineer sepoys of 1857, with whom came the subject of this chronicle.

Rohtasgarh, or the Fort of Rohitaswa, a Prince of the great Solar race of ancient India, is a bold promontory, standing out over the river Son from the Kaimore table land. Its area is about 20 square miles, and its average height about 1,800 feet. Seen from the Son it bears a striking resemblance, to the dismantled hull of some Titanic frigate aground where the pre-historic ocean, now rolled into oblivion, receding, left her. The gloomy weather-beaten bows rise in slow grandeur almost to the sky—the bulwarks are rent and shattered—bowsprit and masts are gone. Ages have passed since the stranding of the giant vessel, looming still over

that old ocean bed, now green with trees and crops, dotted with tiny villages, and alive with pigmy men. What mighty Captains commanded her on her many and adventurous voyages? Whose hands swayed the tiller and hauled the ropes? What mighty deeds are recorded in her logbook? With what burdens of human hopes and human sorrows was she freighted?

The ancient temple of Rohitaswa, the fortress-god, is the first building that strikes the eye. It reels dizzily above, perched indefinite hundreds of feet in air on its break-neck precipice, shelving towards the base, shawled in verdure. The face of the fortress is of an irregular oval form, its wooded base sloping conically upwards, to within 300 feet of the top, at which point the rock itself appears, hurtling straight aloft, with brown, almost naked crags; but wherever root can cling or seed could rest, the stern surface is softened and enriched with small trees or bushes or long sugar grass. Its sides all round are cleft in many places with gorges, extending from top to bottom, verdant and rich with crowded foliage, and strewn with giant boulders fallen from above. For centuries have they lain there; and slowly, silently, and beautifully has nature healed their scars and covered their nakedness. On the summits, the woods, the open glades of short close grass, the brooks of clear mountain water, and the melody and stir of forest life, contrast strikingly with the stern and silent immobility of the rocky walls below. Eighty-four steps of stone lead to the temple of Rohitaswa, but the image of the god is there no longer. The Iconoclast Emperor, Aurangzeb, threw it down two hundred years ago, and broke it in pieces. Further on the edge of the precipice, stands his temple—an ugly, squat, insignificant dome. A narrow neck of rock, five miles inland from the temple, overlooking the Son, connects the fortress plateau with the main range. Viceroy Mán Singh, one of the ablest of Akbar's servants, to whom almost all the buildings on Rohtas are attributed, conceived, and began to carry out the grand plan of blasting away this neck to the level of the plain, and by bringing in the Son through an encircling canal entirely isolating the promontory and making it an almost impregnable island fortress. He was checked at the outset, says tradition, by an issue of blood from the violated rock. But the marks of the boring tools are visible to this day; and, to preserve the symmetry of the narrative, the spot on the rock, whence blood first issued, is still streaked with red ochre by the venerated aborigines, and regarded as a very Holy of Holies. The tutelary god having unmistakeably shown his disapproval of the Viceroy's design, the latter set to work to create instead of to destroy. He constructed for the protection of this

natural causeway, the weakest part of his charge, a double line of fortifications on each fortress-side of the neck, flanked at the angle over the Son, by a high watch-tower. And on the same plan, on the main range itself, at the entrance of the neck, embrasured battlements were erected to check the first advance of a foe. Wherever elsewhere round the face of the plateau the slopes rise to climbing distance of its summit, the same plan of embrasured battlements, built of huge blocks of stone, exists. Elsewhere the rocky wall from 100 to 300 feet sheer down to the summit of the lower slopes presented an insuperable obstacle to the assailants. The natural strength of the fortress was thus very considerable; and in the many wars, rebellions, and tumults through which India has swayed and surged, to a time even within our own memories, Rohtas has ever been a refuge for the desperate. It also has been the abode of the fortunate. The son fleeing from his father, the parricide, the conquered, the oppressed, the rebel, the outlaw or the robber, have almost intuitively turned to it at the last. More than once have the cellars of its palace, held untold and ill-gotten treasures; nay, tradition asserts, hold them to this very day. This palace, or "Mahal Sarai," is two miles from the summit of the pass overlooking the Son. It was built by Rājā Mān Singh, in the sixteenth century, and to him posterity also owes the three handsome Jain temples, the separate Governor's house over the Maharai Pass, and the fine stone bazaars, of which tracings now only exist. All these buildings, and the three large tanks, Ben, Gaur and Chandrathan, so named after three ancient Hindoo kings, lie within the citadel. This is an enormous quadrangle or inner fortification, bounded by a stone wall 15 feet high, and having but two entrances. It contains the more modern buildings, as already noted, and the tombs of most of those who died on the mountain. Nearly three centuries have elapsed since the palace was inhabited or the graves received their dead. In the last of the three, neglect, the storms of a hundred monsoons, and the destroying peepul and banian have thrown down the great tower over the neck, rent the temples from top to bottom, and sundered the head pillars of the tombs. Decay has laid its remorseless effacing hand upon every work, be it Buddhist, Hindoo, or Mahomedan. All are passing away regretfully, as it were, but still surely. You* too are gone, true comrade, "doubly dead," with whom I saw all these. And from the silent land comes never an echo back to the mighty yearning for "the vanished hand and the voice that is still." Never again, true heart, never again! Your grave lies where you would have

* R. C. dearest of friends and keenest of sportsmen, killed by a tiger, May 21st 1873.

wished it to be, between the steep cliffs and the rippling Son, in sight of the hills you loved so well. And Rohtas, its sandstone walls giving back in rosy hues their greetings to the morning sun, its vesture of trees and waving grass still clinging to its slopes below, frowns on unchanged and changeless over the valley of the Son.

Rohtas was the sanctuary chosen by Kasim Ali, wherein he hoped that his family and his wealth could rest secured until happier times. By the end of September 1763, his chief wife with about 1,200 other women, and the bulk of his treasure, reached the foot of the mountain. It took them 15 days to gain the open land at the summit of the pass, but at last, to the intense relief of Nowbut Roy, who behaved throughout with equal prudence and fidelity, they were settled in the palace itself. The treasure was consigned to the vaults of the hall of audience, called also the hall of the twelve gates, and the acting Governor, Raja Shah Mull, told off his own bodyguard, of 500 men, for the safe custody of the palace, its inmates, and contents. Keramut Khan, the Hazari, or commandant of the fixed resident garrison of 1,000 men, guarded the citadel wall; and the two ressalahs of four thousand matchlock-men, guarded the summits of the passes and the embrasures on the brow of the table-land itself. The cold season passed away without an incident. The few visitors, Mahomedan gentry of the contiguous lowland towns, who at first proffered fealty with tolerable regularity grew gradually less cordial. Of the Hindoos, haughty Powas Rajpoots, not one would approach the fortress, so bitterly did they detest the ex-Nawab, on account of his devastations in their baronies, five years previously. It began to fare badly with the refugees. To them, accustomed to the splendours and ceremonial of a Mahomedan court, and the movement of city or camp life, nature was dull and monotonous, and the monotony of nature was a curse indeed. No jewellers from Delhi, no sellers of shawls from Cashmere or of muslins from Dacca, no intrigues, no scandal or surmise about this Khan's wife or that Sheikh's daughter, no grape and walnut merchants, from Cabul, with soft-haired green-eyed Persian cats, to break the even dullness of the zenana—no meek cits to thrust into the kennel, no bazaar to swagger in, no horses to display, no raids upon defaulting villages, no "taking the auspices," no plunders, no shops of arms to loiter in, nothing but guarding and watching, hoping that news of defeat was false, and a straining of eyes to the north up the Son valley for the next courier from their masters, to break the monotonous life of the men. The aspect of a decaying cause was reflected in every face. The vigilance exercised at first gave place to an apathetic trust in the inaccessibility and natural

strength of the fortress. Now and again the stronger spirits, whose hearts became savage instead of sick under the burden of hope deferred, went hunting on the main range. But two of the best marksmen—officers of the body-guard—having been gored by bison, that pastime became tacitly limited to the snaring of partridges and hares on the fortress plateau alone. If the spirits of departed Baigas or high priests of the mountain tribe, haunt, as their descendants affirm they do, their native glens and forests, they must find ample food for thought in the contrast between the hunters of a century ago, glittering like dragon flies, “and the silent, long-enduring, dogged and sombrely-clad “sahibs,” of to-day. As this chronicle tells the tale of a descendant of one of these Baiga families, a short description of the office is here necessary. A Baiga of the Kaimore plateau is the hereditary priest and headman of his village of Khurwars. He belongs himself to the same clan (Khurwar), the members of which all claim a common descent from Rohitaswa the founder of Rohtas. By the Baiga are performed all village ceremonies. He is the first to plough, and by him are fixed the ploughing days of others. He sacrifices the fowl or the goat which a higher morality has substituted for the human sacrifice of more ancient days, at the times of sowing, reaping and threshing. He propitiates the forest demons by incantation and prayer. By him cattle are protected from murrain and beasts of prey. His religion recognises no beneficent deities, all are harmful, to be propitiated not loved—appeased, not approached; and such was the original faith of every race, a demonology, more or less complete; its temples, giant trees and gloomy gorges, its gods, destroying not creating or preserving. To the Governor of Rohas, the Baigas presented an annual tribute of a young parrot and a handful of pistachio nuts, symbols of the fealty of themselves, the animals and the produce of their fruits to the paramount power. Sometimes the skins of deer and even of the nobler forest animals were presented, but this was seldom done, and the Khurwars were never willing that the Governor should know of their killing game. During the era of which I am writing, the garrison admitted the aborigines to a somewhat precarious intimacy. They were harmless, morose somewhat, but as bringers of game, wild honey, and forest fruits, to be encouraged and even conciliated by the heart-sick refugees. Such was the condition of the garrison and their relations with their neighbours in the April of the year succeeding their arrival at Rohtas.

At day-break one morning of that month, Thakur Singh, Baiga of Toridag, followed by his young son, carrying the

customary parrot in a small neat bamboo-cage, presented himself for admission at the Griffin Gate, of the Kutowlié, as the neck was, and is still called. The drowsy matchlockman on guard passed him through. Arrived on the neck, the Baiga first prostrated himself before the stone where the issuing blood had rebuked the destroying hand of Mán Singh two centuries before. Then picking up two pebbles from an adjacent heap, he threw them down over the precipice, into the dark glen on his left, in homage to its spirits. And, indeed, it was there a fitting abode for spirits of malignity. The glen is worn into the shape of a horse shoe, sheer, down from the summit to the base, its walls black, gloomy and naked. Thence it trends away, boulder and black tarn, growing greyer in the light, narrowing into the soft blue distance, and losing itself at last among the grass-covered, sil-wooded foot-hills. It reads like a chapter in the progressive course of the great human race, a beginning savage, dark and barren, and emerging towards the last into beauty and light. The sacred stone revered, and the spirits propitiated, Thackor Singh passed on through the red gate, to the path-way leading to the palace. The three miles to the bazaar were soon accomplished, and the quadrangle of the citadel entered. The Khurwars had now reached the Elephant Gate, so called from the figure of an elephant cut in relief on each side. Through this they did not pass, without nearly losing their homely tribute, the only passport to an interview with the Governor. But their remonstrances were effectual, and they were suffered to enter. The Elephant Gate gives entrance to an open sward, in front of the guard-room at the main palace entrance. This sward is commanded by the *Takht Badshahi* or Emperor's seat, a fine hall on the second storey of the palace, where the Governor sat, and whence, through two long windows, with handsome covered balconies, he could view the guards at exercise below. The principal gate of the palace, leading into the guard-room from the enclosure, is a large gothic arch, and on each side the elephant cut in relief again. The guard-room is very handsome. Stone benches surround the two sides, and behind the buttresses are three recesses for the officers. The room in the fourth corner is dark, narrow and unlit, with a low doorway, and was used as a dungeon. Through the guard-room the palace is entered by a high double-arched gateway leading into the *Chowk* or square in front of the hall of the twelve gates. To walk straight up the *Chowk* to the hall of audience was a misdemeanour, visited, at least, with incarceration in the guard-room dungeon. All petitions to the governor, and, in general, all whose position brought them under vassalage to

the Governor, turned, on passing through the second gateway, to the right, into an open gallery fronted with stone pillars, where they waited until their turn came—when they passed up the gallery to a small side door of the outer hall, where the clerks sat, and there with joined hands made supplication. The clerks, at their leisure, brought the applicants before the Governor, sitting in the inner hall, or turned them away with an empty excuse to present themselves another time. Thakur Singh and his son were both versed in the proper code of observance, and passed into the waiting gallery, without incurring any penalty. There they proceeded to make a slight repast until the Governor took his seat in the hall after his noon-day slumber. There were a few others also in waiting, and it was in the gallery that the Baiga heard that which changed the humble fortunes of his home, and which resulted, a century later, in a double murder. Two Irakis, or descendants of Russian merchants, residents of Tilothoo, an estate on the Son, the property of the Governor Shah Mull, and now the residence of his grandson, a half-witted profligate, were seated talking near the Khurwas. They discussed with considerable freedom, and many sly allusions, the condition and prospects of the palace inmates. And by a natural conclusion their imaginations became interested in a computation of the quantity, value, and amount of gold, silver, and jewels buried in the vaults, or concealed in the womens' apartments. Thakur Singh, like all his tribe, was of a silent almost morose disposition. He sat hard by, seemingly indifferent and absorbed in his own thoughts in reality not losing a word spoken, or a sign made by the Irakis. Thakur Singh returned two days later, a changed man, to his village. The glamour of the splendid tale of wealth buried almost within view, never left his thoughts. But he held his peace, and his son did likewise.

The hot season wore on. The hill-men on the main range, were engaged in farming the land for nursery rice, in repairing embankments and clearing forest land for cotton. Their priestly headman directed all, and by sacrifice supplicated the favour of the gods, and fixed the auspicious days for ploughing and sowing. In the palace on Rohtas, ennui, anxiety, fever and ague, brought first bitterness, then despair, and finally death, to many of the inmates. The children almost all died, and about one-third of the women. The autumnal epidemic decimated the matchlockmen, whom Kasim Ali's own requirements did not allow him to relieve, as had been formerly the annual custom. And in October the fatal result of the Battle of Buxar dashed to the ground the last hopes of the ex-Nawab, and of his adherents. Kasim Ali was seized in his tent by order of

the Vizier and his treasure confiscated. He at once caused orders to be sent to the Governor of Rohtas, Shah Mull, to despatch his chief wife with all the treasure to Benares. At the same time he suggested the delivery of the fortress to the British. The governor hastened gladly to obey the first mandate. The Khurwar Baigas were called upon to bring in the porters from their villages, Rajmear, Kols, and others, to assist in removing the baggage and treasure down the Pass. Thakur Singh attended with his men and accompanied the retinue to the foot of the Eastern Pass, over the village of Akberpore. Thence he returned to the palace. There he learnt, that of the treasure, only the jewels and the gold had been removed, the silver being too bulky had been left behind. The British troops under Goddard arrived in the January after the Battle at Buxar, and to them the Fortress was delivered up without an effort at resistance. The Governor, Rajah Shah Mull, retired to his estates at Tilotho. The Ressalahs were disbanded, and the women who had not accompanied Kasim Ali's wife, were allowed to betake themselves to Moorshidabad with all their effects. In March the British troops were withdrawn. A small native guard remained on for another year, but by the spring of 1766, the mountain fortress had been totally abandoned, and shopkeepers, artisans, and masons, retired to their homes in the lowland villages. The governor himself had not omitted to carry off as much of the silver left, as his limited opportunities permitted. Doubtless, also, the British garrison found their reward for the labour expended by them in digging up the floors and beating down the partition walls, in search for hidden treasure. But a large amount, the stealthily-hidden hoards of men and women, who had died and left no sign, and of others who had been compelled to forsake the place when the Nawab's garrison was disbanded, lay buried within the palace. To the present day, strangers from Eastern Bengal, Mussulmans, may be occasionally seen wandering through the different buildings, in hand, scraps of paper, containing some mysterious directions as to the spot wherein some ancestor had darkly buried his wealth. The floors of every apartment and vault of the hall of audience have been dug up, and the last trove the writer knows of occurred in 1873, when a quantity of bar silver was extracted from between the plaister and the stone of the wall under the Takht Badshahi.

ART X.—JESSORE.—CONCLUSION.

THE sixth and concluding part of Mr. Westland's Report, comprising what he styles the "Gazetteer," will form the subject of this our concluding paper. This portion of the work contains a good deal of interesting matter, which will be commented on in due course, and such additional information furnished as we are able to supply from our own knowledge, or to gather together from different sources. And, we may here state at the outset, for the multitude of figures we have to put in array here, we shall be indebted either to Mr. H. Beverley's elaborate and valuable *Report on the Census of Bengal, 1872*, or Dr. W. W. Hunter's able and accurate *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. II.

Before proceeding to notice the several sub-divisions, or divisions—we prefer to use the former term, and shall adhere to it henceforth—and the principal places situated in them, as arranged in the Report under review, we purpose to offer certain statistical information regarding the district as a whole, which, we feel sure, will be generally acceptable to the reader, as it will enable him to better appreciate and compare the details of the component parts thereof which will follow in due course.

Jessore which is situate between—

North Latitude $23^{\circ} 47' 0''$ & $22^{\circ} 25' 50''$

East Longitude $90^{\circ} 0' 13''$ & $83^{\circ} 57' 33''$

has an area of 3,658 square miles, exclusive of 1870 square miles of Sundarbans*, according to the Census Report, and it is the largest of the three districts comprising the Presidency Division. Though it cannot be said to be absolutely sparsely inhabited, yet the density of population there is evidently considerably below that of the twenty-four Parganás, there being in the former only 567 persons to the square mile; whilst in the latter it is as high as 951, and next to Húglí is comparatively the most populous of the numerous districts in Bengal. We may add that Jessore, as regards the number of persons to the square mile, stands thirteenth on the list of the forty-three districts in Bengal. The average of all these districts gives 397 to the square mile, whilst the population of England includ-

* The area of the entire Sundarbans is put down at 5,341 square miles in the Census Report, and no-

thing of this is included in the calculations that follow.

ing Wales comes up, on the average, to only 390 to the square mile.

The aggregate population of Jessore amounts to 2,075,021 souls, divided into 1,051,126 males and 1,023,895 females, and distributed thus:—

Muhammadans,	584,450 males + 563,486 females, =	1,151,936.
Hindus,	458,889 males + 456,524 females, =	915,413.
Christians,	576 males + 566 females, =	1,142.
Other sects not specified,*	3,211 males + 3,319 females, =	6,530.

It will be observed that the equality of the sexes is pretty fairly maintained among the different castes or creeds, which appears to be the normal state throughout the Province of Bengal. The Muhammadan element predominates,† whilst the Christians are numerically insignificant, and when we deduct from their number above given 141 for Europeans and Eurasians, there only remains one above a thousand Native Christians, the bulk of whom are Baptists, and the whole of the remainder Roman Catholics, or well-nigh so. All the last have been converted by the Italian Missionaries attached to the Roman Catholic Central Mission, which was established about a score of years ago by the Very Rev. Father Antonio Marrietti, who presides over it as Prefect, Apostolic. Its head-quarters are at the Sadr Station, where also reside some Sisters of Charity and Lay Brothers, who all work hard and do a vast deal of good to the people, and some of the former may be seen in the Sundarbans alleviating distress, and striving strenuously to convert the degraded heathens around them. We must candidly confess that the Roman Catholic Missionaries endure privations and risks in their good work which our Protestant Missionaries, be they Europeans or Natives, shrink from, though the result of all such labor in the East is of scant value, and must be fearfully disheartening. There are only a few *professed* Brahmos in Jessore, but, we believe, there are many young Hindus really of this sect who are diffident to declare themselves so openly, lest they should offend, and become outcasts from their families. There is a Bráhmó Samáj at the Sadr Station, and in a few other places, but the members thereof are not regarded with favor by the bulk of Hindus, who are bigoted and entirely in the hands of their interested priesthood.

As regards educational institutions, there were in 1871 as many as 390 Government and Government-aided schools in the

* There is no Buddhist of either sex in Jessore. be descendants of the lower castes of Hindus, who embraced Islamism,

† Most of these Musulmans are supposed, and we believe rightly so, to be probably under compulsion, or inducement.

District, * attended by 12,349 pupils. Moreover, there were 188 private unaided schools, with an aggregate of 3,538 pupils. Or, in all, 578 schools and 15,887 pupils. Out of the above number of schools, fifteen only were for the education of girls. The aggregate cost of education in the Government and aided schools amounted in 1870-71 to £9,360 6s 11d, out of which the people contributed, in the shape of fees and donations, £4,738 4s. 10d.; or a little more than a moiety thereof.

Education has, undoubtedly, only lately made rapid progress in the district, as in 1856 there were merely 6 schools throughout Jessore. Excluding the number of girls' schools in the District, there was in 1871 one school to every 1,867 males, and one scholar to every 69 males. Of the entire population there was one pupil to every 130 persons thereof. There were in the same year 2,576 Muhammadans receiving instruction, whilst in 1856 there were only 29!

The total postal receipts in 1870-71, exclusive of official correspondence, amounted to £1,914 7s. 3d., and the expenditure to a good deal more, or £2,522, 11s 8d, thus showing a deficit of £611 4s 5d. But we are told by Dr. Hunter that within the then decennial period the receipts had almost been doubled, whilst the expenditure had been enhanced only twenty-seven per cent., and this is borne out by the figures produced by him. The number of letters, newspapers, and books, *exclusive* of parcels, received in that official year, were 1,38,243, and the number despatched in 1865-66, the latest date given in Dr. Hunter's work on this head, were 74,531, *inclusive* of parcels.

The Land Revenue yielded, in 1871, £104,519 13s., from no less than 2,844 estates then borne on the rent-roll, whilst the cost of civil administration amounted to about £32,259. The gross Revenue in that year was estimated at £147,856, and the realizations, probably, did not fall short of that sum, if they did not exceed it. In 1787-88 the aggregate Revenue of the entire district was only £80,728, though its area was then considerably larger than it is at present, whilst the cost of civil administration was but £6,400.

The Regular Police Force of the district in 1871 was composed of 1 District Superintendent, 1 Assistant Superintendent, 116 subordinate officers of various grades, and 506 constables, and its aggregate cost was £12,130 2s. The above number

* Made up thus:—

1. Government English schools	1	5. Government-aided Vernacular schools	322
2. " Vernacular "	4	6. Government-aided Girls' schools	15
3. " Institution for special education	1		
4. Government-aided English schools	10	Total,	390

of constables include the River Police Force, consisting of 7 constables, each one of whom was in charge of a patrol-boat manned by 7 boatmen, and the total cost of their maintenance, £584 8s. forms part of the sum just specified. The whole of the Police Force are distributed over 24 Police-stations, or *Thánás*, and 10 Out-posts, or *Pharis*. The Choukidars, or village watchmen of the district, numbered 4,594 strong in 1871, and they are estimated to have cost the villagers, who have to support them, £14,241 8s. or £3 2s. 6d. for each man. The present head of the Police Force is Mr. W. Kilby, District Superintendent, who appears to be an active officer.

The number of criminal cases instituted in 1871 amounted to 6,013, no less than 26 out of which were for murder, thus giving Jessore the unenviable precedence in this line of all the various districts in the Lower Provinces. The number of false cases rose in that year as high as 1,063, a significant fact, testifying to the nefarious character of the people.

There is only one regular jail in all Jessore, at the Sadr-Station, and five lock-ups, as the smaller jails are officially designated, in as many of the sub-divisions. The number of prisoners in the jail in 1870, stood thus:

Transferred	...	...	...	297
Released	...	...	...	2,172
Escaped	...	...	...	8
Died	...	...	...	12
Executed	...	...	...	2
Total				2,491

The Judicial Establishment of the district consists of 1 District and Sessions Judge; 2 Sub-Judges, and 2 Judges of Small Cause Courts, and about a dozen Munsifs. There is not a more deservedly popular official in the district than the present Judge, Mr. C. A. Kelly, and his ability, strict sense of justice, and thorough impartiality, are fully appreciated by the generality of people, who deem themselves most fortunate in having so conscientious and painstaking an officer to administer the law. And, where the liberty of a fellow-subject is concerned, there is no Judge who bestows greater time and attention in carefully analyzing the evidence, which is indispensably necessary, considering the way in which cases are usually prepared and sent up by the subordinates of the Police.

The number of Charitable Dispensaries in the district are, we believe, ten. In 1871 there were eleven such institutions, and their total income, *cum* balance in hand, amounted to

£1,611 16s. 7d. Their aggregate expenditure amounted to—exclusive of European medicines supplied free by Government—£990 11s. 3d. The number of patients treated were :

Indoor patients	...	...	320
Out-door patients	...	...	12,411

Total ... 12,731

The Road Cess Department is a rather large one, and is in charge of the District Engineer, Mr. H. C. Burt, who has earned the reputation of being a very active and intelligent officer, and his services are, we believe, fully appreciated by the District Road Cess Committee.* The income of this new department is a considerable one, and the expenditure is in keeping with it.† If the sub-committees at the various sub-divisions were better organized, and received more money than they do now,‡ the roads in the interior would, doubtless, be in a better condition than they are now, and the landed classes would then derive some substantial benefit from the fund they have to support most reluctantly.

The district is parcelled out for administrative purposes into six sub-divisions, or as they are now officially styled, divisions, each one of which has a Joint-Magistrate, an Assistant Magistrate, or a Deputy Magistrate as executive officer in charge, and a Munsif as judicial officer. The officer in charge of the entire district is Mr. W. H. Page, officiating Magistrate and Collector, and although he has only lately joined the appointment, yet he is already well spoken of by the people.

THE SADE, OR JESSORE SUB-DIVISION.

* Its area is 899 square miles, being the largest of any of the sub-

*The Chairman of the Committee, in his Annual Report for 1875-76, speaks of "the zealous, careful, intelligent, and patient supervision of the Committee's Engineer, Mr. Burt," and the Commissioner of the Division fully endorses the above opinion. We cannot but think that Jessore is most fortunate in possessing such an efficient officer as Mr. Burt has proved himself to be.

† In 1875-76 the gross Income, including the balance of the previous year, was as high as Rs. 1,97,851-2-6,

and the Expenditure amounted to Rs. 1,65,911-6-6, leaving a surplus of Rs. 31,942-12-1.

‡ The following figures show the several amounts granted to the different sub-divisions :—

Jessore,	Rs. 11,444
Jhanidah,	" 12,219
Narail, not specially mentioned, about	" 13,000
Bagerhat,	" 81,860
Khulná,	" 7,290
Magura,	" 4,829

divisions, and the population, which is also the largest of any sub-division, is thus made up—

Muhammadans,	...	377,356
Hindus,	...	212,035
Christians,	...	427
Other sects,	...	465
Total	...	590,283

This gives 657 as the average number of inhabitants to the square mile, showing the Sadr sub-division to be the most thickly populated of any in the District. The proportion of males to females is about equal, or precisely 50·2 per cent of the former to the entire population.

In 1871 there were in all fourteen Magisterial and Revenue Courts within the sub-division. The Sadr sub-division is at present, in charge of an able and energetic officer, Mr. T. M. Kirkwood, Joint-Magistrate, whom the people are beginning to appreciate for his sterling qualities of head and heart.

The total cost of administration, &c., is put down at £23,320 16s. in 1861; and in that year the Police Force, spread over six *Thánás*, were 1,769 strong, of which 267 men belonged to the regular, or “Bengal Police,” and 1,499 were merely *Okaukidars* or village-watchmen.

The head-quarters of the district is the Sadr sub-division, which is situate on the right bank of the Bhairab river, and the usual way of proceeding thence to Calcutta is by Carriage *Dák* to Chágláh, 48 miles, over a metalled-road not always in good condition, which takes up about seven hours, and from there by the Eastern Bengal Railway to Sealdah terminus, 38½ miles, in, say, a couple of hours. The entire journey is thus one of 86½ miles, and occupies about nine hours. By river the voyage to Calcutta is a tedious and circuitous one, the route being *via* Khulná and the Sundarbans, and it cannot be performed in a *Bholia* in less than four or five days from Afrá, which place is about 11 miles from the station, over a fair metalled-road, whence officials and others usually embark.

The town of Jessore, within the limits of the municipality, has a population of

Muhammadans,	males 1,876 + females 1,669 =	3,545
Hindus,	... males 2,654 + females 718 =	4,372
Christians,	... males 79 + females 100 =	179
Other sects,	... males 30 + females 26 =	56
Total	... males 4,639 + females 2,513 =	8,152

Jessore is the most populous town in the whole of the District, in fact none of the others can even approach it in this respect. It has the only municipality in the district, which was created in 1864, and its financial position in 1871 stood thus:

Income, £1,280 6s.

Expenditure, 1,115 18s.

Surplus, £164 8s.

Considering the embarrassed condition, as regards funds, of most of the municipalities in this country, the result above shown must be considered to be very satisfactory indeed. The rate of taxation on the inhabitants averages 3s.-1½*d.* per head. There is of course no salaried President, or Vice-President, these posts being filled *ex-officio* by the District Magistrate and Joint-Magistrate, * respectively. A Native Overseer is, we believe, engaged to look after the roads, &c.

The pretty little church at Jessore, Christ Church, was erected mainly by subscriptions from the residents of the district, at a cost of Rs. 3,467. The clock and tower were added in 1846, and the amount of its cost, Rs. 1,543, was also raised by similar subscription. The Parsonage too was built in that year, likewise by subscription, but it was sold some years ago, as no longer necessary; for no Clergyman has been attached to Jessore for many years. That house is now owned, we believe, by the Baptist Missionary Society, and their Missionary at Jessore, Mr. W. Spurgeon, occupies it. The first minister of the Church was the Rev. John Foy, then the Rev. W. C. Eell, and lastly the Rev. W. E. Glascott, B. A., who left in 1867, since which time the Judge, or the Magistrate reads the service on Sundays, except once in a quarter, when the Chaplain from Dam-Damah comes on a visit.

The Baptist Missionary has a small house, or chapel, where he holds service on Sundays, in the Bengali language, we believe, as all his congregation, or nearly all, are natives. He has also a school for native boys. The Roman Catholic clergy have a large brick-built house, which they have converted into a sort of Church, surmounting it with a belfry. In this house also reside the Sisters of Charity, and the native girls they are so charitably educating. A thatch-roofed house, or *Bangalah*, adjoins it, where reside the Italian Missionaries, who have also a school for the education of Native boys.

* Or some other official, such as the Civil Surgeon, as Vice-President.

The Charitable Dispensary at Jessore was established in 1812, and in 1871, as many as 22,464 patients were treated, of which 242 were in-door and 2,222 out-door ones, at a cost of £229 9s. 6d., exclusive of European Medicines supplied by Government free of charge. Its income was then £249 8s. 11d.

There are two Cemeteries, old and new, in the station, close to one another, and the number of monuments in them, considering the paucity of Europeans in the station, is proportionably great. One of the oldest appears to bear date 1826, and is to the memory of a Bengal Civilian of the name of Renny.

Excepting the European officials and the Missionaries, all the rest of the residents, or well nigh so, are Natives.

There is a "Government English School" in the station, the only one in the district, held in a fine commodious house having a large compound attached to it, amply sufficient for a playground, and where, we are glad to be able to say, we have seen some of the pupils receiving instruction in gymnastics. In 1871 the pupils here numbered 167, of whom as many as 157 were Hindus; and only 8 Mahomedans and 2 "others." Its total expenditure was £598 0s. 6d., of which sum Government contributed £347 13s. 11d. and private subscriptions and fees amounted to only £250-6s. 7d. There is, we believe, a pretty large girls' school at Tezpore.

A small public library exists in the station: it was established by private subscription in 1854, during the incumbency of Mr. Richard Cairnes Raikes, as Collector. It is located in a neat little building opposite the Government Treasury.

The Report makes no mention of a fine Race Course at the station, the remains of which still exists. Here, in days long gone by, used to run some of the finest horses on the Indian Turf, belonging to the well-known racing stables of the late Messrs. W. H. S. Raine, John White, Dr. Charles Palmer and others. *Alas!* those pleasant Race Meetings are now things of the past.

For some time a printing press existed at Magura, four miles north of the station, and the notorious *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, a rabid Anglo-vernacular hebdomadal, was started there; but the press was removed to Calcutta some years ago, and the newspaper has ever since been published there. Both are owned by the Ghasha family, who have their homes at Magura, where they established a small *Bazar*, and named it *Amrita* after their mother; hence also the title of their journal.

In the jail there are various manufactures carried on, and in 1870 the number of hard-labor prisoners engaged in them was 210, who earned £3,607 15s. 10½d. whilst the debit side showed

a sum of £4,011 3s. 2½d., leaving a deficit of £403 7s. 11d.* In other years, however, there appears to have been a surplus, more or less.

The liberality of the late Káli Patálar, in constructing roads, bridges, &c., is dwelt on in this part of the Report at some length, but as we have referred to his good works in detail before, it will here suffice to say, that Mr. Westland is mistaken in supposing the bridge at Dáitálá is over the Bhairab river. It really spans a rather large *khál* issuing from a *Bil*, and is a wooden one.

Chandhura, about a couple of miles south of Jessore, is the residence of the Rájá of Jessore, and it was evidently originally fortified to some extent. It appears marked as "Chausera," "a principal town," in the maps of 1769, given with vol. IV of "Selections from the *Calcutta Gazette*," where neither Jessore, Kasbán, or Sahibganj, is entered.

Jhingágáchhá is 9 miles to the south-west of Jessore, on the Kabadak river, which is here spanned by a suspension iron bridge, the only one of the kind in the whole district.† The name is probably derived from a fine native vegetable, called *Jhingá* (*Luffa acutangula*, Roxb.) and *gáchhá*, "a plant," although neither Mr. Westland nor Dr. W. W. Hunter say anything about this obvious derivation, and the latter even spells it inaccurately, *Jhingergacha*. The Mr. Mackenzie, an Indigo-planter, who did a good deal for the trade of this place, was probably not Mr. Henry Mackenzie who died in 1865, as Mr. Westland says, but that gentleman's immediate predecessor, there, Mr. James Thomson Mackenzie, who retired with a large fortune to Scotland more than a score of years ago, which he has greatly augmented by successful trade and speculation, and is now the well-known Baird of Kintail, whose effusions on Indian affairs occasionally appear in the columns of the *Times*. This place also appears on the Map of 1769, referred to in the preceding paragraph.

Chaugáchhá, also on the Kabadak river, is 16 miles to the north-west of Jessore, and famous for its sugar manufacture and trade. Its name, we have no doubt, is derived from a species of pepper designated *Chau* (*Piper Chaba*, W. Hunter) and *gáchhá*, "a plant." Here resides Mr. McLeod, who, Mr. Westland says, deals in indigo seed, but we believe he derives a large income from

* The value of machinery, materials, manufactured-articles in stock, etc., have been included in the credit and debit sides of this account.

† It was originally put up in the beginning of 1846, at a cost of about Rs. 18,000, but came down on the

30th September of that year, when a large crowd were gathered on the bridge and below it, to witness the *Bisurjan*, or "casting of the idol," many lives were lost. It was again put up at a further cost of Rs 10,000 or so, and has stood ever since.

the interest of his numerous loans to the Mahájans around, from whom, it is said, he takes no bond.

Basantia is 12 miles south-east of Jessore, on the Bhairab, and a considerable mart for rice, which it imports, and sugar, which it exports. This flourishing Bázár belongs to the elder branch of the Narail family.

Rupdia is situated on the Bhairab river six miles from Jessore, but is of no importance at present. It was here, however, that the first indigo factory in the district was established by Mr. Bond in 1795.

Naupara, also on the right bank of the Bhairab, is about sixteen miles from Jessore, and of some commercial importance, as the Bázár is a very considerable one, and the gathering of people bi-weekly on market days is exceedingly large. It belongs to the Sindharpúr Boses, who have it kept neat and clean compared to other native Bázárs. Mr. Westland gives it as his opinion that the name of the place is derived from the number of boats (*náo*) always to be found there, but we cannot say that we have generally seen many boats there. We think there can be no doubt that it signifies "new quarter," from *nau*, "new" and *párcé*, "quarter," inasmuch as it is the *literal* meaning of the name.

Keshulpúr is 18 miles almost due south from Jessore, on the Harihar river, and well known for its sugar, chilly and wood trade. Large quantities of earthen pots and brass utensils are here manufactured. There is a *Chaukidari* union here. It contained 600 houses in 1871 and the income was as large as £120. "In our last paper this place was, by a singular clerical error, credited with being the largest of the sugar marts in this District. The name should of course have been "Kotehoidpúr;" and the statistics there given, taken from the *Statistical Reporter*, refer to it exclusively.

Mirzanagar, about 24 miles south-west of Jessore, stands on the left bank of the Kabádk river, and was the seat of the *Faujdar*s of Jessore, after one of whom we believe it is called to wit, Mirza Cáfshikan, who ruled the district in the middle of the 17th century, as previously pointed out by us. It appears conspicuously in the old (1769) map, and a highway from a little above Banguon to Mahmudpúr is there shown to have passed by it.

Gadkhali is 14 miles from Jessore on the road to Calcutta. A *tháná* exists there, within the boundaries of which resided a predatory class, a low caste of Hindus known as *Vayádhás*, which word signifies "hunters," and which was doubtless their original profession, as they call themselves *Shikaris*, but they are now ostensibly cultivators, though in reality thieves. They are said by the natives to refrain from robbing in the district in which

they reside, and if so, neither Mr. Beaufort, formerly, nor Mr. Monro, lately, did any good to this district in driving them and their families away from Jessore to the neighbouring district of Krishnagar.

Káliganj is 18 miles from Jessore in a north-westerly direction, on the Chitra river, which is here spanned by a bridge built in 1853 by Mr. Beaufort, the then Magistrate of the district, and the road *viâ* it connects the *Sadr* sub-division with of Jhanidah. Mr. Westland says, these places date back almost a century-and-a-half, but we have failed to find it on the map of 1769, referred to frequently above, probably because it was not on any of the then main roads.

Naldángá * is 20 miles from Jessore in the same direction, and the seat of the Rájás of that ilk, who belong to a Bráhmau family. The existing head of the family, Pramatha Bhusan Deb Roy, is merely styled Rájá by courtesy, if at all, as the title was not conferred on his predecessors as an hereditary one, but as a personal distinction by virtue of a sanad, and it has not been, we believe, renewed. At Naldángá there is a charitable dispensary, which was established in 1867. In 1871 it had altogether 1,694 out-door patients only, maintained at a cost of £81 13s. 1d., exclusive of Government English medicines, and its income amounted to, inclusive of balance in hand, £134 7s. 5d.

Jalalpur, also on the Chitra river, is about 12 miles from Kaliganj, and some 30 miles from Jessore. It is not mentioned here by Mr. Westland, and at present it is a place of little consequence, but in Rennell's map it appears as "Dehulat Jalalpur," and in Abul Fazl's *Aina Akbari*, as "Dahlat Jalalpur."

We may here add that the specific name of the *Parganá* of Yúsufpúr mentioned as not included in the larger *Parganá* of the same name is Amirábád, or in full Yúsufpúr-Amirábád. We somehow failed to notice this elision when going over the proofs.

JHANIDAH SUB-DIVISION, ESTABLISHED A. D. 1862.

It is situated twenty-eight miles north of Jessore, and is on the right bank of the Nabagangá, but the stream there is very shallow, and hardly navigable for ordinary-sized boats excepting in the period during which the inundation continues. The name of this place literally signifies "the abyss," or "swamp of Jhani," from *Jhani*, and *dah*, "an abyss." In the vernacular it is sometimes written as Jhanaidahá, but we venture to think the former to be its correct designation, and the final "h" to be essential as in

* The name signifies "land of the bans, and well known in the district. Its botanical designation is *Arundo* in marshy places and in the Sundar- *Amphidonax Kerka*.

Maldah. Both, Mr. Westland and Dr. Hunter are silent as to the origin of the name. This sub-division was created on account of the disturbances caused by ryots connected with indigo cultivation, and it has an area of 476 square miles, and its population stands thus :

Muhammadans	...	...	178,931
Hindus	...	...	103,946
Christians	...	...	52
Other sects	...	...	3,532
Total :			286,461

The average number of inhabitants per square mile is therefore 602, and the males and females are pretty nearly balanced, the proportion of the former to total population being 48.9 per cent.

There were within it in 1871 four *Thánás*, having a force of 55 strong of the regular police, and 691 of the rural police, or village *Chaukidárs*, in all 746 men.

The aggregate cost of administration here was, in 1871, no more than £1,608 12s., or less than that of any other sub-division within the district. The officer in executive charge of it at present is a Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector, Mr. W. G. Deare, who has been long serving in the district, and afforded Mr. Westland some useful information, when sub-divisional officer of Narail. There is also a Munsif stationed here.

The Charitable Dispensary at Jhanidah came into existence in 1864, and was maintained in 1871 at a cost of, exclusive of English medicines supplied to it gratis by Government, £93 2s. 6d., whilst its income amounted to, taking the balance in hand, £167 19s. 2d. In that year it had 18 in-door patients + 1,248 out-door patients, = 1,266 patients.

All that we are told of the history of this place is, that it became a police Chauki, or station, attached to *Tháná* Bosnah under the arrangements made by Warren Hastings for the administration of the district, probably in 1772; and that it was the head-quarters of the Mahmúd Sháhi collectorate for the short time that it remained separated from Jessore. We may add that in the *Calcutta Gazette* of March 29th, 1787, it was notified that Mahmúdsháhi was annexed to Jessore, and we learn from the same source that its, evidently, first and last Collector was Mr. J. Sherburne, who was transferred in the same capacity to the 24-Parganá, "in consequence of a recommendation from the Court of Directors," which shows that this gentleman possessed a good deal of interest with the magnates of Leadenhall Street.

Mr. Westland refers to the *Muchis*, or shoe-maker caste as being a criminal class, given to plunder, etc. And we find from the "Report on Indian Cattle Plagues," 1871, that in 1869 several of them were convicted for poisoning cattle to obtain their skins.

Close to Jhanidah, at the village of *Chuádagá*, resides a female divinity, rejoicing in the euphonious designation of *Panchu-Panchin*, who is reputed to have the power of conferring fecundity on barren women, and of course, her *levées*, which are held on Tuesdays, are well attended by sterile females, who flock to her with various gifts—pice, milk, fruits, etc. This goddess is in charge of an old woman who acts as medium, and of course appropriates all the offerings. Verily, there are no bounds to human credulity.

Kot-Chándpúr on the Kabadak river, lies about 16 miles to the south-west of Jhanidah, and the prefix signifies "a fort," or "stronghold," and it was, we learn, applied to it on account of a guard of *Sipáhis* being stationed there to protect the treasure passing through the place. It is the largest mart for the sugar-trade in the district. It was a sub-division for a short time, during the disturbances among ryots and Indigo-planters, and it is still a *Tháná*.

Solkopá, on the Kumar river, is about ten miles north of Jhanidah, and a flourishing *Bázár* exists there. There is also a *Tháná* at that place.

There are a number of indigo-factories within the limits of this sub-division, belonging to Messrs Tweedie, Shirreff, etc., etc.

MA'GURA' SUB-DIVISION, ESTABLISHED A.D. 1843.

This Sub-division stands on the right bank of the Nabagangá, where the *Muñhikháli* meets it, and brings down to it the united waters of the Kumár and Gorai, and is 45 miles from Jessore by land *via* Jhanidah. According to Dr. Hunter, it owes its name to the *Magur* fish, which, we may add, has its skin devoid of scales and belongs to the *Siluride* family, being *Clarius magur* of Ham. Buch.* It was created into a sub-division in order to check the number of *dukaitis*, or gang-robberies, committed thereabouts, and the first officer who had charge of it was Mr. Deputy Magistrate Cockburn.

* Fish being one of the most important products of the District, several places in it derive their names from various fishes to be found in the locality, e. g., *Putimrai*, *Kaikhali*, *Khalishakhab*, etc. The inhabitants

of Jessore might with equal right apply the designation *Matsya-desa*, or "Country of Fish," to their District as the people of Bogura (Logra) do to theirs.

It has an area of 425 square miles only, and is therefore the smallest sub-division within the District. It has also the smallest population, which is made up thus :

Muhammadans	...	...	148,161
Hindus	...	...	126,341
Christians	...	...	91
Other Sects	...	...	1,127
Total			275,720

The number of inhabitants to the square mile is thus 649, and the proportion of males are 47·9 per cent. to the whole population, showing an appreciable excess of the opposite sex, and that the female element is stronger here than in any other sub-division.

The sub-division is in executive charge of an officiating Joint-Magistrate, Mr. J. Kennedy, and a Munsif is also located there. There are three *Thánás*s, having a regular Police force of 69 strong besides 608 village watchmen, in all 677 strong. The cost of administration in 1871 amounted to £2,238 16s 0d.

The Charitable Dispensary at Mágurá dates only from 1865, or later than any other similar institution in the head-quarters of the other five sub-divisions. Its income, including balance in hand, came up in 1871 to £134 7s 0d, whilst its expenditure was then, not taking into account English medicines supplied by Government without charge, £94 9s 0d. It had in that year indoor patients 45, out-door patients 686, altogether 731 patients.

The principal trades are export of sugar and import of rice in rather large quantities. A considerable trade is also carried on by *Naluás*, or mat-makers. There are also a number of oilmen who reside there, and they prepare a large quantity of mustard oil for exportation.

Názrápúr is about six miles from Mágurá, on the Nabagangá river, and the *Sadr* factory of the well-known Indigo concern of that name belonging to Messrs. Tweedie. It is one of the very few concerns in Jessore that are said to be doing well.

Ichakada is four miles from Mágurá, and was during the Muhammadan Government of the country, a sort of military outpost, hence, at the commencement of the British rule, we find it designated Kot-Ichakada. There is a good trade carried on there in country produce, and the market, which is a flourishing one, is held bi-weekly, on Tuesdays and Saturdays.

Máhmudpúr, erroneously designated Muhammadpur by both Mr. Westland and Dr. Hunter—such is the force and vitality of error once established—is 14 miles from Mágurá, on the Madhu-

mati river, and was the head-quarters of the district of Bosnah. Its history, such as it is, has been already unfolded when narrating the exploits of Sitārām Roy in Part I. It of course occupies a prominent place in Rennell's map, and is marked as a "principal town" in the map of 1769, given "with vol. IV. of the "Selections from *Calcutta Gazette*." Its present desolate condition is said to be due to a fearful epidemic fever, which broke out, we are told, in 1835, among a gang of prisoners at work in that locality, and spread right round, almost depopulating the places visited by it. The trade of the place is insignificant, and appears to be almost confined to salted *Hilsa* (Sard) fish, which are sent to Calcutta for sale in immense black jars.

We may here re-produce Bábu (now Dr.) Rājendralála Mitra's "Note on three ancient coins found at Mohammadpur, in the Jessore district," given in vol. XXI. pp. 401-402, *Journ. As. Soc., B.*, 1852."

"In the preceding Plate (PL. XII, figs. 10, 11, and 12) I have given figures of three coins found along with several others near the Arunkhāli—Alangkhāli—river at Mohammadpur—Mahmudpur—in the district of Jessore, and presented to the Asiatic Society by Mr. F. L. Beaufort; it appears they had been buried in an earthen pot which was accidentally discovered by a man digging a well.* The coins, which were found along with those now under notice, are all of the Gupta kings of Kanouj, and comprise specimens of the silver coinage of Chandra Gupta, Kumāra Gupta and Skanda Gupta. The metal of these coins is very impure, and were the fact of their coins being frequently discovered in Bengal a sufficient evidence to conclude that the Gupta kings of Kanouj once held the sovereignty of this country, it would strengthen an opinion started by James Prinsep that the provincial currency of the Guptas was of an inferior metal to what was used in their metropolitan towns.

"No. 1. (Fig. 10) is a gold coin, weighing 85 grains, on the obverse it has a female with a bow, a standard, a deer looking towards the left, and a border round the margin, with the monogram Sri in the Gupta character. *Reverse*, a winged victory to the right, with an undeciphered Arian (?) inscription in the margin.

"The reverse is very unlike that of the Gupta coins, but the monogram induces one to assign it to Sri Gupta, the founder of the Gupta dynasty of Kanouj, who is the only king of that time whose coins have not yet been discovered, and this conjecture is somewhat strengthened by the fact that it is only in the coinage

* Unfortunately Mr. B. has been unable to find the contents of the pot.—[Eds. *Journ. As. Soc., B.*]

of the Guptas that we observe the practice of using initial letters instead of, as conjointly with, the names of the kings in full, and it might, not very reasonably, be supposed that the founder of the dynasty was the first who introduced this practice as well as the figure of victory, which last, his successors changed into a Lakshmi.

"No. 2 (Fig. 11) appears likewise to be a Gupta coin, and is evidently an unique specimen of its kind. On the obverse it has the Raja seated on a stool, with the nimbus round his head, and attended by two females standing by his side; above his left hand is an indistinct monogram. On the reverse is a standing female figure holding branches of lotus in her hands; before her is a peacock, and to the left, Sri Narendra (Gupta ?) in the Gupta character. It is however doubtful if this be a coin of the monarch of that name, whose coins have an equestrian obverse.

"No. 3. (Fig. 12.) This coin has not yet been noticed by any Indian numismatist. On the obverse it has a human figure seated on a bull couchant, with the letters (jaya) at the bottom, and—in the margin on the left, in the Gupta character. On the reverse the legend is the same as in the Gupta coins, but rudely executed. The inscription is not perfect, the letters (*Srimati*) are all that are distinct. Metal very impure silver.

"A coin somewhat analogous, to this, with the bull rampant, was discovered by Mr. Tregear at Jaunpur whilst digging on the site of an old fort called Jayachand's *koth* (*Jour. As. Soc. vol. III. p. 411, pl. XIII, fig. 12.*) and a brass seal with a bull couchant done very much in the same style as the coin, with the name of Jayachand in full found at Sháhpur, and presented to the Asiatic Society in June 1850, by Mr. Earle, from a careful comparison of which bearing in mind that the bull is the peculiar cognizance of the Rájputs, and that Raja Jaya Chandra of Capt. Fell's Benares copper plates (*Asiatic Researches* XV. p. 446) was a scion of that royal stock, I am led to assign this coin to that prince. According to the plates, Jayachand flourished in A. C. 1177; an era fully borne out by the modern and peculiar Indian appearance of the coin."

Binodpur is about 7 miles from Mágurá, mid-way from it and Mahmúdpúr, and is a thriving place, with a flourishing market. The commodities sold there are chiefly mats, rice, sugar, and mustard oil.

Salkhia is about half-way from Jessore to Mágurá. It was a *Chaunki* attached to Bosnah *Tháná* and is now a *Tháná*.

NARAL, OR NARA'IL SUB-DIVISION, ESTABLISHED A. D. 1860.

It stands on the right bank of the Chitrá, some 22 miles from

Jessore in an easterly direction. It owes its existence to the refractory conduct of rājyats who cultivated indigo and who rose *en masse* against the indigo-planters, on the allegation that they and their servants oppressed them. After having its head-quarters several times shifted, the sub-division at last found an abiding place at Narail in 1861.

The area of the sub-division is put down at 483 square miles and the population is distributed in this manner:

Muhammadans	...	...	...	134,514
Hindus	...	...	...	163,852
Christians	...	...	...	22
Other-sects	...	...	...	655
Total	...	...	...	<u>299,043</u>

The above figures give 619 inhabitants to the square mile, and the proportion of males to the whole population is 49·2 per cent, which nearly balances the sexes evenly. It is the most sparsely inhabited, or rather has the least population, of the several sub-divisions in Jessore excepting Mágurá. The Hindus exceed the Muhammadans in number; which peculiarity is only repeated in the Bāgelhāt sub-division. And the Christians here are less than any where else. The sub-division is in executive charge of a Deputy Magistrate, Bábu O Ganguli, and a Munsif is the judicial officer of it. There are 3 *Thánás* within it, and a Police force of 694 strong, composed of 61 men of the regular police, and 633 village watchmen. The total cost of administration of the sub-division was in 1871 estimated at £2,056 14s 0d.

There is an important and extensive *Bázár* at Narail which is named Rugganj, after its founder, an ancestor of the elder branch of the Narail family, who owns it still. The market is held bi-weekly, on Sundays and Thursdays.

All the extensive estates belonging to the elder branch of the Narail Zamindárs are now, happily for all parties concerned, in charge of a single manager, and Mr. A. Dume Smith holds the post of Manager-General, evidently to the satisfaction of every one interested, which speaks well for his tact and judgment.

There is no Government Charitable Dispensary at Narail, and it is altogether unnecessary, as the Narail Zamindárs have established an exceedingly good dispensary, located in a fine building, under competent management.

The staple produce is the long-stemmed variety of rice, grown in the *bils*, or swamps, called *boro* and *ráidá*. The other agricultural products are oleaginous seeds,—*til*, or sesame, linseed, and mustard; pulses; vetches; jute, and indigo.

Naldi is 5 miles north of *Nuráil*, on the *Nabagangá*, and was evidently, in ancient times, a place of some importance, as it gives it name to an extensive *Purgáná*, or fiscal division. It is supposed by some, and among others Mr. Blochmann, to be identical with "Noldy" in Van den Broucke's map of 1724, a copy of which we obtained from Monsieur Cartanberd of the *Bibliothèque Imperiale*, Paris, in 1869, and which, with our consent, was published by Mr. Sandeman in "Selections from *Calcutta Gazette*," vol. IV. There is now a small trade in sugar carried on here, and the *Bázár* is a pretty good one, where, as usual, the market is held bi-weekly, every Monday and Friday.

Kumárganj, or the "Potter's Market," is opposite *Naldi*, situated in the village of *Chandiharpúr* and appears to have been a considerable grain mart during the last century. The *Bázár*, owing to disputes among rival *Zamindárs* has ceased to exist, and there is now only a *hát* or market held in an open and unsheltered spot bi-weekly, where the purchasers of chillies from *Báqirganj* meet the sellers of this produce from *Jhanidah*.

Lakshmipáshá, or *Lakshmipáshá*, (? "Lakshmi's carring," or "Lakshmi's jewel," from *Lakshmi*, consort of *Vishnu*, and goddess of plenty, = *Ceres* of the Romans,* and *páshá* "carring,") is on the *Nabagangá*, 10 miles from *Nuráil*; here there is a pretty considerable trade carried on in country produce, cloth, grain, etc. But the place is chiefly noted for being the residence of a numerous body of pure *Kulin Bráhmans*. They date their advent in Bengal to the time of *Adisur*, King of the country, who in 1063, A.D., brought five *Bráhmans* from *Kanauj* to perform a sacrifice. A, successor of the aforesaid sovereign, *Bakál Sen*, portioned Bengal for Brahmanical purpose into five divisions, viz., *Bagrí*, *Banga*, *Várendra*, *Mithilá*, and *Rárbhi*, and each one of the five *Bráhmans* had a division assigned to him. All the descendants of the said *Brahmans* were made *Kulin Brahman*s as being endowed with these nine essential qualities, to wit, 1, *achar*, "purity;" 2, *binay*, "humility;" 3, *bárya*, "learning;" 4, *pratishtha*, "good reputation;" 5, *tirthadarshan*, "sanctity acquired by pilgrimage;" 6, *nishtha*, "constancy;" 7, *brítta*, "good conduct;" 8, *tap*, "devotion;" and 9, *dán*, "charity." We may here add that *kulin* signifies "noble," "honorable." The descendants of the five *Brahmans* had at that time dispersed over fifty-six *gans*, or "village communities," of which eight were designated *Mukhya Kulins*, or first-class *Kulins*; fourteen *Gauna*, or second-class *Kulins*, and thirty-four *Srotriya*,

* Another name for the Hindu goddess is *Sri*.

or non-Kulins, *alias* "Bansaj." A *Kulin* forfeits his birth-right when he fails to adhere to the limitation as to marriages among themselves, and of course his descendants are also placed beyond the pale of *Kulinism* by any such act. This inviolable rule is that both husband and wife must be descended an equal number of generations from their original stock, so that it occasionally occurs that, six or seven sisters of all ages are wedded to one man, although he may be old enough to be the father, or even grandfather; or, a woman of forty or fifty years of age is given in marriage to a mere lad. This reprehensible practice, repugnant to human nature, is not conducive to morality. The *Kulins* of Lakshmipashā are, Mr. Westland states, descendants of one Ramanand Chakravarti, who emigrated there from the Baquirganj district five generations ago, on account of the oppression of the Maghs, who compelled the *Brahman* boys to marry their daughters. He married a daughter of the Mazumdars of Dhopodaha, which is an adjacent village, and he thereby obtained from them as a dowry the village rights of Lakshmipasha, which he, his nine sons, and their numerous descendants, have held ever since. It is worthy of notice that, despite the stringent rule referred to above, Ramanand and his successors are still reckoned *Kulins*, albeit slightly blemished ones. This exemption from total forfeiture of their *Kulinism* they owe, it is said, to the said Mazumdars being of high caste.

There is a noted temple dedicated to Kāli at Lakshmipasha, erected by the ladies of the Naldi family, the head-quarters of which Zamindāri it is.

Kalia is some 10 miles or so from Lakshmipasha, and the residence of a large number of highly respectable Kāyastha families, who being for the most part in Government employ, are a well-to-do class, and some of them are absolutely wealthy. It possesses a fairly good school, and had a Charitable Dispensary. This latter institution was established in 1867, and in 1871 it had, we find, 900 patients; who were exclusively out-door ones. It was abolished in the latter year. According to Mr. Westland, the reason for the larger body of "*Bladra lok*," or "respectable people," being found there, is owing to their having fled to this inaccessible place, in the midst of a marsh, to escape the persecution of the Maghs, and also the Bargis, or Maharatas. During the *Durgā Pujā* vacation, there is high festivity at Kalia, and boat races appear to be one of the regular amusements on the occasion. These boats are long and narrow, and as some of them are manned with more than fifty hands with paddles, they go at a great pace.

Sridharpeir, on the left bank of the Bhairab, or rather about

a couple of miles to the north of it, is the residence of the Basu (Bose) Zamindars who maintain a charitable Dispensary at the place. It had in 1871 as many as 1,039 patients, all out-door ones, and its then expenditure, not including cost of English medicines supplied without charge by Government, was £82 15s 4d., and its income, with balance in hand, £179 6s 0d.

KHULNA SUB-DIVISION, ESTABLISHED A. D. 1842.

This is not only the oldest sub-division in the district, but the very first established in all Bengal, and the head-quarters are situated 37 miles from Jessore by land, on the confluence of the Rupsáhá and Bhairab rivers, the former of which is to the east thereof and the latter to the north. The head-quarters were originally, for a short time, located on the west side of the Rupsáhá, at Khulna Proper, near Mr. Rainey's residence, but those lands were exchanged for some other lands in village Tutpára, Parganá Hoglá, on the present site, belonging to the Zamindari of Messrs. Rainey. Mr. Westland does not appear to have been informed of these essential particulars as he does not allude to them at all.

The designation of the place is said to be derived from *Khulana* signifying "opened," meaning the opening of the Sundarbans, and we give this supposed derivation for what it is worth, and, in the absence of any more probable explanation of it. Mr. Westland says the position of Khulná, "at the point where the Bhairab meets the chief Sundarban route, has rendered it, for a hundred years at least, a very prominent place." More than a century ago, or in A.D. 1766, it must have been a rather considerable place, for we find it mentioned prominently in the following extract of the Proceedings of the Board in Calcutta, bearing date the 29th September of that year, and published in the Rev. J. Long's "Selections from Records of the Government of India," vol. I., p. 457 :

"The *Buxey* lays before the Board an account of charges incurred in the *Buxey connah* in *budgeraws*, boats, and necessities supplied at Culna, (Khulna,) and sent from hence for the relief of the people saved from the *Palmouth*, amounting to Rs. 10,135, which is ordered to be paid."

The vessel referred to, we may state here, was wrecked near the south of the Pasar river in 1766. *vide* map with vol. IV of "Selections from *Calcutta Gazettes*." And, in the said map,

* By an unaccountable clerical error, his Parganá was stated to be exclusively on the north, or right-hand side of the Bhairab river"; it should have of course been stated to be exclusively on the south, &c.

"Culna" (Khulná) has Jessore prefixed to it, thus:—Jessore-Culna,* showing evidently, that it was then the head-quarters of the district, as the station of "Jessore" is no where else entered in it.

The sub-division contains an area of 695 square miles, and is after the Sadr sub-division the largest in the District. The population is thus divided :

Muhammádans,	...	...	168,153
Hindus, ...	...	...	155,149
Christians,	...	...	88
Other Sects,	...	...	611
Total ...			324,001

The number of inhabitants exceeds that of any other sub-divisions save Jessore, but the above figures only give 466 souls to the square mile, which shows that, next to Bagerhat, it is the most thinly populated of the half-dozen sub-divisions in the district. The males in proportion to the aggregate population are 54.5 per cent., thus proving that they here considerably exceed the female inhabitants, and that the male element is stronger than in any other of the various sub-divisions.

The size of this sub-division was formerly even larger than it is now, as it included, as Mr. Westland correctly says, "almost the whole of the Bagerhát sub-division," and, we may add, a considerable portion of the Náráil sub-division and a part of the Sadr sub-division as well. As to the establishment of the sub-division, we have referred to it before, in our last Part, but we may here state that Mr. Westland is altogether wrong in stating "the first sub-divisional officer was Mr. Shore," as no officer of that name was ever stationed at Khulná. The first in charge of the sub-division was Mr. M. A. G. Shawe,* Joint-Magistrate, who was previously for some time Commissioner in the Sundarbans.

The sub-division is now in executive charge of an Assistant Magistrate, Mr. H. P. Peterson, and a Munsif's Court is also located there, and has been at least ever since its foundation on the west side of the Rupsáhá river, and previously on the east side of that now broad stream. It was originally, we may here state, a mere artificial *khál*, or narrow creek, and was during the last century excavated by a salt-merchant called Rúp Sáh—from whom it takes its name—to connect by a short cut the Bhairab and Pasar rivers, and thereby shorten the boat-route to Calcutta. It has increased in course of time to a wide and turbulent river, but the ferry *ghat* at Khulná still preserves the original name *Rúp-Khál-Ghát*.

* The final letter "e" was inadvertently omitted in this name, in Part III.

The Police force in 1871 consisted of 84 of the Regular Police, and 565 village-watchmen, in all 649 men, stationed within four *Thánás*. The cost of administration in the same year amounted to £2,468-18s. 0d.

The Public Works Département have lately made Khulná the head-quarters of a Supervisor belonging to the Circular and Eastern Canal Division, and the executive officer thereof has charge of the towing paths along the Sundarban boat-route, as also of the public buildings located in this and the adjoining subdivision of Bagerhát. The Government buildings, etc. in the remaining five sub divisions, including the *Sadr* one, are in charge of the Executive Engineer of the Presidency Division.

Both the Baptist Missionary Society and the Roman Catholic Mission have stations at Khulná, including in their limits that portion of the Sundarbans within the district. The former is in charge of a Native Missionary, who remains chiefly at Khulná, and the latter under a zealous Italian Missionary, the Rev. A. Cazzaniga, who often visits the Sundarbans, and remains there for a long time, despite the well-known unhealthiness of those parts, especially for Europeans. There is a small Christian Cemetery here, not far from the site of the old Coal Depôt, and there are some graves in it, but no tomb-stones recording the names of those who are interred in them.

Khulná was till lately one of the three-and-twenty River Registration Stations in Bengal, and, with a few exceptions, the most important of them, as the boat-borne traffic of the North-Western Provinces passes through it in the cold weather, and that of Eastern Bengal all the year round. Its local trade consist chiefly of rice, sugar, betelnuts, cocoanuts, etc. The consignments of salt from Calcutta to the Eastern Districts necessarily pass through Khulná, and it was, till the establishment of the "Bengal Police" a Salt Superintendency, which was always in charge of an European officer. On the new Police coming into existence, the Salt Department ceased to exist, and was merged into the former Department.

Since the establishment of the Forest Département in the Jessore and 24-Pargáná Districts a couple of years ago, Khulná was made the head-quarters thereof, and Mr. Assistant Conservator G. S. Richardson, has charge of it, and resides and has his office at Khalis a mile-and-a-half from the Khulná station. Here we may fittingly correct a slight error which appeared in our last paper, regarding the name of a forest tree described by Dr. W. W. Hunter under two different names as separate trees. The passage referred to should have run thus: *Balai* and *Chhaila* described as different trees (nos. 3 and 7) are in reality different names for one and the same tree, etc. And the dimensions of the latter tree ought to have been stated to be 2½ inches

and 12 feet respectively.* The tree was described under the vernacular name of *Choila* by the Commissioner in the Sundarbans, we believe, in an article in the *Statistical Reporter*, vol. I, p. 166, *quod vide*. We may also here state that a capital account of "the honey supply of the Sundarbans" will be found in the same periodical, but we do not know the name of the writer of this article.

Among the roads, Mr. Westland mentions merely one, which runs from the station of Jessore to Khulná. Its length is 37 miles, and if metalled throughout—it has been for many years only so done up to Singhia, some 10 miles from Jessore—would be a vast improvement, and confer a considerable benefit on the people, as carriages could then easily run to Khulná, and the Calcutta mail to the Báqirganj District would be appreciably expedited. This 27 miles of unmetalled road-way ought to have been one of the very first undertakings demanding the attention of the District Road Cess Department, but it has up to this time received none. It is all the more important as it connects the Jessore station with the sub-division of Bagerghat, and this road is also an important one, deserving of being metalled too, as soon as possible.

A masonry *ghát*, or landing place, was built at Khulná by one Sátú Rám Mazumdar, who is now dead, and who lived on the opposite side of the Bhairab river. He also built the brick building in which the Government English grant-in-aid school is located. Both were constructed about twenty years ago.

Khulná Proper, on the right bank of the Bhairab, and about a mile-and-a-half from the Rapsáhá rivers, opposite the present station, in an easterly direction, was the original site of the sub-division, and belongs to Messieurs Rainey. The eastern wing of a large house, which still stands there, was the residence of the salt-agents previous to the British assuming the administration of the district, and, therefore, the oldest building erected by Government in the district, and over a century old. Here was also the Munsif's Court previous to the head-quarters being removed, and which existed before the establishment of the sub-division. Some months ago there was discovered here, at Khulná Proper, a large treasure-trove. The hoard was found by laborers in digging a field, and it was contained in an earthen vessel. They kept it a profound secret for some time, and the matter was only lately reported by the Zemindár of the place, Mr. J. Rudd R. Rainey immediately on his hearing of it, to the sub-divisional officer, and the investigation has been delegated to the Police,

* We must here also state that, quoted in our last Part, was printed the first word of the Bengali couplet 'ভাইরা'. It should have been 'বাইরা'.

who appear to be, to say the least, most apathetic in the matter. Under these circumstances failure cannot but be expected. One of the silver coins found there has been presented to the *Asiatic Society*, and pronounced by Mr. Blochmann to be of date the 6th year of Shah Alam's reign, equivalent to A. H. 1179, or A. D. 1765.

Khálispúr* has before been referred to in connection with the Forest Department, and it is here the large Bázár called by Mr. Westland "Charliganj" stands. It was so called, says Mr. Westland, from a Mr. Charles, who, about thirty years since, had an Indigo-factory close by. The report is totally wrong here. The ganj is known to the natives as "*Chalet*," or "*Sáhet-Sáheber Bázár*," after the late Mr. Chollet, an old Indigo-planter, who also built the Indigo-factory adjoining it. Both these were built about two score of years ago, and the dwelling-house, where the office of the Forest Department now is, sometime afterwards, by Mr. J. A. Macdonald, an Indigo-planter, who is still living. Mr. Westland has also been misinformed as to one of the days in the week the *hát* is held on. The *hát*-days are *Wednesdays* and *Saturdays*; and not *Tuesdays* and *Saturdays*. We cannot help remarking that Mr. Westland seems to have been singularly unfortunate as to the information he acquired about this place, showing that his informant must have been possessed of but little reliable and accurate knowledge of it. There is a still larger Bázár on the opposite side of the Bhairab river, facing the station, where a *hát* is held every morning, and which has existed ever since the last century.

Senhati, four miles north-west of Khulná, on the opposite or north bank of the Bhairab, is a considerable village, where reside numerous Hindu families. The Bázár attached to it is called *Nimái Ray's Bázár*, and is one of some importance, where a large local trade is carried on. Its founder, whose name it bears, is stated to have been a *Muktear* in the employ of the celebrated Ráni Bhavani of Nátor, and the ruins of this Law Agent's brick dwelling are situate about half-a-mile from the spot. There are here two shrines dedicated to *Shital* and *Jahnarayan*, the Hindu deities of small-pox and fever, respectively. A *Kuli-bari*, now in a very dilapidated condition, was erected here in the last century by the Rajah of Jessore.

Phultálá, about 8 miles from Khulná and on the same side of the river Bhairab, has a large Bázár, which belongs to the Náráil Zamindárs. There is also a *Phari*, or Police Out-post, situated here.

* So written and pronounced now, a species of fish much esteemed by the lower classes of Bengalis (*Trichogaster* but the correct name is, no doubt, *fasciatus*, Bl. Schn.) Khálispúr, and is so called from

Tula is to the south, on the left bank of the Kabadak. It was formerly a Police Out-post. It is now chiefly a sugar mart.

Kopilmuní is some 5 miles below the last-mentioned place, and on the same side of the river; its ruins have before been referred to, in our Part I. A large *mela*, or fair, is held here during the Baroni festival, which is principally attended by the lower caste of Hindus, as the local saint or *muní*, *Kopil*, is supposed by some to have been of the *Jogi*, or weaver caste. The tomb of *Jafir-ullah*, a Muhammadan saint, is also here, and numerous legends are current as to the miracles performed by *Jáfir*, of which the following is one, as pleasantly related by *Bábu Rasbíhári Basu*: "A certain man had a cow which he prized much, but it sickened and died. Being extremely poor he comes to *Jáfir-ullah* and cries till his eyes are red. 'Why do you cry,' saith the "prophet, your cow is not dead, it is only sleeping.' Thereupon he called of his disciples, and says: 'Take this stick I give unto you, and having touched the animal with it, call the animal hither.' The disciple goes to the field, and striking the cow with the stick, says: 'Why goest thou to sleep so long, come, thy master calls.' The cow rose as if it had been sleeping, and followed the disciple to the cottage of *Jáfir-ullah*."

Chándkháli is a large village on the left bank of the Kabadak, and an old Government clearance, being one of those places which *Mr. Henckell* reclaimed. But *Dr. Hunter* has made the strange mistake of confounding it with "*Henckellganj*," which is a long way west of *Chándkháli*, on the right bank of the *Khálindá*, and a little below, and on the opposite side of, *Basantpúr*. This was in reality the first Government sub-division in Bengal, being established as far back as 1786, but it existed for only a short time, when *Mr. Foster, C.S.*, had charge of it. The ruins of his residence, which he occupied for a couple of years only, has been referred to in our Part II. The immense market here held once a week, described by *Mr. Westland*, has evidently dwindled down to an insignificant one. On the opposite side of the Kabadak, within the adjoining 24-Pargáná District, is a flourishing *Bázár*. A Police Out-post has been established here.

Musjidkar lies on the same side of the Kabadak river as the preceding place, and is said to derive its name from "the digging out of a mosque," which stands there. The building of this edifice is attributed by *Mr. Westland* to *Khán Jáhán Ali*, and the style of architecture is certainly precisely the same as that of the *Salbattargumbaz*, including the five arclets arranged thus *** over the side door-ways, and on the significance of which we remarked before. Adjoining this place, about a mile south of it, are two tombs, said to belong to *Burá Khán* and *Fathi Khán*,

who were father and son, and both disciples of Khán Jāhan Ali, and their *kuchāri* is stated to have stood on an elevated piece of ground, the brick foundation of which is still to be seen.

It is as well to state here, that the panther or leopard known to the Natives as *Kendua*, *Bāgh*, or literally, "black tiger," the wolf is also so called in certain parts of the country, is usually restricted to the cultivated parts of the Sundarban. The tiger and leopard do not, as a rule, inhabit the same locality, as the former do not spare the latter when they come across them. In describing some of the principal fish of the Sundarban, we omitted to supply the scientific designation of the mango fish: it is *Polygnemus disens*. We also omitted to furnish the specific name of the mud fish (*Periophthalmus schlosseri*, Pallaz.)

BA'GERHA'T SUB-DIVISION, ESTABLISHED A. D. 1863.

Of the several sub-divisions in Jessore, this dates the latest, and, regarding the derivation of its name, Dr. Hunter says, in vol. II; p. 227, of his *Statistical Account of Bengal*: "*Bāgherhāt* may mean either "garden-market" or, "tiger's market." Spelt as Dr. Hunter spells the name, evidently, from Bengālī, *Bāgherhāt*, it can only signify "Tiger's-market," and not "Garden-market," for in that language *Bāgh* (বাগ) signifies "Tiger," and *Bāy* (বায়) "Garden." In Hindustānī, too, the names are not quite identical, for *Bāgh* means "Garden," *Bāgh* "Tiger." We believe its exact name to be *Bāgerhāt*, or the "Garden-market," and in future we shall adhere to this rendering, and the first Officer who had charge of it, Babu Gaur Dās Bāisakha, Deputy Magistrate, thus traces the origin of the name, in *Jour. As. Soc.*, B., 1867, p. 127.

"Its present name is but of yesterday. It was given to it long "after its glories had passed away and its history forgotten. A "deserted village in the outskirts of the Sundarbans, its humble "inhabitants needed but the aid of a poor bi-weekly fair to supply "their wants; that fair was, and is still, held on a raised spot on "the river-bank, where once stood the pleasure ground of "Khán Jahán. The illiterate dealers and pedlars who frequented "it to sell their goods called it the garden fair, *Bagerhat*, and the "name was adopted by Government when, in May 1863, it was "made the head-quarters of a Magisterial sub-division."

A local tradition states, and we have no reason to doubt its accuracy, that a Muhammadan of the *Shikāri* caste, named Kober Badiya, had a large garden there, in which a *hāt* was erected, and the place was therefore designated *Bāgerhāt*.

As to the derivation of the name, Mr. Blochmann in *Jour. As. Soc.*, B., Part I., 1872, p. 108, says that: Muhammdans pronounce

Báqirhát, from some Muhammadans of the name, of Báqir. This, we may add, would give it the same derivation as that of the adjoining district of Báqirganj.

The area of this last-established sub-division is 680 square miles or only a little smaller in size than Khulná, and the number of its population is thus made up :—

Hindus	...	...	154,090
Muhammadans	...	...	144,821
Christians	...	...	462
Other sects	...	...	140
Total			299,513

The number of inhabitants to the square mile is only 440, which shows it to be the most sparsely inhabited of all the sub-divisions in the district. The Hindu population here, as in Nárail only of the other sub-divisions, out-number the Musalmans; and the Christians in this part are numerically greater than elsewhere, not even excepting in the Sadr sub-division. The number of males to total population is given as 53.5 per cent.

A Deputy Magistrate, Bábu Rámcharu Bose, has executive charge of this sub-division, and a Munsif is also stationed at the place. The Regular Police amounted in 1870-71 to 88 strong, exclusive of 659 village-watchmen, or in all 747 men, located within four Police Stations, or *Thánás*. In that year the expenditure incurred by Government for administering the sub-division amounted to £1,922 4s. 0d., or less than that of any other sub-division save and except Jhanidah.

A Charitable Dispensary was established here in 1864, or a year after the sub-division itself. In 1871 the number of in-door patients in it were 15, out-door ones 908, making a total of 923 patients. Its income, inclusive of balance in hand at that time, is set down at £127 13s. 11d., and its expenditure, exclusive of European medicines, given gratis by Government, £81 19s. 4d.

The Bázár has now become a pretty considerable one, and the market is held there as usual bi-weekly: on Sundays and Wednesdays.

The sub-divisional building is a two-storied one, and there is also a small brick-built lock-up, almost always well filled with prisoners under trial, for those sentenced are, under the new jail rules, speedily transferred from the lock-ups to the station jail. A masonry *ghat* was constructed at this place at the expense of a native landholder, Babu Mahimá Chandra Adhyá.

There are a couple of ancient tanks near the sub-divisional house. One called the *Mithapukur*, or "Sweet tank," when re-

excavated a few years back disclosed a brick-built *ghât*, which was, probably, constructed a century ago. The other, known as *Natkhana pukur*, or "Dancing-roni tank," was most likely built at the same time as was the *Kachari*, of which the brick foundation only remains, called the *Básábári*, or "Lodging house." All these buildings doubtless belonged to the Muhammadan lady known as Bahu Begam, who, in the middle of the last century, received as a *jagir*, or grant from the Nawab of Murshidabad, 6 as., or $\frac{3}{4}$ ths. of Pargáná Khalifatabad, and which at the permanent settlement, was commuted into a money allowance for her life-time, and this ceased with her death in 1794.

The mode of communication in this sub-division is chiefly by water, but a good metalled road should be made to join with the Khulná road, which also requires to be metalled, and thus a good road to the station of Jessore would be completed.

We have lately visited the ruins of Khán Jahán A'li, near the Bâgerhât sub-division, with the view of testing the accuracy of the information thereanent furnished by Mr. Westland in his Report, which we took along with us for that purpose. From notes taken on the spot, we find he has made only a few mistakes, and we intend to correct them as well to supply a little additional information.

At the out-set we may state that, the tradition of the conversion of Pir A'li, *alias* Muhammad Tâhir, was told to us in this wise :

It appears that, whilst Khán Jahán A'li was fasting during *Ramzân* he happened to go into a garden and smell a sweet-scented flower, on which a high-caste Bráhmaṇ from Vikrámpúr near Dháká who accompanied the warrior-saint reproached him with having actually tasted food; inasmuch as "smelling" was equivalent to "tasting." To revenge himself on this man, Khán Jahán laid an ingenious plan to entráp him. He invited the Bráhmaṇ to his house, and in an adjoining apartment to that in which he received him, he directed several highly-scented dishes of beef to be prepared, and the door of which was closed. Suddenly, whilst they were conversing, the intervening door was thrown open, and the scent from the dishes was of course wafted there. The Bráhmaṇ smelt it, and too late covered his nose with a piece of cloth. Khán Jahán immediately said to the Bráhmaṇ that, as he had said that "smelling" was tantamount to "tasting," he must have tasted the forbidden flesh. Hence his conversion.

Whilst on the subject of Muhammad Tahir, we may add that Mr. Westland is wrong in stating that there is no inscription over the tomb of this personage. The sarcophagus is of grey-stone, and is literally covered with Arabic inscriptions. Three sides of it are, we believe, simply texts from the *Quran*, and on the fourth

or head-side, the inscription is said to refer to Muhammad Tahir. We tried ineffectually to get a rubbing of it, as the paper we took with us was too flimsy for the purpose, and got torn during the operation. The report farther states that there are said to be inscriptions within the tomb, but the author did not enter it to be able to verify the statement. We, however, did so, and had to crawl in. We found several lines of Arabic inscriptions on the sides of it on the grey-stone slabs.

There appears to have been an entrance to Khán Jahán's tomb, which is now effectually closed.

No mention is made in the Report of a large *Masjid*, a short distance from that of Khán Jahán A'li. A fine tank with a large expanse of water faces it, and its fishery is said to be a somewhat valuable one. Here, it is said, resided one Sádát Khán, a disciple of the renowned saint of the place. There are, besides, numerous minor *Masjids* erected by different less-well-known disciples of Khán Jahán, and it is hardly worth while to record their several names in this place.

A narrow stream flows near the *Sathattargumbaz*, called the *Magrá Nadi*, or *Khal*. It was, evidently, of much greater size in olden times, and was spanned by a substantial masonry bridge, the ruins of which still exist, constructed, probably, during the time of Khán Jahán. Near to it is a *ghat* called *Pathoverghat*, or "Stone-ghat, where a stone pillar is still standing, and where, it is said, the stones used for the various edifices were unshipped.

Of the tank in which the so-called 'Alligators' are, Mr. Westland says the *Faqirs* told him that, "no boat ever goes on the surface." We were informed by the *Faqir* in attendance on us, who acted as *cicerone*, of course for a *douceur*, that *dongas*, or 'dug-outs,' are allowed to enter it, and he offered to bring one for us to go in to shoot some teal within the tank, but as it was a Sunday we declined the proposal.

Apropos of Khan Jahan, we may here add that, from the translation of the reading of an inscription in a mosque in a *Mahalla* of Dhaka, called *Chúrihatta*, it appears that the mosque was erected "by the Khan whose title is Khwajah Jahan," and Mr. Blochman says:—"It may be that the Khan Khwajah Jahan mentioned in this inscription is the same as the Khan Jahan whose tomb is at Bagerhat." In this inscription the name and designations of the reigning Monarch is in full thus:—"Nacir-uddunya waddin Abul Muzaffar Muhamúd Shah," and it is dated the 20th Sha'ban, 863,=13th June 1459, A. D. In the inscription on Khán Jahan's tomb at Bagerhat it is recorded that he died on the night of Wednesday, 26th *Zil Hijjah*, 863,=26th

October 1459, A.D. For the information above given we are indebted to Mr. Blochmann's valuable, "Notes on Arabic and Persian inscriptions," inserted in *Jour. As. Soc., B., Pt. I., 1872*, pp. 107-108.

Káchnúá is on the right bank of the Bhairab, close to its junction with the Baleswar, and is a police out-post. Here Mr. Henckell, in 1782, or thereabouts, established a market, and there is now a large *Bázár* there, divided into two portions by a small stream, or khal, which is spanned by a masonry bridge, built by a person of the oilman caste, one Bangshi Káindu as stated in the scrawling inscription thereon. He also built a temple adjacent to it. The name of this place is said, by Mr. Westland, to be, probably, derived from the vegetable "kachu," and which we may state to be a tuberous plant, belonging to the *Aroideæ* or *Arum* family, designated by Botanists as *Colocasia antiquorum*, Schott.

Fakirhát, or the "Beggars' market", situated also on the right bank of the Bhairab, is a police out-post, and has dwindled down from having been a large and important place in the beginning of the present century to a small and insignificant one. The *Bázár* there, too, has fallen off considerably, and is on a new spot. The former *Bázár* was a considerable one, and belonged conjointly to Messieurs Rainey of Khulná and the Ghoshá Zamindárs of Rámnagar, but the latter wishing to possess a *Bázár* exclusively to themselves, erected another close by on ground belonging to them altogether. This *Bázár* has never thriven. Another *Bazar*, called *Kálígánj* after its founder Káli Prasád Ráy, one of the owners of $\frac{5}{16}$ ths of Pargána Hoglá, established a *Bázár* in an adjacent piece of land, which is flourishing.

Játrápúr, mid-way between Bágorhát, and Fakirhát, stands likewise on the same side of the Bhairab. The river here makes a detour of about four miles, returning close to the place whence it commenced winding, thus forming a narrow neck of land, and the proposal to cut a canal through it to shorten the boat-route, referred to by the writer of the Report, has been since carried out, in 1873. It has, as Mr. Westland expected, "increased the strength of the tidal current," but this has, unfortunately, brought the brackish water farther north, and rendered a tract of country on the banks of the river, which was formerly tolerably healthy, now absolutely unhealthy. There is a large temple of the Vaishnav seat here, dedicated to Gopál, an ancient resident of the village. The temple was built about two generations ago by one Balabh Dás, over whose grave, for the Vaishnavs, albeit Hindus, inter their dead, is another temple, dedicated to him as *Bábdáji*, the name by which he was generally known. We believe that

Jatrapúr is identical with Sjatrapoer of the old Dutch Map of the seventeenth century, *Vide* our "Note on the (probably) identity of Fattapoer and Sjatrapoer in Van den Broucke's Map of Bengal (1660 A. D.) with Fathpúr and Jatrapúr, respectively, "on the Bhairab River, in the Jessore District," inserted in *Pro. As. Soc., B., January 1874*, pp. 19-20.

'Aláipár, or "Aláuddin's Town," not mentioned by Mr. Westland in this part of his Report, has the Athárabanká, "the eighteen reaches," on the west side of it, and the Bhairab on the north. The junction of these streams at this place, renders it a rather important one. A very large and valuable *Bázár* exists there, belonging to the proprietors of five *ánás* of Pargáná Hoglá, which estate is called here the *Bárá Zilá* in contra-distinction to three *ánás* thereof, designated the *Cheta Zilá*. A bi-weekly market is held here on Sundays and Thursdays, we may add. Of this place Mr. Blochman says in *Jour. As. Soc., B., 1873*, pp. 227 and 228: "Were it not for the distinct statement of the Riyázsalátn "that Aláuddin, after arriving, as an adventurer in Bengal, "settled at a Chándpúr (a very common name) in Rádha district, "i.e., west of the Húgli, I would be inclined to identify the "Chándpúr near this Aláipúr as the place where the Husáin "dynasty of Bengal kings had its home, especially because Husáin "first obtained power in the adjacent district of Faridpúr "(Fathábád), where his earliest coins are struck." The Chándpúr referred to has a small market, and an Indigo-factory was built there by the late Mr. W. H. S. Rainey, which is still standing, and the site of the *Bangalah* adjoining it, where resided the European Assistant, has a number of Casuarina-trees (*C. muricata*, Roxburgh,) round it.

"*Sarálíya*, alias *Morrellganj*, on the Pánguchi river, about a couple of miles east from its junction with the Baleswar river, is lot No. 1 of Sundarban grants, and, together with lots Nos. 2, 3 and 4, comprise the Morrellganj Estate. They were acquired, we believe, under the old Waste Land Rules of the Sundarbans, as a ninety-nine years' lease in 1849, by four enterprising brothers, Messieurs Robt. Morrell, Wm. Morrell, Thos. Morrell, and Henry Morrell, all of whom are dead, except the second, and he and Mr. Harry Lightfoot are the existing proprietors.* The Morrellganj estate, Mr. Westland says in his Report written in 1769-70, p. 155, "is a model of good management." It was then, however, not in a flourishing condition, and heavily in debt, as subsequent events have conclusively proved. The late Mr. Robert

* The estate has lately we believe, Bábu Durgacharn Law of Calcutta, a well-known and influential merchant.

Morrell, an able and indefatigable man of business, possessed of considerable tact and experience, may be fairly said to have built the estate, and we gladly pay this small tribute to the memory of one who was a general favorite wherever he went.

The Port of Morrellganj was formally established by a notification of the Bengal Government, dated the 20th. November 1869, which commenced by stating that: "Under the provisions of Sections 10 and 14 of Act VI of 1863, the Lieutenant-Governor has been pleased to declare that Morrellganj shall be a Port for the shipment and landing of goods, and also a Warehouse Port or place for the purposes of the said Act."

The channel leading from the sea into the Haringhátá river was buoyed with half-a-dozen buoys, and the distance from the entrance of the river, off Chándiswar, or "Tiger Point," to Morrellganj is 35 miles, and the navigation extremely easy. The above notification of the Government of Bengal, however, declared that: "The port will be opened during the north-east monsoons only."

For some years past the Morrellganj port has been disused, but at the outset several vessels visited it for cargoes of rice. In 1872 *mans* 35,800 of this grain were shipped, and the duty realized on exports was, in the same year, £1,323 16s. 6d., whilst only £514 8s. 0d. was expended in collecting it. The pilotage rate was, Dr. Hunter says, "one-half of what it is in Calcutta," and there were no port charges whatsoever.

We may here state that ships are not unfrequently wrecked between the entrance of the Húgli and that of the Haringhátá, in cyclones, etc., and we believe that human lives were often lost on such occasions for want of timely help. Several years ago we addressed a communication on the subject to the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce, who forwarded it to the Master Attendant. The then officiating Master Attendant, Capt. H. Howe, in a very long letter to the Secretary to the Chamber of Commerce, No. 4230 dated the 31st August 1869, of course attempted to show that our suggestions were generally useless, but nevertheless concluded by stating that he had "recommended to Government the organization of such an establishment, say a Water-Police under Civil or Police authorities of the District bordering on the sea-face of the Sundarban, and Mr. Rainey's"—other—"suggestion for the employment of fishermen on such service appears to be worthy of consideration." We do not know if the Government passed any orders on the Report alluded to, but nothing absolutely has been done to protect the lives of sailors and others who may be on board of vessels wrecked on this dangerous coast, and the then head of the Bengal Government, Sir William Gray, must be

held to be morally responsible for the loss of any human life that might have been thus saved.

There is a *Tháná*, or Police-station, at Morrellganj, which dates from 1806. And a Sub-Registrar is also stationed there, for registering documents, *etc*, under—at present—the Indian Registration Act., No. III of 1877.

Our lengthy review—we might have extended it still further—of Mr. Westland's excellent "Report on the District of Jessore" is now brought to a close, and we hope we have done justice to it and criticised the work, when criticism was necessary, which was rarely the case, in a fair and impartial spirit. Such additional information as we have been able to contribute, will, we trust, be acceptable and generally useful to all who may have occasion to refer to these pages.

In conclusion, we append a legend, written by us a short time ago, in the hope that it may be interesting to the readers after the perusal of many necessarily dry details given in this our final Part. It is headed: "A legend regarding the origin of the name '*Chháyápati*, or 'Lord of the Shadow,' a small *Talug* in *Parganá Hogla, Zilá Jessore*," and has been forwarded to the Asiatic Society.

"To any one acquainted with the vernacular language of Lower Bengal, the designation *Chháyápati* is sufficiently striking to awaken curiosity regarding its origin, as it signifies 'Lord of the shadow' from *chhaiya*, (ছাঁই) 'shadow' and (পতি) *pati* 'Lord', and finding it among the names of one of the minor *Talugs* in my family *Zamindari* situate in *Parganá Hogla*, I naturally inquired about it, but for some time I was unable to obtain any specific information regarding it. At last the following precise account of its derivation was related to me by an old *Bráhma*n, and, I think, it may be fairly presumed to be substantially correct. I relate it because it is most interesting in itself, and it, moreover, illustrates the cruelties practised by the Moslem rulers of this land on their Hindu subjects, in order to extort rent from them. It at the same time clearly shows that the said oppressive rulers were strongly imbued with superstition, which influenced their conduct even in public matters.

"An ancestor of the present owners of the *Talug*, a high-caste *Bráhma*n, famed far and wide for his piety, became a defaulter of rent of his holding, and the *Zamindár* being either unable or unwilling to realize it, despatched him with others in a like position, as usual in such cases, to the Courts of the Nawáb then held at Murshidábad. The defaulters were brought forward before the Nawáb on their arrival at the Court, and the unfortunate debtors had various punishments, more or less severe,

meted out to them, to compel them, if possible, to discharge the arrears of rents due by them. That allotted to the Bráhmán, the hero of this tale, was, that his head should be closely shaved, well smeared with oil, and exposed to the full blaze of the meridian sun, which was then shining with particular brilliancy. The stern Nawáb fully expected that the victim of his fury would probably soon succumb to a *coup de soleil*, as it was the fiery month of May; and the spectators were horror-struck at the idea, as many who were present were Hindus. But the peremptory behest of the despot had to be obeyed without any murmur, and not one of them was bold enough to even intercede for the poor culprit. So the feeble old Bráhmán, with his well-shaven pate, saturated with oil, was led out in silence to the court-yard where the sun was shining with great heat. The implacable Nawáb looked on calmly with unrelenting eye as the luckless Bráhmán was placed in the centre of the court-yard when, suddenly, a dense cloud passed over the face of the sun, and it was thoroughly obscured, leaving the man perfectly in the shade. The reputation acquired by the aged Bráhmán for devotion and sanctity being well-known to the assembly, the bystanders, despite their awe of the Nawáb, exclaimed "a miracle" ! "a miracle" !! The superstitious tyrant, himself felt it was so, and immediately ordered the release of the Bráhmán, and granted him his holding at a nominal rental. And, in order to commemorate what he, in his superstition, deemed to be nothing less than a miraculous event, he changed the name of the tenure to Chháyápati, which it has retained ever since. The former name of the place the deponent knoweth not."

The event here related is said to have occurred some time before the British assumed the Government of the country, about a century-and-a-half ago.

KHULNA,
JESSORE }

H. JAMES RAINEY.

Post Scriptum.

We referred briefly, in Part III, to Monsieur Louis Bonnaud as the first European Indigo-planter in Bengal, and further information about that gentleman will, probably, be interesting to the readers of these pages, especially as he was for some time proprietor and manager of an Indigo Concern in this district, so we have much pleasure in subjoining an account of him from a leader inserted in the *Englishman* newspaper of November 7, 1877.

"Since noticing Mr. Rainey's article on Jessore in the *Calcutta Review*, we have gleaned the following particulars regarding the Mr. Louis Bonnaud therein referred to as the first European who established an indigo-factory in Bengal, and thus started an in-

dustry which, directly or indirectly, has, perhaps, had more to do than any other with the material progress of this country.

"Mr. Bonnaud was, it appears, a native of Marseilles, and left that place at an early age to settle in the West Indies, where he acquired a considerable fortune and was initiated into the processes of indigo manufacture. After some years, he left the West Indies and settled as a merchant in the Island of Bourbon, occupying a house called "Maison Rouge," which still existed thirty years ago and probably does so still. In Bourbon, however, fortune proved unkind to him, and three of his ships, with their cargoes, bound for France, were lost within a short space of time. After those reverses, Mr. Bonnaud came with the remnants of his fortune to Calcutta, where he arrived in 1777, and shortly afterwards took up his abode at Chandernagore. While there, he determined to turn his West Indian experience to account and try the experiment of indigo manufacture in his newly-adopted country. He accordingly hired a large "garden" at a place called Taldanga, in the district of Hughli, but being unable to get sufficient land and finding the place inconveniently distant from the river, he removed to Gondolpara, on the banks of the river, near Telniarah, south of the French settlement. There he hired another large 'garden' and built two small pairs of vats, which were still in existence in 1818, and a drying-house. There, too, he formed the acquaintance of three Englishmen of substance, the name of one of whom was Adams, and, joining them, went to Maldah and established a factory. Bricks and surki were made on the spot, but there was a scarcity of lime, a difficulty which, it is said, was surmounted by exhuming human bones from the Muhammadan graves with which the neighbourhood abounded, and converting them into that more useful, if less respectable, material. After that Mr. Bonnaud became proprietor of the Nayabatta Factory in Jessore, and finally of the large concern of Kalna and Mirzapur near Nadiya. He left the latter concern in 1819, about two years before his death, after manufacturing a splendid crop of 1,400 maunds, the largest ever made by the concern, and, probably, the largest that had, up to that time, been made by a single concern in Bengal.

"A book on the indigo industry, long since, we fancy, forgotten, was published by Mr. John Blinns in 1835, in which Mr. Bonnaud was named as the first indigo planter in India."

H. J. R.

ART XI.—POPE'S AND CONCLAVES.

Early method of electing Popes—Changes—Rules of Alexander III.—Severity towards electors of Gregory IX.—Papal See vacant for three years—Gregory X and Bull "*Ubi periculum*"—A half-starved Conclave—Gregory XI returns to Rome—Exceptional Rules—The Schism—First steps on death of Pope—The exequies in St. Peter's—The Sacred College—Burial of the Pope—Meeting of the Conclave—Internal arrangements—Method of election—the *Scrutinium*—the *Accessus*—Election *per inspirationem*—*per compromissum*—The three adorations—Intrigues—Voting of sick Cardinals—Conclaves—Pope's change of name; origin of—Ceremonies at installation of new Pope—Prophecies—Prophecy of St. Malachius—Examples of coincidence—Clement VIII.—Calixtus III.—Sixtus IV.—Pius III.—Gregory XIV.—Leo XI.—Alexander VII.—Innocent XI.—Pius IX.—motto of next Pope—The end of the world.

1. *Histoire des Conclaves*. Cologne: 1703.
2. *Grundliche Nachricht von denen ceremonien, welche jederzeit nach dem absterben eines Pabstes Vorgehen*. Frankfurt and Leipzig: 1769.
3. *Historische Darstellung des Conclave*. 1799.

AT a time when a conclave has just been held in Rome it will be of interest to glance at the history of the Conclaves which have formerly been held, and to explain in some detail the way, in which a Pope is elected.

During the first three centuries of the Church, the successors of Saint Peter were elected by the Roman Clergy and people. No time or place was fixed and no ceremonies were prescribed. The Senate sometimes proposed a name to the electors, and the candidate thus proposed was sometimes elected, but he was also often refused, and the clergy and laity seem equally to have taken a share in the election. Nor do there seem to have been any restrictions regarding who was eligible or not, and the choice occasionally fell upon persons of comparatively humble rank in the Church. *Eusebius* relates how the Holy Fathers had collected together in the year 243 to elect a successor to the deceased *Antero*, and were in doubt whom to choose. Whilst they were deliberating, *Fabianus* passed the assembly on his way home from his field where he had been working. As he passed, a dove flew from its cage, and settled on his shoulder. The Fathers, looking upon this incident as a sign from the Holy Ghost, at once elected *Fabianus* as Pontifex. As time passed on, those only who filled the highest posts in the Church were raised to the Papal dignity, but still many centuries elapsed before any actual qualifications were declared necessary. It is only since *Clement V.*, elected in 1305, that it has been necessary for a Pope to be a

member of the Sacred College of Cardinals. *Clement V.* was the last Pope who did not belong to this body, he having been merely Bishop of Bordeaux.

It was, however, soon found that the absence of rules gave great opportunities for irregularities. As the position of a Pope advanced from one of danger, as the representative of the Christian Church among heathen, to one of the highest dignity amongst the sovereigns of the civilized world, the candidates for the post became more numerous and more zealous in their canvass. The death of a Pope became the signal for disturbances and confusion in Rome; the Church was divided into factions and parties; elections were frequently accompanied by riots and bloodshed, and the successful candidate only too often owed his success to bribery and corruption. The earliest rules which are to be found are those made by *Symmachus*, A.D. 498, which were followed by others, by *Boniface III.* (603), *Stephen IV.* (768), and *Nicholas II.* (1059). This Pope was the first to exclude the people and the inferior clergy from the elections, which were to be held entirely by the Cardinals, of whom the Cardinal-bishops were first of all to select a Pope, and were then to be joined in the election by the Cardinal-priests and Deacons. It is worthy of remark that in the Bull laying down these rules, the Pope recognizes the right of the Emperor to confirm the election. This right, however, was not much longer recognized, for *Gregory VII.* was the last Pope who waited for the Emperor's confirmation of his election. *Alexander III.* (1179) laid the foundation of the rules at present in force, by requiring that the elections should be held by the Cardinals on the third day after the death of the Pope, and that two-thirds of the votes of the Cardinals present should be necessary to render the election of a Pope legal. The first sign of a Conclave is to be found in the election of a successor to *Gregory IX.* (1241). On this occasion there were 10 Cardinals who were divided into two parties and were unable to come to any decision. The Roman Senate interfered and shut them up in the so called *sette folie*. Here they were kept in such rigorous confinement, and were furnished with so few necessities and conveniences that one died and another became seriously ill. They then chose *Gottfried Castiglione*, of Milan, who assumed the name of *Celestin IV.* But he too appears to have suffered from his confinement, for his reign only lasted 17 days, when he died and left Rome in the utmost confusion. For 20 months the greatest disorder prevailed, for the city was torn by two factions each of which, sword in hand, contended for the Papal crown. It was not until 1243 that a new Pope, *Innocent IV.*, was elected, and then only after the Cardinals had retired from

Rome to Anagni, where the election was held. The Papal chair, however, remained longest vacant after the death of *Clement IV.*, when no Pope was elected for three years (1268—1271). Italy was at this time torn by the factions of the *Guelphs* and the *Ghibellines*, and every town belonged either to one party or the other. Here, again, an election was only made after vigorous measures had been adopted, and the Cardinals had been forcibly confined in *Viterbo*, in a Conclave, from which they were not allowed to depart until they had made an election. This they did in the person of *Gregory X.*, and, from this time, a closed Conclave has been a rule of the Church. *Gregory* passed a Bull (1274) in which the rules to be observed at these Conclaves were laid down, and which, with but slight modifications, are observed to the present day. The Bull commences with the words "*Ubi periculum*," and provides that all the Cardinals are to be shut in together by means of one key (hence the name *con-clavis*); that they must assemble on the 10th day succeeding the Pope's death; that during their session they are to have no communication with any one outside; that all food is to be passed into the Conclave by means of a window; and that each Cardinal was to be accompanied by one attendant only (*conclavist*). If no election was made in three days' time, the Cardinals were to receive only one dish at each meal, and if for five days more still no election was made, they were to receive only bread, wine and water, until their duty was done. This last rule is the one which has been most hardly felt and most frequently altered. Two years after the passing of the Bull, *Adrian V.*, who suffered much during his election, proposed to relax the rules, but he died 34 days after his election and before his coronation. The Cardinals at *Viterbo* shewed so little inclination to hold another Conclave, that the magistrate and people interfered, shut them up, and gave them so little to eat that the election lasted only a few days. The Bull "*Ubi periculum*" provides that the authorities of the town where the election is held are bound to see that the provisions of the Bull are carried out, but it also strictly forbids the introduction of any fresh severity. *John XXI.*, accordingly, who was elected at this half-starved Conclave, at once proceeded to punish the magistrate for his undue zeal, and ordered the suspension of the Gregorian rules. The result, however, was, that the next Conclave (1127) lasted six months, although it was composed of only eight Cardinals. At the election of *Martin IV* there were great disturbances. *Charles*, King of Naples, was determined to have a French Pope and the Cardinals were equally anxious for an Italian. The Cardinals delayed the election for four months, but then had to yield for *Annibaldi*, Governor of *Viterbo*, acting under *Charles*' orders.

confined three of them, the two *Orsinis* and *Latino*, and kept them on bread and water until they at last elected a Frenchman—Martin. At the death of *Nicholas IV.*, the chair remained vacant for two years and three months, and again at the death of *Benedict XI.* it was unoccupied for 11 months. *Clement V.*, who was then elected (1305), and principally through the influence of the French Court, removed the residence of the Pope from Rome to Avignon (1309), and then, in order to purify the elections, introduced fresh rules by which the Conclave had to be held in the place where the Pope died. As Avignon was the new residence, these rules were clearly in favour of the French wishes and led to the great Schism. Some of the details to be observed in the elections as laid down in Clement's rules are still in force, and will be noticed further on. At the death of Clement there were great disturbances. The 23 Cardinals, of whom only six were Italians, whilst the remainder were French and Gascons, assembled at Carpentras. For three months they arrived at no decision, and then, in order to quicken their deliberations, the Conclave was attacked by the nephews of the deceased Pope, who killed several of the retainers of the Italian Cardinals. The doors of the Conclave were besieged and the people declared that they would kill the Italians, who, they believed, prevented the election of a French Pope. The Italian Cardinals thereupon made their escape, and for two years the Chair remained vacant. At last, Phillip the Fair and Louis X. of France brought them together again at Lyons, where, in four days' time, they elected *John XXII.*, who at once returned to Avignon. The four succeeding Popes were all Frenchmen and remained in France as was to be expected. The fifth, however, *Gregory XI.*, although also a Frenchman, a year before his death, removed the residence again to Rome. Fearing that after his death efforts would be made to transfer the Pope to Avignon, he passed a Bull seven days before he died, in which he made special regulations for the next election. The Cardinals who might happen to be in Rome at his demise, were allowed, as a special case, to hold the election in or out of Rome as they might deem necessary; no one who was absent was to be summoned, and the election was not to last longer than ten days. The ordinary rule, that a majority of two-thirds was necessary for a legal election, was also in the case of this election suspended, and a bare majority was declared to be sufficient. The result of this election was *Urban VI.* (1378), but a counter-election was held in France which resulted in the choice of an Anti-Pope, *Clement VII.*, who was followed by two others. The Schism went on, so that in 1409 there were as many as three Popes at once. It was not until 1417 that the breach was healed at a

Conclave at which 32 Cardinals were present, and with them eight Prelates deputed from each nation! The result of this election was *Martin IV.*

In 1554, *Paul IV.* found it necessary to introduce a Bull, in which the election of a Pope by means of bribery was declared to be null and void, and one which it was lawful to oppose by calling in the aid of a temporal power. *Pius IV.* (1559) and *Gregory XV.* (1621) promulgated other Bulls containing fresh rules regarding the procedure of the Conclaves, and these appear to have been the last innovations of importance which have been introduced.

As soon as a Pope dies, the Cardinal Camerlengo, accompanied by the three other Cardinals, who have been appointed to assist him, proceeds to his apartments. He is admitted to the room where the body lies, and calls out the name of the deceased three times. No answer being received, the fact of the death is then recorded by the Pro-notary who has accompanied him. The Cardinal Camerlengo then takes from the Pope's finger the fisherman's ring which is then broken to prevent its being used whilst the chair is vacant; the portion on which the deceased Pope's name is engraved, is destroyed, and the other portion which is used for sealing Bulls, is wrapped in a cloth, sealed, and given to the *Auditore della Camera*. An inventory of the property is then made; guards are posted, and the body is left in the hands of the Surgeons, who proceed to embalm it. In the meantime the Cardinals in Rome are assembled, and arrangements are made regarding the safety of the town. This was the custom hitherto, but under present altered circumstances no such precautions are needed. Some coins are also struck bearing the device of two keys upright, and the Papal flag, with the words: "*Sede Vacante*" and the date. On the evening of the day of his death, the body of the Pope is carried to St. Peter's, to the Chapel of the Holy Trinity. Here it is laid out in state, surrounded by an iron grating, so arranged that the foot of the corpse projects. The corpse is allowed to remain here for three days, during which time the people are admitted and allowed to kiss the foot thus exposed. The body is then placed in a sarcophagus in the body of the Church, where a daily requiem is celebrated until the ninth day. During the whole of this time masses are said in St. Peter's and the other Churches of Rome for the repose of the soul of the deceased Pope. On the first day as many as 200 are said in St. Peter's alone, and on each of the following days one hundred masses are said in St. Peter's and the other parish Churches without reckoning the many cloisters. Each day, when mass is over, the ambassadors attend the Sacred College and offer their

congratulations to the assembled Cardinals; they also receive from their Government fresh letters accrediting them to the Conclave. In presenting themselves, each ambassador has to pay to the assembly the same honours as he usually pays to a Pope. He bows three times and then stands erect. "*Inter nos est.*" The new Pope is among the Cardinals in Conclave, but, as he is not yet known, the honours due to him must be paid to all. The representatives of the leading houses of Rome are also admitted, but they have to address the assembly kneeling. On each day, after mass, the meeting of Cardinals draws up certain rules, measures are adopted for the safety of the town, a confessor is chosen, two doctors, one surgeon, one apothecary, four barbers, and 24 other servants are appointed, and each Cardinal names his own attendant or conclavist; and, finally, on the 10th day, two Cardinals are appointed who receive the *Breve* of such Cardinals as may not yet have been *in sacris*, so as to enable them to vote. On the eleventh day all the Cardinals meet to celebrate the Mass of the Holy Ghost and then the Conclave commences.

A rule once in force, that the body of a deceased Pope was to remain in St. Peter's, unburied, until the death of his successor; this, however, has now been altered, and the body only remains there for a year, when it is buried with great pomp. The coffin is made of cypress wood, and covered with a black velvet pall which is furnished by the Clergy of St. Peter's for each Pope. A purse is placed in the coffin filled with specimens of different coins, bearing on one side the Pope's image and on the other a notice of his principal acts. The cypress coffin is then laid in a leaden shell and hermetically sealed.

On the eleventh day, after hearing the Mass of the Holy Ghost the Cardinals all enter the Conclave, the foreign ambassadors are received for the last time, and the doors are then shut. On the inside they are locked by the Master of Ceremonies who keeps the key, and on the outside by the Captain of the Guard, sentinels are posted, and the Conclave is shut off from all communication with the outer world. During the middle ages, and especially during the time of the Schism, the elections were held in different places, in Rome, in Avignon, in Lyons, and frequently in Viterbo. Gregory X., Celestin V., and Boniface VIII., ruled that the election should be held in the place where the Pope died, provided such place was not prejudicial to the interest of the Church, or was not under sentence of excommunication, in which case it was to be held in the nearest convenient town. For several centuries, however, the Conclaves have now been held in Rome, and a portion of the Vatican has been specially set apart for the purpose, consisting of the Chapel of *Sixtus IV.* and the adjacent buildings.

The entrance is by a flight of stairs leading from the Court of Gregory XII. into the Royal Hall. From this point, long corridors and galleries branch off leading round the large Court where the fountain is, and shut in on three sides by the Belvidere, the Swiss Quarter, and the great St. Peter's Gallery; on the fourth side is a portion of St. Peter's Church. In the walks and corridors, apartments are built for the accommodation of the Cardinals. These consist of cells 20 feet by 20 feet, formed of a wooden framework and tapestry walls. Inside is the Cardinal's bed, table and chair, and over the entrance is hung the coat of arms of the occupant. These cells were first constructed under the Gregorian Bull "*Ubi periculum*," passed in 1274. Opposite the entrance to the Conclave is a window, by which the food for the use of the Cardinals is introduced every day. The food is brought up to the window outside, under charge of the Papal guards. It is examined, and then passed through the window by means of two wheels. On being received inside the food is again examined by the Master of Ceremonies and then passed on for the use of the Cardinals.

The procedure at the election is, as follows: At 6 A. M. and 2 P. M. of each day the Master of Ceremonies goes three times through the halls and corridors of the Conclave. He rings a bell and summons the Cardinals with the words: "*Ad capellam Domini!*" As soon as the bell has been rung for the last time, each conclavist takes his master's writing materials to the Chapel of Sixtus IV where the election is held. This is the Chapel in which is Michael Angelo's celebrated picture of the Last Judgment. The Cardinals follow, each with the second conclavist who carries his hood and hat. Outside the Chapel, the Cardinal puts on his hood and hat and then enters, seating himself in one of the stalls of which there is a row on either side of the Chapel. In the middle of the Chapel, is a table at which the Secretary is seated. When all the Cardinals are assembled, the mass of the Holy Ghost is read by the Sacritarius. The conclavists then leave the Chapel, and the doors are closed and locked by the Master of Ceremonies. The seven psalms or the Litany are then read and then the election is commenced *per scrutinium*. Each Cardinal has been previously supplied with a printed ticket, of which a number are laid on a plate on the altar. This ticket contains on the top a space for the Cardinal's name, and at the bottom for a motto. When these two spaces have been filled in they are doubled over and sealed, and a vacant place remains in the middle, and here the Cardinal tells his conclavist to write the name of the one to whom he gives his vote. The object of this is, it keeps the names of the electors as secret as possible, so that those who may vote for an unsuccessful

ful candidate may not afterwards have to suffer at the hands of the successful one. The Cardinal's name is written by himself, but the other two spaces in the voting ticket are filled in by the conclavist at his master's dictation previous to the commencement of the mass. When the mass is over, the doors have been shut, and the Litany has been read, each Cardinal goes in turn to the altar, holding his voting ticket between his fingers which are raised in the air. He prays before the altar standing, and then places his ticket in the Sacramental Cup, having first repeated the following oath : *Testor Christum Dominum, qui me judicaturus est, eligere quem secundum Deum iudico eligere debere, et quod idem in accessu præstabo*, * at the same time one of the Scrutators who stands by the altar places into a bag a little ball on which the name of the Cardinal voting is printed. When all the voting tickets, or *Bollettini* have been placed in the Cup, they are shaken together and emptied in to another cup which stands on the altar. They are then counted by one of the Scrutators, in order to see whether the number corresponds with the number of Cardinals present and with the number of balls placed in the bag by the other Scrutators. If this is the case, the cup with the votes is carried to the table in the middle of the Chapel, at which three Scrutators are seated. The senior of these opens each ticket in turn so as to read only the middle part in which the name of the Cardinal elected is written. He then hands the ticket to the second Scrutator, who reads out the name aloud. He again hands the ticket with the two ends still closed to the third Scrutator who files it on a piece of string. In the event of there being more than two-thirds of the votes in favour of one Cardinal, the election is complete and the votes in his favour are opened in order that it may be known who has voted for him. If, however, there is not this number, the tickets are all placed in a cup, in order to be afterwards destroyed, and the election proceeds to the second stage or the *accessus*, which takes place in the afternoon at this ceremony. The Cardinals are again assembled and the proceedings are commenced, not by a mass, but by the hymn 'Veni Creator Spiritus.' The object of this new election is to give any of the Cardinals an opportunity of altering his vote. For example : At the morning election, out of 60 Cardinals, 36 votes were given to Cardinal A., 19 to B., 5 to C. Forty-one votes, or more than two-thirds is the majority required. If at the afternoon election, the Cardinals who voted for C. see fit to alter their votes and give them to A., they can do so and A.'s election will then be valid. If at the *accessus* a Cardi-

* I swear by Christ the Lord, who der I ought to elect, and which same will be my judge, that I will elect I will do in *accessu*. him, whom according to God I consi-

nal votes at all, he must vote for a person different to the one he voted for at the *scrutinium* or morning's election. The form of voting ticket is the same with the exception that, instead of the words *edigo*, etc. the formula runs: "*Accedo ad Dominum Cardinalem, et possum accedere, ut patet ex voto meo, et ex sub-scripto meo.*" In the event of any one of the candidates obtaining an additional number of votes at the *accessus*, sufficient to form the required majority, the voting papers in his favour are opened, and the mottoes on the *accessus* votes compared with those on the *scrutinium* votes in order that it may be seen whether the candidate voted for at the *accessus* is different to the one voted for by the same Cardinal at the *scrutinium*. No one is allowed to vote for himself, and this rule renders impossible the occurrence of an election such as caused considerable amusement at Cambridge about sixteen years ago. An election was to be made to the post of Master of one of the smaller Colleges. The electors who were bound to be fellows were only five in number, of whom two, A. and B., were candidates, out of the remaining three it was known that A. had secured the votes of C. and D., whereas B. had only that of E. Nevertheless, B. would not withdraw, and it came to the election. It is customary at these elections, when there are more candidates than one, for each candidate to give his vote for the other, accordingly A., when he came with his friends C. and D., gave his vote for B., his friends' votes being recorded in his favour. B. had thus obtained one vote, A.'s. E. then recorded his vote for B. which made two, and lastly B. voted for himself, which gave him a clear majority over A.

In the event, however, of the required majority not having been got at either *scrutinium* or *accessus*, the tickets are all collected and burnt unopened. This is the ordinary method of conducting the election of a Pope, but there are still two other ways, viz., election (1) *per inspirationem* and (2) *per compromissum*. Neither of these methods are of frequent occurrence, but they are legal and precedents of both are cited. The first of these methods is said to have been practised at the election of Adrian VI (1522). On this occasion all the Cardinals, whilst in Conclave, by word of mouth suddenly declared themselves in favour of Adrian, went to him and offered homage. He was at once declared to be elected without the formality of the voting papers. For the legality of this mode of election it is essential that it should be unanimous, that it should take place in the Conclave after it has been closed; and, lastly, that it should be sudden, by inspiration, as it were, of the Holy Ghost. The second method, *per compromissum*, is when the Cardinals in Conclave delegate to one of their number the power of electing a Pope. Of this there are two precedents, one at the

election of *Gregory X.* (1268), when he was elected during his absence, and the other at the election of *John XXII* (1316). On this occasion the election was not dissimilar to the one at Cambridge, related above. The Cardinals delegated the authority to elect to John, who at once chose himself, saying that he had the best assurance of his own uprightness and piety. There was yet another method of election, *per adorationem*, which made an election legal, if, in a Conclave, more than two-thirds of the Cardinals present went in a body to one of their number, placed him in a chair, hailed him as Pope, and proceeded to perform the *Adoratio* or reverence by kissing the hand and foot. This method, however, has fallen into disuse since the time of *Gregory XV.*, who denounced it as an *electio tumultuaria*. The usual methods of election may therefore be said to be two only, namely, the *scrutinium* followed by the *accessus*. The origin of this latter term is to be found in one of the practices of the old Roman Senate. When a Senator wished to give his vote in favour of a proposition made by another, he either stood up and went to his side or said in a loud voice, *Accedo ad idem*—I beg to second that motion.

It is of rare occurrence that a Pope is elected at the first *scrutinium* and *Accessus*. If a sufficient number of votes has not been obtained, the papers are all burnt after the ceremony of *Accessus*, and another *scrutinium* takes place on the following morning. These elections frequently go on daily for weeks, and, as has been shown above, have sometimes lasted months, and even years.

During the whole of this time the Cardinals remain shut up in the building, forming the Conclave, and it can be understood that many are the intrigues which go on. The constant endeavour of each is to find out the intention of the other without revealing his own, and to manage matters so that, whoever may be elected, he himself may incur no odium. A French writer of the last century, (*Histoire des Conclaves*, Cologne: 1703) who strongly insists upon the inspiration of the Holy Ghost at these elections, writes in these terms: "Comme chaque Cardinal employe son adresse qu'à découvrir les desseins des autres, ils y employent divers moyens. Tantôt ils se déguisent comme de simples conclavistes et écoutent aux portes, tantôt en se promenant dans le Conclave, ils examinent les contenance de ceux qui passent, et les engagent adroitement en conversation, ils tachent de les faire parler pour s'éclaircir de leurs soupçons. On se sert de plusieurs artifices pour cacher les véritables desseins, et souvent on ne propose les gens que pour ruiner leurs espérances et leur faire donner une exclusion publique."

One word is necessary regarding the voting of sick Cardinals. If

during the Conclave any one becomes so sick that he cannot leave his cell, three Cardinals are appointed, who are termed *Infirmarii*. These proceed to his cell, carrying with them a plate on which are the printed voting papers, and a box with a slit in the top, which has been locked and the key deposited on the altar of the Chapel. The sick Cardinal has the ticket filled in by his conclavist and then places it in the box, which is carried back to the altar where it is opened by one of the *Scrutatori*.

The place of conclavist is one much sought after, not only on account of its remuneration, for, after his election, the new Pope gives to each conclavist from 200 to 300 ducats, but also on account of the knowledge which is gained of what is going on, and the opportunities offered for gaining powerful friendship. Each conclavist is sworn to secrecy, but, at the same time, it is generally known outside the Conclave when the chances are in favour of the election of any one Cardinal. It is to the conclavists and the notes they have taken during the Conclaves that we are indebted for the accounts and histories of the different Conclaves which have taken place during the last few centuries.

As soon as a proper majority has been pronounced in favour of one of the Cardinals, the senior Cardinals of each of the three orders, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, advance to the newly-chosen Pope, and, having greeted him, the senior says: *Acceptasne electionem in te legitime factum in summum Pontificem?* (Dost thou accept thy election to be High Pontifex, which has been lawfully made?). He asks to be allowed first to offer up a prayer, and when this has been done he replies: *Accepto*.* He is then taken behind the altar by the Master of Ceremonies and divested of his Cardinal's cloak and hood. He is then asked what name he will choose. It is remarkable that there are but few instances of a Pope taking the same name as his predecessor. The number of names amongst the Popes are comparatively few; since Silvester I (*circa* 330 A. D.) 55 names and 236 Popes: and there have been as many as twenty-two Johns, fifteen Gregories, fourteen Clements, thirteen Benedicts, &c., and yet since 1143 there are only four instances of a Pope taking the same name as his predecessor. Pius IV. (1559) was followed by Pius V. (1566); Clement IX. was followed by Clement X. (1667-70); Clement XIII. was followed by Clement XIV. (1769-75) and Pius VII. succeeded to Pius VI. It has occasionally happened that the Cardinals themselves have given the Pope a name, or that the name first chosen has, at their request, been altered. Thus to Hildebrand they gave the name of Gregory, and when, at the time of the Schism, Cosmus chose the name of

* Urban XI, and Clement VIII, are known to have shown great hesitation and reluctance to accept the Papal dignity, and the same is alleged to have been shown by Clement XI.

Clement, the Cardinals rejected the name because it was also borne by the anti-Pope, and instead gave him the name of Innocent (VI). Petrus Barbi, when he was elected in 1464, first chose the name of *Formosus*, but this the Cardinals rejected, on the not unreasonable ground that the surname of the Beautiful would, however justly applied, sound conceited. He then chose the name of Marcus because he had been born in Venice, but this name was equally distasteful to the Cardinals, who then gave him the name of Paul II. The origin of the change of name is assigned to our Saviour, who gave to Simon the name of Peter, as being the rock on which he would build his Church. The name of Peter, however, is never chosen, for the prophecy of St. Malachius, to which we shall refer shortly, says that the second Peter will be the last Pope, whose death will be followed by the Day of Judgment.

The new Pope is then taken behind the altar by the Master of Ceremonies and clothed in his Papal robes, and afterwards placed on a chair in front of the altar. The hymn, *Ecce Sacerdos Magnus*, is commenced, and the Cardinal Dean commences the first adoration by kissing the right hand and foot, kneeling. The Pope orders him to rise and gives him on both cheeks the kiss of peace. The other Cardinals follow, and this finishes the first adoration, for there are three which take place before all the ceremonies are over. The Cardinal Dean, preceded by the Master of Ceremonies, bearing a cross, then orders the wall which separates the Vatican from St. Peter's to be pulled down, and then goes to the gallery of St. Peter's, from the window of which, the same where the Pope blesses the people on Green Thursday, he announces the new election to the people by these words: "*Anuncio vobis gaudium magnum. Habemus Papam Eminentissimum et Reverendissimum Dominum Cardinalem N. N. qui sibi nomen elegit, ut in posterum vocetur N. N.*" As soon as this has been done, the guns are fired and the bells in the city are rung, and the old practice of the people was at once to proceed to the house of the new Pope, which they had the privilege of plundering. The doors and windows of the Conclave which had been walled in are torn down, the Pope holds a collation with the Cardinals in the Chapel of Sixtus IV; receives the second adoration, and is then carried in his chair to St. Peter's. In the meantime the rooms of the Conclave are thrown open, the populace is allowed to enter and every one carries off what he can lay hands on. As soon as the new Pope reaches St. Peter's, he descends from his chair and proceeds to the high altar, where, with bared head, he returns thanks to God for his elevation. He is then placed in a chair on the High Altar; he puts on the mitre, and, whilst a *Te Deum* is being sung, he receives from the Cardinals the third adoration. The Pope then blesses the people

and is afterwards carried home to the Papal apartments in the Vatican. This ends the ceremonies connected with the Conclave, although there are many others which take place before the final coronation which is performed on the sixth or eighth day. They are, however, all of a public character; and have been described at length by the special correspondents who attended at the last coronation.

There have been many prophecies regarding future Popes, but they have so seldom proved true and so often have the elections disappointed the hopes formed, that it has become a proverb "He who goes into the Conclave as a Pope comes out a Cardinal." There is, however, one prophecy which was made more than 700 years ago, not yet completely fulfilled, but which has so often proved true and so often referred to, that it cannot be omitted here. I allude to the prophecy of St. Malachius. This man was Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland, but resigned his mitre and went to Rome, from whence however he was again sent to Ireland as Legate. He returned to Rome in 1148 and died there of fever on the 2nd November of the same year. His prophecy, which is said to have been written in 1130, consists of a number of Latin mottoes, or rather combination of words. Each combination refers to a Pope, and is to represent in some way either his name, some peculiarity of descent or family, or some occurrence which is to take place during his reign. In this way Malachius has strung together 102 combinations of words. Since the prophecy was made, there have been 92 Popes, and it is remarkable that almost all the mottos do in some way or another apply to the Popes who have succeeded one another. A great many of the combinations appear to be nonsense and only become sense when a Pope's name is placed opposite to them. Thus the 45th combination is "*Schisma Barbinonicum*," and it is remarkable that the 45th Pope after 1130, Clement VIII, was an Anti-Pope elected by the Schism at Avignon. The 56th combination is "*Bos pascens*," and the 56th Pope, Calixtus III, had an ox as his crest. The 59th combination is "*Piscator Minorita*." The 59th Pope was Sixtus IV (1471) who was a Minorite monk and the son of a Fisherman living on the Genoese coast. The remarkable thing about this coincidence is, that when the prophecy was written, the order of the Minorites had not been established. Again, the 62nd combination is "*De parvo homine*" and the 62nd Pope was Pius III (1503) of the Piccolomini family. The 76th combination is "*De antiquitate urbis*" and may well be called a true prophecy of the 76th Pope, Gregory XIV, who did so much to restore the antiquities of Rome, and so was the 79th combination "*undusus vir*" which falls to the lot of the dropsical Leo XI (1605). "*Custos montium*" (85th) might well apply to any Pope of Rome, but it did so with especial

force when it fell to the lot of Alexander VII (1655)³ who carried six hills in his coat of arms. "Bellua insatiabilis" (No. 88) the insatiable wild beast, would seem rather difficult to apply to so amiable a Pope as Innocent XI (1676), but his arms were an eagle and a lion and as his favourite Cardinal was called Cibo, it might justly be said that he could not live without his food (*sine cibo suo*), besides, quoting the words of an old chronicle, he was quite insatiable in doing good. Pius IX is the 92nd Pope and the 92nd combination is *crux de cruce*. If these words, which in themselves mean nothing may be freely rendered as the "crucial test," they would apply with great truth to the late Pope, in whose reign the dogma of infallibility, which may be termed the crucial test of the Papal system, was passed. The newly elected Pope has the 93rd combination: *Lumen in cælo*. The prophecy says that after as many Popes have been elected as there are combinations of words there will follow a great persecution of the Roman Church, during which time "Peter, a Roman, will reign, who will feed his sheep among many tribulations, and at whose death the seven-hilled city will be destroyed and the terrible Judge will judge his people" (*In persecutione extrema sacre Romanæ Ecclesiæ, sedebit Petrus Romanus, qui pacet oves in multis tribulationibus; quibus transactis, civitas septicollis diruetur et Iudex tremendus judicabit populum suum*). If this prophecy were true it would not be difficult to make a shrewd guess of the time when the end of the world will occur. Reckoning St. Peter as the first Pope there have (including anti-Popes, as the prophecy does) been during 1877 years 221 Popes with an average reign of (say) 4 years and 9 months. There are 19 more Popes to follow, and the last Peter may therefore be looked for in 47 years and 6 months. This would bring it to about the year 1924, so that all those who believe in the truth of this prophecy, among whom it is not to be supposed that Doctor Cumming can be reckoned, may safely look for the end of the world at that time.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

On an Article in the *Calcutta Review*, No. CXXXI, entitled
The Fuller Case and Indian Appellate Courts.

THE Editor thinks it necessary to offer a few words in explanation, with regard to the above-named article which appeared in the last number of this *Review*. It was published in the "Independent Section," as the Editor did not wish to make himself responsible for the opinions put forth in the article. He, however, did not observe at the time that it contained passages conveying an imputation of dishonourable conduct against Indian Barristers as a body. The Editor takes the earliest opportunity of expressing his sincere regret that such an unjustifiable imputation, however unwittingly inserted, should have been published in the columns of this *Review*; and of disavowing most emphatically any intention of assailing the honour and reputation of the Indian Bar. He wishes also similarly, and as emphatically, to disavow any intention of assailing the honour and reputation of the Indian Bench; and to state thus publicly that he sincerely regrets that any expressions were used in the above article which might be so construed.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

1.—VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Rajamala : ōr, Annals and Chronicles of Tripura. By Kailaschandra Sinha. Calcutta : Soinprakās Press.

WE think it is a healthy sign for the growing literature of Bengal, that works of this kind are becoming more numerous. It has been said that the chronicler is the father of the historian ; and there can be no doubt that the increasing taste for such books, which is surely proved by their multiplication, demonstrates a growth of the historic faculty amongst the educated classes of this country. The account of the Tipperah Raj, which is contained in the little book before us, is interesting in itself, and by no means without value from an historical point of view. The introduction gives much information about the Raj, its royal family, its dialect, its coinage, etc., which is probably not easily accessible elsewhere. We would suggest to the author the advisability of having this part translated into English, for the use of those scholars who do not read Bengali.

A Congratulatory Poem, in Persian : written on the occasion of Her Gracious Majesty the Queen's assumption of the title of the Empress of India. By Maulavi Obaidullah (al Obaidi), Superintendent, Dacca Madrasah. Calcutta : 1876.

THE *Gazette Extraordinary*, published on January 1st, 1878, in its account of the Imperial rejoicings, mentioned, among other things, that the occasion had given rise to a somewhat voluminous literature of Odes, Addresses, and the like. The poem before us is probably one of the best specimens of this literature. The Maulavi, who formerly was Professor of Arabic in Haddghly College, is unquestionably one of the most graceful Persian scholars in Bengal, and his Ode is both spirited and tasteful.

Adisura and Ballala Sen : An Historical Investigation on the Ambastha Kings of Bengal. By Parvatisankar Raichaudhuri, Calcutta : Gupta Press.

THIS is a learned disquisition, in Bengali, on a paper put forth sometime ago by Dr. Rājendralāla Mitra in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, on the *Sena Rajas of Bengal* ; and is a valuable contribution to the literature of this subject.

2. —GENERAL LITERATURE.

The History of the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi. By J. Talboys Wheeler. With Portraits, Pictures, Maps, and Plans. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer. 1878.

THIS gorgeous volume, worthy of the Imperial pageant which it was designed to commemorate, is probably already well-known to many of our readers. The part that is most characteristic, which also doubtless suggested and led to the rest, is the introduction; in which Mr. Wheeler discusses the political significance of the Assemblage—"a stand-point in Indian Annals": and to this part, as it cannot be done justice to in a brief notice like the present, we propose to return in an early Number of this *Review*, and to devote an Article to its consideration. With Mr. Wheeler, we believe that it is impossible to exaggerate either the historical importance of the event, or its political significance.

The four retrospective chapters—Rajput India, Muhammadan India, Mahratta India, British India—are written in the sketchy and at the same time graphic and life-like style of which Mr. Wheeler is an acknowledged master. The account of the Assemblage itself also, like everything which Mr. Wheeler writes, is eminently readable. The portraits of Her Majesty, of the Viceroy, and of the Great Indian Chiefs present—including the Khan of Khelat and his suite—and the other illustrations, form, with the beautiful get-up of the volume, an *ensemble* which will be a delightful memorial of the events which it commemorates, to every one who is so fortunate as to possess a copy of it.

English Rule and Native Opinion in India. By James Routledge. London: Trübner & Co. 1878.

NOTHING could be more valuable to Englishmen holding India than a thorough knowledge of the opinions of the natives throughout the country on the subject of our supremacy. There are those who consider that no information can be attained of India, and especially of native character, without a lengthened residence, and who will hardly think that a gentleman, however clever, assiduous, and well-read, can give much valuable information based on a four years' stay. No doubt, after a longer experience, and a more complete tour, Mr. Routledge would probably see reason to modify many of his present opinions; still, as the book is drawn up from copious notes made at the time, it has the advantage of fresh ideas of a new comer joined to views often taken from contact with the experience of the most famous men of Indian Governments. From the vast size of India, though

there are numbers of officers thoroughly acquainted with a district, a province, or even a presidency, general acquaintance with India as a whole is rare. Although our most serious contests and a most dangerous period of our history occurred when we had to suppress the Marathas and to overthrow Haider Ali and Tippoo Sahib in the south, yet of the vast mass of Maratha and Tamil-speaking folk, who occupy nearly two-thirds of the Peninsula, we receive no information from this book beyond a short account of a visit to Sindia, and an incidental notice of Travancore; so that a foreigner reading the book might well imagine that the Marathas and other people of India had no political importance in comparison with the Muhammadans and Bengalis.

In the early part of the book clear and concise accounts of the leading features of recent histories connected with our present position lead the way to the consideration of India as it is; while the different points of view taken by Lord Mayo, Lord Northbrook, and Lord Lawrence, and other leading Statesmen of India are entered into. The points of difference of the Hindu faith and Brahmoism are examined, and an interesting account of the Brahmo Samaj is given with notes of curious conversations with advanced students. Of the Christian Missionaries, Mr. Routledge points out that, in fact, the Missionary in India is often the one man in the district who is independent of all control and who can stand up for the poor in their need; and, where he is a loyal and ardent supporter of good government, he exists as a safeguard against bad government and a positive gain to English rule in India and to the cause of the poor and helpless.

The book is a valuable aid to the study of India, because it is a great thing to have some one with the skill to collect and condense the experience and knowledge of many, and to put it in an entertaining and readable form, so that Englishmen, generally, may form a clearer perception of what are really Indian interests. Mr. Routledge says: "Dangers in Cabul mean much; but India must be defended within the frontiers, by India being made to rest secure not merely in just laws, but in material prosperity." To show how this may be best done is the object of the book, and as Mr. Routledge had excellent opportunities in an unofficial capacity to see below the surface, many points are brought to light that might otherwise escape notice.

Life of Jenghiz Khan. Translated from the Chinese. By R. K. Douglas. London: Trübner & Co. 1877.

THIS book is a translation from three different Chinese histories, the narratives from which have been woven into one connected account which is very readable and interesting;

especially as Mr. Douglas has appended an account of the Western Campaigns of the great Mongol chief, so that his origin, rise, and wondrous conquests are all clearly comprised in one small book. To the student of Oriental History this *Life of Jenghiz Khan* will be of great value.

THE following books have been received for review, and will be noticed in our next Number:—

1. *Ionæ: A Poem.* By the Author of *Shadows of Coming Events.*
2. *Ascham's Scholemaster.* Edited by J. T. Margoschis F. R. G. S.
3. *Flowers from the Bستان.* Thacker, Spink and Co., Calcutta.
4. *At Home on Furlough.* By Charles A. Lawson. Madras Mail Press, Madras.
5. *Ancient India, as described by Megasthenes and Arrian.* Thacker, Spink and Co., Calcutta.
6. *Sketch of the Official Career of the Hon'ble Ashley Eden,* C. S. I. By Kally Prossurnoo Dey. Calcutta.
7. *The Story of My Life.* By Colonel Meadows Taylor. Edited by his Daughter. In two volumes. Blackwood and Sons. Edinburgh and London.
8. *Early Records of British India.* By J. Talboys Wheeler. Calcutta: Newman and Co.
9. *Outlines of the History of Religion.* By C. P. Tiele. Translated from the Dutch by J. Estlin Carpenter, M. A. London: Trübner and Co.

